

# THE MINDE OF

Rom Death and darke Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, grave Historie,
Raising the VV orld to good, or Evill same,
Doth vindicate it to Eternitie.

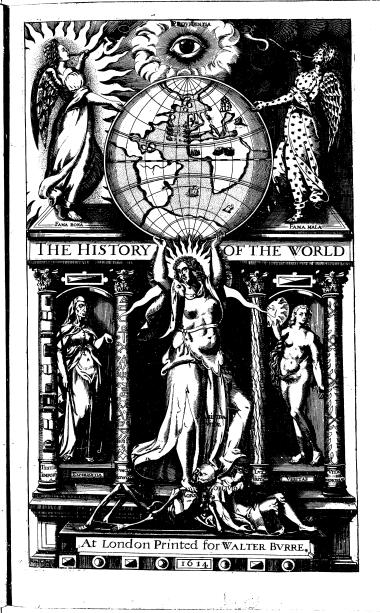
High Prouidence would so: that nor the good Might be defrauded, nor the Great securd, But both might know their wayes are understood, And the reward, and punishment assurd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand Of Truth, which fearcheth the most hidden springs, And guided by Experience, whose streight wand Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things:

Shee chearefully supporteth what shee reares; Asssted by no strengths, but are her owne, Some note of which each varied Pillar beares, By which as proper titles shee is knowne,

Times witnesse, Herald of Anuquitie, The light of Truth, and life of Memorie.







## THE PREFACE.



Ow consit, and how conworthy a choice I have made of my felf, to condertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open

it selfe to my yonger yeares: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time : I might yet well have doubted, that the darke resse of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation: I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted ) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned Hand of Great Brittaine. I confesse that it had better sorted with my dissability, the better part of whose times are runne out in other travailes; to have set together ( as I could) the conjoynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the runiversall: in whome had there beene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soulepeircing wounds, which are ever aking while vncured with the defire to fatisfiethole few friends, which I have tried by the fire of advertise; the former enforcing, the latter per swading; have caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my felfe the Subject of every opinion wife or weake.

To the world I prefent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither baue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity have ever-more tied and contied coulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies barke at those they know not, and that it is in their nature to accompany one another inthose clamours: so is twich the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especially if to GOD which we call Christy in Christian men; condemne, without hearing; and wound, without offence given: led there-onto by vncertaine report only, venocoby, twhich his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame 3000.

No man (saith Siracides) before thou have inquired the matter: Vn-Ecclesived derstand sirst, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res sine teste,

fine indice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and decenueable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that Landridonni gaue St. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good time, of and men, and detisted that of the enill. And heereinno manhath given a better rule, thenthis of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus, nihil infamam sen de ira. 13 laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let vs satissie our owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with same : be it neuer foill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

For my selfe, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prised it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire Junshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack, and the contrary. no other harme than an outragious tempest after the port attained. I know that I loft the love of many, for my fidelity towardes Her, whom I must fill bonor in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent p.rson, I neuer persequited any man. Of those that did it, and by subat device they did it : He that is the Supreame Judge of all the morld, hath taken the accompt, fo as for this kind of fuffering, I must fay with Seneca Mala opinio, bene

As for other men, if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of thie fame, which bath beene begotten for them. I canneither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfeto say with Virgil, Sic, vos non vobis, in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenaie, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can traualle the world without apaffeport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to persuade by the mouth of one Aduocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath giving life which GOD hath cast woon Slime and Dust : as that among those that were, of whom we roade and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with severy one hathreceived a severall picture of face, and eueric one a diverse picture of minde; every one a forme apart, enery one a fancy and cogitation differing there being nothing where in Nature somuch triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth, that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural and connaturall; wife, foolish; manly, and childifh aff Etions, and passions in Mortall Men. For it is not the visible fa-Sbion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the differene, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme in-

And though it hath pleased GO.D, to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughesto himselfe : yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so doe the

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outward workes of men ( so farre as their cogitations are acted ) give ws whereof to quesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be allo true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre sicam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour; the thinges that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their owne natures. Neither can any man ( faith Plutarch ) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable creatures, if wee direct our selves to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus, The common people are cuill Judges of honest things, and whose wisdome ( saith Ecclehastes ) is to bee despised; if to the better fort; euery vnderstanding hath a peculiar indgment, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it selfe. And therefore vonto mee it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torne with Rats: feeing the flouthfull Censurers of all ages, baue not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the seuerest men to themselues, with Hypocrifie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of these na- Eccl.c. 11. tures, which lie in wayt to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing with failing, Salomon complained long fince: and that the very age of the world ren-quamrepre ders it every day after other more malitious; I must leave the professors to their easie waies of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this praface, following the common and approved custome of those who have left the memories of time past to after ages; to give, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they baue done. Yet feeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath beene honored; in this one it triumphethouer all humane knowledge, That it hath given vs life in our conderstanding, fince the world it selfe had life and beginning, even to this day yea it bath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternity hath trium-Phed over for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast & devouring space of so many thousands of yeares, and given so faire and peircing eies to our minde; that we plainely behould living now, as if we had lived then, that great World, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise worke (faith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it I say it

is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was covered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have florished and fallen; and for what vertue and piety GOD made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe out o History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkenesse of the earth, deliuered os their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wife than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries, with our owne like errours and ill deseruings.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wijest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hat he thyet so wrought in our blind and stupisted mindes; as to make vs remember, That the instnite eye and wildome of GOD doth peirce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the instice of GOD doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the faile beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formallitie, which (to pacific the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wildome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of atrue GOD. If any (suith Eurypides) hauingin his life committed wickednelle, thinke he can hide it from the euerlasting gods,

he thinkes not well.

Torepeat GODS indgements in particular, opon those of all degrees, which have plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that lived with them : so as they who succeed, and have not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults. GODS indgments opporthe greater and greatest, have beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who have guthered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells in o Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnamme the grasse of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wife working of Pharao, when be flue the Infants of Itrael, ere they had recovered their Cradles. Or of the policy of lezabel, in covering the Murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thou fands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farr-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practise, perill, bloudshed, and

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truelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exerciled. taken on them, and committed; to make them-selues and their issues maisters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, flower, grasse, nor leafe, fringing vpon the face of the Earth, of those seedes: No; their every roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta funt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt : All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing confumed. Thereasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States have fallen (lay the Politicians) by outward and forraine force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obferue, That the greatest have sunck downe under their owne weight; of which Liuie hath a touch : co creuit, vt magnitudine laboret fua : Others, That the divine providence (which Cratippus obiected to Pompey ) bath (et do sone the date and period of every estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my selfe a day over to resolue.

For seeing the first bookes of the stollowing story, have undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the sbort life of a Preface, to trauaile after and over-take farr-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit bath beene gathered by our owne Kings , and their Neighbour Princes : soho having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the successe of infidelitie, iniustice, and crueltie; have (not withstanding) planted af-

ter the same patterne.

True it is that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred cupp a-like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the indgements of GOD are for ever conchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long processe of time, and won to give his ble sing in one age, to that which he hath curfed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdome, if it be not great, vet is true and well grounded; will bee able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among those examples that are found in ages remoued farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare by euident proofe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwaies beene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne over some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a fingular and most remarkeable example of Gods instice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft, and crueltie, hee had disposeft, ouer-reacht, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne some Somes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fiftie others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearely beloued.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the Murder of that King, the isue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out; and that so often, and in such aboundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted ) died of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the I hird, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitious : yet in that hee afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the defire of his Brothers redemption, whome the Earle as then supposed to beeliving; (the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeed treason in him-selfe, had his Uncles intelligence beene true ) this I say made it manifest, that hee was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise;

though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and onsearchable judgement of GOD revenged, on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsailours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee aiwaies tooke him-felfe for ouer-wife, to bee taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought them-selues as great polititians in those daies, as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themfelues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King him-felfe ( who in regard of many deedes, unsworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee execused, as the disauowing him-selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents ) He was in the Prime of his youth deposed; and murdered by his Cofen-germane and wasfall, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry the fourth.

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This King, whose Ticle was weake, and his obtaining the Crowne trais terous: who brake Faith with the Lordes at his landing, procesting to intend only the recoverie of his proper Inheritance; brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore shat the deposed King Should live . After that he had enjoyed this Realme some fero yeares, and in that time had beene set opon on all sides by his Subjects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he law (if Soules immortall see and discerne any thinges after the bodies death) his Grand-thilde Henrie the first, and his Sonne the Prince, Suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused (o much blood to be powed out) transferred from his race; and by the Iffues of his Enemies worne and enioyed; Enemies, whom by his owne pra-Etise hee supposed, that he had left no lessa powerlesse, than the successi fion of the Kingdome questionlesse; by entailing the same opon his owne Issues by Parliamene. And out of doubtes humane reason could have judged no other wife, but that these cautious provisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and fignall coeffories of his Sonne Henry the fift, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despaire of al reconquest and recovery. I fay, that humane reason mighes so have judged: were not this passage of Casaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, enertendis dominationibus sufficit, que adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to have beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henrie the fixt, opon whom the great storme of his Grandfathers greenous faults fell, as it formerly had done ropon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward ; although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match hee might have defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he loft all that hee had in France) so as in condiscending to the conworthy death of his Vnckle of Glocester, the maine and strong pillar of the house of Lancaster; Hee drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest iount-losse & dishonor that euer it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his owne fpake of Henriethe Third of France, Q'uil estoit vne fort gentil. Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps, That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reign hap-

pened in a very vnfortunate season. It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practifers and contrivers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which other wife onder the Queen had bin absolute ; the Queene, in respect of her personal wound, spretæque iniuria

forma, because Gloucester dissonaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the successe to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew vp fo fast, as hee dared to dispute his right, both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yethis somethe Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoyled Henry the Father, and Edward, the Jone, both of their lines and Kingdomes. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That fies lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely sonne the Prince, were he wen in sunder: while the Crowne was fet on his head that did it. Shee lived to fee her selfe despoiled of her Estate, and of her moneables and lastly, her Father, by rendring up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of Fifty thousand crownes for her ransome, to become a starke beggar. And this was the end of that Sina: 1.19. Sina: 1.19. Sinacides calleth fine, but vnrighteous : for other fruit hath it never yeelded fince the world was.

And now casse ic to Edward the fourthsturne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster pererooted wpp: One onely Earle of Richmond excepted: whome also hee had once bought of the Duke of Britaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a plantation, as could any many promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King ( to omit more than many of his other cruelties ) beheld and allowed the flaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Haftings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that escaped the judgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which ( besides the execution of his brother of Clarence, for none other offence then hee him selfe had formed in his owne imagination ) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the fixt, his predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. Forthose Kings, which have fold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the

Market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the fame price. To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischeife of all that fore-went him : who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cumingly wpon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred : as hee

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easily allured them to condiscend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Matern Il v ncle and halfe brother, should (for the first ) bee sewered from him : secondly, hee wrought their confent to have them imprisoned, and lastly (for the avoyding of future inconvenience ) to have their heads (evered from their bodies. And having now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercilethat common precept, which the Deuill hath written on every post, rious wends namely, To depresse those whome they had grieved, and to destroy those whom sen: de dem. they had deprest; Hee orged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king him/elfe, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to he hammered into Buckinghams head, That, when sower the king, or his brother, should have able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuere revenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their uncle and brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Maisters sonnes was without suspect and yet the Diuell, who never dil wades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so hee did. But when hee found by Caresby, who founded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in councell: wherein having fayled with his (word; He fet the Hangman opon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing eise could move his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater judgement of GOD, than this wpon Haitings, I have never observed in any storie. For the selfe same due that the Earle Rivers, Grey, and others, were ( without triall of \_ Law, or offence given ) by Hastings advice executed at Pomfret : I fay Hallings him-felfe in the same daie, and (as Itakeit) in the same houre, in the same law lesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration per waded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, befides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grieuous vexations of minde, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered cop by his trustiest servant; He had his head sewered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what successe had Richard himselfe after all these mischefes and Murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand hee had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discerne it the great outcrie of innocent bloud, obtayning at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and disbonor, both to his friends and enemeis.

This cruell King, Henry the seauenth cut off; and was therein(no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS instice. Apoliticke Prince hee was

if ever there were any, and who by the ingine of his wildome, beat downe and ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee ware the crowne as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he ever left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies wayed his condertakings by his abillities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. Hee had well observed the proceedings of Loys the eleventh, whome hee followed in all that was royall or royal-like, but hee was farre more iust, and begun not their processes whome hee hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could never indure any mediation in rewarding his fervants, and therein exceeding wife, for what so ever him-selfe gave, hee him-selfe receiued backe the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so reddely as by benefits ) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in what so ever hee greeued his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for fuch actions. How-so-euer, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, sonne to George D. of Clarence, the was, as the successe also did, that he held somesohat of the errors of his Amesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did hee aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more defert gave hee aboundant flowres from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hiue? How many wives did hee cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed ? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whome our common Chronicles have kept the accompt did he execute? Yea, in his very deathbed, and when he was at the point to have given his accompt to GOD for the aboundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolke the Father; and executed the Earle of Surrey the sonne; the one; whose desernings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings service; the other, never having committed anything worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lese valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which hee heaped upon the Fatherlese, and widdowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprises abroade, wherein it \* thought that bee confumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings

Kings did in their severall Conquests: what causele se and cruell warres did he make upon his owne Nephero King lames the fift & What Lawes and Wills did he deuile, to establish this Kingdome in his owne is ues ? whing his barpest weapons to cut off, and cut do wne those branches, which sprang from the same roote that him-selfe did. And in the end (not withstanding these his (o many irreligious provisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his orone, without increase; though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these wordes of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, have beene verified upon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse: so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that bloud, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen whin the North, GOD bath diffused by the sunshine of his grace; from whence His Maiesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whome I may say it truely, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discerne in His life, even to this daie, any one of those foule (puts, by sphich the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes ( in effect ) have beene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent bloud on the foord of his justice, with which the most that fore-went him , have stayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truely be a wowed, That he hatbreceived it even from the hand of GOD, and hath stayed the time of putting it on , how soeuer he were prouoked to hasten it : That Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that fought to put him befide it. That Heerefused the assistance of Herenemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princesse did, That His Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right (et open; and into which, by a generall lone and Obedience, Hee was received. And how soever His Maiesties praceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes ( witnesse the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559 ) yet hee neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that reno woned Lady, his Pradeceffor; no, notwithstanding the intury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought wee to forget, or neglect our thankefulnesse to GOD for the coniting of the Northerne parts of Brittany to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were seuered but by small brookes and bancks, yet by reason of the long contine wed warre, and the cruelties exercifed phoneach other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly seuered. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maichty bath brought with him conto this Land: No, put all our petty greeuances together, and heap them op to their hight, they wil appeare but as a Mole-bil, compared with the Mountaine of this concord, And if all the Historiens fince Verdivel A.S.

then; have acknowledged the oniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse, (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from GOD, certainely the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former for by it, besides the sparing of our british bloud, heretofore and during the difference so often & aboundantly shed, the state of England is more assured; the Kingdom more inabled to recover her auntient bonor and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests: It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588, joyned the army which hee commanded with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his Maiefly at the same time declared himselfe against rus in the north: it is eafie to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur have bought this conion at a farre greater prife than it hath fince cost vs.

It is true, that there was never any Common weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world and not about it. They are not infinite to examine every mans cause, or to releiue every mans wanes . And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice ) His Maielly hath had more compassion of other mens necessiones, than of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said, as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Pineimment, Salomoni latitudinem Cordis : Which if other men doenot conderstand insal. 1. K. 4. with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it bee better spoken of His Maiesty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in Divine, as Humane conderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could fay much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vonskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to posterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely mindes, amost defective representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whome for that purpose I have inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, revengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that if the hone it Reader weigh them iustly, and with an even hand : and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man which hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King him selfe hath.

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Now as we have told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is every sphere the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the vesurpation. and connaturall cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward . in their Children for many generations : so dealt He with the sonnes of Loys Debonaire, the sonne of Charles the great, or Charlemain. For after suchtime as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eies of Bernard his Nephawithe some of Pepin , the eldest some of Charlemain, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his elder brother : there followed nothing but murders vponmurders, poylonings, imprisonments, and civil warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephero by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by aciuill death (hauing inclosed them with sure gard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monasterie) held him selfe secure from all opposition : Yet GOD raised up against him ( which hee suspected not ) his owne sonnes, to vexe him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with pohome (to satisfie their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and given them Crownesto weare, and Kingdomesto gouerne, during his ownelife. Yeahis eldeft some Lothaire (for hee had foure, three by his first wife. and one by his second; to witt, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That he had vsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephero ( whome hee might have delivered) to be flaine, co quod, faith the Text, fratri-sign Pefquine bus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit. Because hee vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffred his Nephew to be slain whom he might have delivered.

Yet did hee that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which hee performed in the Generall Assemblie of the States, it followes, Post hac autem palam se errasse confellus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodo/y exemplum, panitentiam Pafa, Widon spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam qua in Bernardum proprium nepotem gellerat. After this hee did openly confelle him-selfe to haucerred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodofius hee under-went voluntary penance as, well for his other offences, as forthat which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

This hee did : and it was praise-worthie. But the bloud that is vniustlyspilt, is not againe gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards. I solon a make a

This King, as I have faid, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest be gauethe Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemain, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second some he gave the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Buier : and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called ludith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this fecond wife, being a Mother-in law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his Some Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charles: which, after the death of his some Pepin, he prosequuted to effect, against his Grandchild bearing the same name. In the meane while, being inuaded by his sonne Loys

of Bauier, he dies for greife.

Debonaire dead : Loys of Bauier, and Charles afterwards called the bald, and their Nephero Pepin of Aquitaine, ioyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neare to Auxerre the most bloudy battaile that ever was stroken in France: in which, the maruelous losse of Nobility, and men of warre, gaue courage to the Saracens to inuade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall woon Almaine; and the Danes, to enter woon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth woon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebells against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eies of his some Carloman; Bauire inuades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothairequits the Empire, Hee is affailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Vncle oppresseth his Nephewes the somes of Lothaire, hee cosurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of Loys of Bauire his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of greife, and the V/urper Charles is poy/oned by Zedechias a lew his Phistian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman, they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is flaine by a wild Bore; the sonne of Bauiere had the same ill desting and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in (porting with his companions. Charles the grotle becomes Lord of all that the somes of Debonaire held in Germanie, where with not contented, hee inuades Charles the simple, but being for saken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his onderstanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron: Loys the some of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in Chafing a Wolfe, and of the two formes of this Loys, the one dies of poyfor, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of anotherrace, and a stranger to the French, makes him-selfe. King.

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These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparrelled iniuftice with authority, his somes and successours tooke op the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. The wretched successe they had, (sath a learned French-man ) the wes, què en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more medling, than either GOD, or Inflice had.

Butto come nearer home; it is certainethat Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fact) that ever the French-men had, did neuer enion him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were there-upon burnt, and murdered; men, weemen, and children. It is true, that the faid King Francis repented him-felfe of thefact, and gaue charge to Henry his sonne, to doe instice - vponthe Murderers; threatning his some with GODS indements, if hee neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him-felfe was flaine in sport by Montgomerie; we all may remember what became of his foure somes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings!, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not-with-standing their subtility, and breach of faith; with all their Masacres, rupon those of the religion, and great effusion of bloud; the Crowne was fet on his head, whome they all laboured to disolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were ; and hold to this day more strong cittles than euer they had.

Let vs now fee if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whome we wil looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowich of Moscouia, were but pettie ones : this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne bloud and Nobility which hee caused to bee slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Maister of Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whome he cutt in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say besides these, and the saughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonio Gomes, and the great commander of Castile; Hee made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cosen-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquerques, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes

de Toledo,

de Toledo, Guttiere bis great Treasurer, and all bis Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whome after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived fixteene yeares, and the other, four etcene; bee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly as he caused the Arch bishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to bee killed of purpose to enion their treasures: so did he put to death Maho-Hife. of Spaine met Aben Alhamar King of Barbarie, with feauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came onto him for succour, with a great summe of mony, to levy (by his favour) some companies of souldiers to return withall. Yea he would needs afift the Hangman with his wae hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Vrban declared h m an enemie both to GOD and Man. But what was his end? Having beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster : He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who disposses that this Children of their inheritance; sohich, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.

If wee can parallell any man with this King, it must bee Duke Iohn of Burnoigne: who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earle of gran Pre Hector of Chartres, and ( in effect \all the Officers of inflice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasurie, and Request, (with fixteene hundred others to accompany them) to bee suddenly and violently staine. Hereby, while hee hoped to governe, and to have mailtred France: Hee was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, French in unit. in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseties: and miserie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the feuenth, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first; and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatnesse. For this King did not content him-selfe to hold Arragon by the cosurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thererunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contrarie to faith, and the promise that bee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no meanes left for any army to inuade it. This King I fay, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick

Kings of Naples, Princes of bis owne bloud, and by double alliance tied onto him; fold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour runder Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shared their Kindgome with the French, whome afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politique King, who fold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make bis sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: law him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with child, with her pontimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married runto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugali, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A iust indgement of GOD repontherace of John, father to Alphonso, now sobolly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the flaughter of their children; but had formerly flaine, with his owne hand, the some and onely comforte of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Visco. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole; and died mad and deprined. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, Hee saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her with apply zeale shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Gallice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude : all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand have maisters of a new name; and, by a strange familie are gouerned and possest.

Charles the fift, sonne to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose paine enterprises wpon the French, wpon the Almans, and other Princes and States. To many multitudes of Christian Souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were\_ confumed: who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendome, to bee taken; was in concluhon chaced out of France, and in a fort out of Germany; and left to the French, Metz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; stole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to [wallow vp all those dominions, wherein hee concocted nothing faue his owne disgraces. And having, after the flaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in either: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred Nebel Hill. thousand Duckets by the yeare to his some Philip; from whom he very slow-1.7, fol. 313.

ly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Sonne againe King Philip the second not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland (wrested by his Ancestors from laqueline their lawfull Princesse) and to possesse in peace manie other Provinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischeiuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperor by the Nobility of these countries; not

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onely forgot the present, made him ropon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice most Hillo: of the Solemnly sworne to the Generall states, to maintaine and preserve their auncient rights, priviledges, and customes, which they had enjoyed conder their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constraine them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intollerable Impositions; He lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-selfe not onely an absolute Monarch over them, like onto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread runder his feete all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eafily obtained from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true cause of all the warre and bloudshed since then and after he had tried what hee could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobility, conder the government of his base fister Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinall Granuile; Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in those have yeares (that Alua gouerned ) of Gentlemen and others, eighteene thousand and fixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, befides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministery when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished endes, having it in his hope to worke that by subtlety, which he had failed to perfourme by force: Hee sent for gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But hee, whing the same papall advantage that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath whon the Holy Euangelists, to observe the treaty made with the generall states; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, therein garrifond. Towards whose Pay and Pasport, the Netherlands strained them-selues to make payment of fixe hundred thousand pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemeures: not doubting (being vnsuspected by the States) to have possess him-selfe of all the maistring places of those Provinces. For whatsoever hee ouertly pretended: Hee held in secret a contrary councell with the Secretarie Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practifed, and now againe intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this periurie, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. First for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of the Nobilitie; executed (as a foresaid) eighteene thousand fine hundred

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in fixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zurphen, Naerden, and other places : and after hee had confumed fixe and thirtie millions of treasure in sixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his maisters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriwell. For Don John, whose haughty conceipt of him selfe over-came the greatest difficulties; though his judgement were our-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealouse and distrust; with the continely death that seized him, even in the flowre of his youth. And for Escovedo his (harpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for bis Maister both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine eupon some new proiect, He was at the first arrivall, and before any accesse to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his ) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if wee consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memorie of man more remarkeable. For hee bath paid aboue an hundred Millions, and the lines of aboue foure bundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for revenue, didequalibis West Indies: for the loffe of a Nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despight of all his forces become free Estates, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first be: gan to impouer ish and oppresse them.

Oh by what plots, by what for swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisomments, tortures, poy sonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subteltie, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD vponthem selues, vpontheirs, and copon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to talle for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrarie to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselues; and the other neuer have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever beene made. GOD bath faid it and performed it ever : Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdome of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eies of the liuing the fal and fortunes of the dead feeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, wil stil obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times soe have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we bope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope , that there is nothing after them to bee hoped for.

For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or preswade our selves, that GOD hath given we letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so wee neither looke behind us what hath beene, nor before us what shall bee. It is true, that the quantitie which wee have, is of the body: wee are by it in med to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off and on learcheable: wee have lense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are also earthlie: and it is lese to bee wondred at, that the words of worthlese men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost wouchsafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esai cryed out long agone, Lord, who hath beleeved our reports? And out of doubt, as Efai complained then for him (elfe and others: so are they lesse beleened, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, bee in every mans mouth, yea in the discourse of every woman, who for the greatest num-Paulesofilm ber are but Idolls of vanitie: What is it other than an oniuer (all dissimuchieve, 10. lation? Wee professe that weeknow GOD: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitude doth not confift in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Devills know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinorum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to bee admired, and more to bee lamented, than the privat contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetual warre, masfacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof bath fo occupied the World, as it bath well neare driven the practife thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, befides the discourse & outward profession. the foule bath nothing but hypocrifie. Wee are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, divine vertues, in

> Philosophers Materia prima. Neither is it that wisdome, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world; it is enough that we give it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches cheifly; by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it.

> all the course of our lines wee renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play.

For Charitie, Iustice, and Truth, have but their being in termes, like the

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These indeed bee the markes, which (when wee have bent our consciences to the highest ) wee all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest aboundance, wee our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest; Hee that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told ous that this is the rule: When goods increase (laith Salomon) they also increase that eat them; and what good com- Failed 5.10. meth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that denour the rest, and follow ws in faire weather: they againe for sake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Dannet, and wile his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the fift, after the resign nation of his Estates, stayed at Vlushing for winde, to carrie him his last iournie into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embatladour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his feruants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended your him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest a sleepe the Emperour tooke vp the candle him-felfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the refiftance that Seldius could make. And when Hee was come to the staires foot, He said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when hee shalbe dead and gone, That Him, whome thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of fouldiors, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forfaken, yea euen of his owne domesticall servants. &c. 1 acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done unto them by all forts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their instice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applanse of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, poho without the knowledge of any true cause, please them-selues with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever beene applauded; the most vertuous (if conprosperous) have ever beene despised. For as Fortunes manrides the Horse, so Fortune her-seife rides the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and

Fortune from the Man; abase groome beates the one, and abitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall libertie.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whome wee leave behind rs. Certainly, of those which conceive that their foules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be faid of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shalbe once seperate from our more all bodies, and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ion of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other forrow for their pouertie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cotage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui etiam s. Ang decura eorum filij quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non interfunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the foules of those departed, are not conversant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of lob; who tells is, That wee know not if our fonnes shalbe honorable: neither shall wee vinderstand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confermeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquiereth him-selfe in vaine : hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (faith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all . for who can shew vnto man, what shalbe after him vnder the Ballo, S. et ... Sunne? Hee therefore accompted it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wife manshould enjoy the fruits thereof: which made mec ( saith bee) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD hathreserued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope; seeing the Prophet Esai confesfeth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Ifrael knowes vs not. But hereof wee are affured, that the long and darke night of death: ( of whose following day we shall never behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed over it ) shall cover vs over, till the world bee no more. After which, and when wee shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the feats of Angelicall affections: in so great admirations ball the soules of the bleffed bee exercifed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or leffe ion, nor any returne of foregone and mortall affection, towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whome whether wee shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any fort distinguish them: no man can affure rus; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a dinine life retaine any of those faculties, which the foule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so divide the loyes of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory

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of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; bee their estates greater than ever the World gave, wee shall (by the difference knowne onto rus \euen detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfore shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charitie, which we exercised living: and in that Pietie, Instice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the insinite mercy of GOD to accept of vs, and receive vs. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as connecessarie and vaine? certainlieno. For that infinite wildome of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath given greater and lesse light, and beautie, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the slie, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and enfigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death be-Sirac.40,v.18 fore Beggerie: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pittle; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods bee well gotten, and that wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodilie health; secondly, the forme and Plu. deleg. 1.2. beautie; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quæfitas : fo Hieremie cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and Iteras, 13. their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, Woe to those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wildome of Salomon, that hee commandethers, not to drinke the wine of vio-Proud 1822. lence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them vp aliue, 20,3789. whose riches wee couet: for such are the wages ( faith her ) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

And if wee could affoord our felues but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to line in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when wee were not, or by that time which is to come in which wee shall abide for euer: Is any, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing it is not our of any excellency of conderstanding, that wee so much prise the one, which hath (in effect ) no being: and so much neglect the other, which bath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our solues were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selves after the world were but mortall.

But let every man value his owne wisdome, as hee pleaseth. Let the

Rich m.:n thinke all fooles, that cannot equal his aboundance; the Reuen-

ger esteeme all negligent, that have not troden downe their opposites; the

Politician, all groffe, that cannot merchandize their faith: Tet when wee

once come in light of the Port of death, to which all winds drive vs; and when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can never be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end : Then it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those and and seuere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay vs to the ottermost for all the pleasing passages of our lines past. It is then that wee crie out to GOD for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others : and it is onely then, that wee are Aruckenthrough the foule with this terrible fentence, That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely bee saued: and that GOD spared not his Angells: where shall those appeare, who, having ferued their appetites all their lines, presume to thinke, that the seuere commandements of the All-powerfull GOD were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth os, if wee can but fashion it to the found of Mercy ( without any kinde of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reuerend Father, Cum hac spe ad eternos labores & bella descendunt : I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, that wee ended well: for wee all defire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him for givenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malitious breath? For what doe they other wife, that die this kinde of well dying, but say onto GOD as followeth? Wee befeech thee O GOD, that all the fallboods, for swearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing onto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes ( that have hadno leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though imposfible) and forget to bee a just GOD; that thou wilt love injuries and oppresions, call ambition wildome, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall prajudice my sonne (which I am resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to have beene uniust (which I am too proud to doe ) if I

deliver the of pressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out

a new GOD; or have made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One,

as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that

he feared or hated to be killed thee would take it from his head and killeit:

befeeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last,

which, (as at other times ) hee did , when by the practife of a Cardinall and a

falfified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnack to bee stabbed to

death ;mockeries indeed fit to be refed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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euer-living GOD. But of this composition are all the devout lovers of the world, that they feare all that is dweless and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beat but woon shadowes: they slatter and for sake the prosperous and comprosperous, be they friends or Kings: yeathey dive conder water, like Ducks, at every pebble slone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible indgements of the All-powerfull GOD: yeathey shew themselves gods against GOD, and shues towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest : If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whome wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whome we account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both to subject to interchange (witnesse the suddaine downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy oprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his bonour, of his riches, hearth, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell (faith Saint Iames ) what shalbe to morrow. Fama.14. To day he is set vp, and to morrow hee shall not bee found for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire sobich compasser haduer stie, be very obscure : yet therein wee better difcerne GOD, than in that shinning light which environeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vanitie which efcapeth our fight. And let aduer fitie seeme what it will; to happie men, ridiculous, who make them-selves merrie at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the crosse, greiuous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portion remainning are equall to either. For bee it that wee have lived many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee have reloyced; or bee it that wee baue measured the same length of daies, and therein have ever-more forrowed: yet looking backe from our prefent being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, sayled out of fight; and death, which doth pur fue vs and hold vs in chace, from our infancie, hath gathered it. Quicquid atatis retro eft, mors tenet : What-so-euer of our age is past, death holds it. So as whoso-euer hee bee, to whome Fortune hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truelie examine what it hath reserved, either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saved,

Gala.6.7.

that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what ever else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then unualuable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavie, secret, and sad highes. Hee Shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow up after our fust-(pringing youth; over-take it, when it is at a stand; and over-topit cutterly, when it beginnes to wither : in o much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captiue creature, hath as little sence of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what-fo-ever is cast behind ous, is inst nothing; and what is to come, deceiptfull hope hath it.. Omnia quæ euentura sunt, incerto iacent. Onely those few black Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owns price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memorie of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glorie.

For my felfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrewes of this life, are but of two forts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our selves, for our offences against bim; and confesse, Ettu iustus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou OLord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine to our selves against GOD: as if hee had done ws wrong, either in not giving vs worldly 200ds and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs , having had them ; forgetting that humble and iust acknowledgment of lob, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or rungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate bee, that the same is yet farre greater, than that which GOD oweth him : or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-ever his afflictions bee, that the same are yet farre lese, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wife man call the adversities of the world but tributa vivendi, the tributes of living: a wife Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolvedly. not as those whining souldiors doe, qui gementes sequentur imperatore.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue winto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger, a begger begging water of an Enemie,

to quench the great drought of death ; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day shaffoots stoole of Tamerlane ( both which parts Valerian had alfoplayd, beering taken by Sapores) that made Bellilarius play the most victorious Captaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why bould other men, who are but of the least wormes, complaine of sorongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater is but as the change of garments on the leffe. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes, prifethe passages of this world other wife (for faieb Petrarch, Magni ingenij est reuocare mentem a fenlibus ) it is by reason of that conhappie fantase of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto bee is subject: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversitie worke all that they porke. For feeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what seems Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnes in the shipporacke of worldly things, where all finkes but the Sorrow, to faue it. That were, as Seneca (aith, Fortuna fuccumbere, quod triftius elt omnifato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie,

But it is now time to found a retrait; and to defire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the picture of time pass which we call Historic) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the first divine.) Histories being nothing else hus a continuation of such examples) have personaded me to setch my beginning from the beginning of all things; so wit; Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almightie be loniare, and las it were linked together, that the one necessary implyes the other: Creation, inferring Providence: (for what Father for saket the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) Tet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldly miscome, have gone about to discove this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation & Providence, but granting that the world had a beginning; the Aristoclian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doltrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a work for Aristotles rotten ground to beare exp, spon which he bath so the produced the Defences of Fortresses of all his Verball Dostrine: Yet that the necessitie of inspire power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary even in the indegenent of Naturall reason, wherein hee beleeved, had not better insormed him; it is greatly to bee

margailed at. And it is no leffe strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seing Aristotle hath fayled in this maine point; and taught litle other than termes in the rest.) have so retrenche their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected them-selves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the fearch of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are condoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called ? Or that ipfi dixerunt, doth make them to bee such ? certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason bath built anything so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe : the same in every question of Nature, and finite power, may bee approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledg. For faith Charron in his Booke of wisdome, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite que l'autre, fi la railon n' on fait la difference; Euery humane propolition hath equall authoritie, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof hope shall the opright and conpartiall judgment of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdome, who without any judgment approue the inuention of those that fore-went them; and suffer them-selves, after the manner of Beafts, to beeled by them. By the advantage of which

> But for my selfe, I shall never bee perswaded, that GOD hath shut out all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines : or that it was ever said conto him, as conto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: that GOD hath given invention but to the Heathen; and that they onely have invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these bee the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheefe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Runnet doth coagulate her milke into a curde. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse dothit? whereby it dothit? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But

> man, to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason

flouth and dullnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant; as it

hath set true Philosophie, Phisick, and Divinity, in a Pillory; and written

ouer the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Vertus speci-

fica; and ouer the third, Ecclefia Romana.

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for the Graffe under his feete, why it should bee greenerather then red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himlelfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens them selues: Man ( faith Salomon) that can hardly differne the things that are upon the salomon, t.g. Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before ys; that hack so short a time in the world; as hee no sooner beginnes to learne. than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his onderstanding nothing trulie; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wifest of the Naturalists ( if Aristotle bee hee ) could never so much as define, but by the Action and effect, telling vs what it workes ( which all men know as well as hee ) but not what it is, which neither hee. nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my foule, faith lob. ) Man I fay, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD who (faith Iob) is so excellent as weeknowe him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Job. 26. Man kind had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the mothes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make him-selfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours have mainetained it; parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuicus opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or soone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Musaus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melitlus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cle-Laft, anthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisiteby gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus ) found in the necessitie of invincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniversall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnam esse consentiant : siue enim Natura, siue Ather, fine Ratio, fine mens, fine fatalis necessitas, fine dinina Lex; idem elle quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions ( saith Lastantius ) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same bee Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or divine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainely, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they some times bide them-selues for a while -under ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like

Lakes; dooks last finder and fall into the great Occan: so after all the searobes that humaine capacitie hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and cariositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power; all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

As for others, and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the World to these been eternall, and that God did not create the world ex nihilo, but ex material præxistente; the Supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mish videntur qui hoc discippe, cunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere. They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: infomuch as if God had nor sound this first matter by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Farber, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Pniversall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall; it thin follows, That either this supposed Matter did se is selfe to God; or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the sirst; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artiscer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion on of Matter which he lighted copon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and institutely wise: I would gladly learne bow it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than served or see use the forme of the Vnivarsalt. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to suise the worke of the World: Or had there beene more of this matter, than sufficed; then did God dissolve & annihilate what socure remained and was superstuois. And this must every easonable some confesse, that is it he same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same are and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, bee againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Againe, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of allother, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it selfe, nor anything else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nichil autém seiglum precedit, neg; seplum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth pracede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saine this matter to be eternall, must of necessitie confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie.

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nite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proves it.. For conclusion of this part; who fo ever will make choyce, rather to beleeve in eternall deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnesse of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whome the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which weekan comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) bath any thing warting in it selfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as mony worlds (if & b had beene GODS will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation; the porke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reasonit selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliver from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionyfius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhaber: and againe Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causaliter, or in better tearmes, non tamquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed op all of GOD. For the most parts of his workes ( faith Stracides ) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdome be opened, by the glorious work of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, I hat we feldome entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the all-

mighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for shole, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity, and yet not so salinage therein, as those are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) beet aken in the assirance; and the making, imposed evpon Naturall Agents and sinite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctour Aristotle hims selfe consessed, quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsum infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to bee infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainely, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur este princi-stua, and in plum, ac omnia complectia cregere: it is strange that this Philosopher, see, as soft with his followers, sould at there make choice out of fallbood, to conclude

truely bee said of them all, which him-selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Ma-

teria prima, That they are naither quid, quale, nor quantum, and there-

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fally; than out of truth, to resolue truely. For if wee compare the world I minersall, and all the commeasurable Orbes of Heaven; and those merueisous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Statres, with insuring infinitum: it may

fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite ( qui destruit omnem proportionem ) is no wonder in GODS power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the world coniuer all, but particulam Vniuer sitatis and infinitatis, aparcell of that which is the universalitie and the infinitie it selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to proue the worlds eternitie, rurgeth this Maxime, That, A futbrient and effectuall cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that, GOD being for ever a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also have beene for ever; to wit, the world vniversall. But what a strang mockerie is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, (to wit an almighty GOD) in bis Antecedent; and the same GOD to be aGOD restrained in his conclusion; to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet mable to make choyce of the time. when? For this were impiously to resolve of GOD, as of naturall neces. htie; which hath neither choice nor will nor onder standing; which can-

not but work matter being present; as fire, to burne things combustible.

Againe he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moved by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD ( (aith he ) is immouable, and is neither moved by him (elfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same doth alwaies worke. Whence he concludeth, if the morld were caused by GOD, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS perfourming in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answere, init selfe fufficient\_others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be faid to be eternall: which the Platonick's call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this fort distinguish the Idaa, and Creation in time. Spiritu. Mar. Fich. de, alis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita immori. Ani. æquali est Architecto; suit semper cum illo, eritque sumper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedir ian ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia fit femper futurus. That representative, or the intentionall world ((ay they) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was aqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer shalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from The Preface.

The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of the ethings we need not here stand to as gue: though such opinions bee not conworthy the propounding; in this consider ation, of an eternall and onchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded effence of the World (and because compounded, therefore distipable ) is continued, and knit to the Diuine Being, by an individuall and inseperable power, flowing from divine unitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodnesse and understanding divine, and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (faith hee ) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether; but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, due by the fame small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the mater, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall denie that euer it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was never heard, never read, never feene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any fort other-wife than they were; which had they beene subject to finall corruption, some change would have beene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneffe, and that they have not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive an wer by coniectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were groffely Arist. Met. 2. mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, s rab. 1.3. Beda were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes he it; neither is 2.2.700m were the Seas, under the Equinoctiall, nauigable. But weeknow by 1.9.9.102. experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with poople, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which were Navigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the world were burnt up, by the Sunnes violent heat.

euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come.

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine. That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two, or three ethousand yeares: that many things have beene digged out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have beene buried by the generall sloud; without any alteration either of substance or sigure, yea it is believed, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rocks, onder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementarie, and compounded, the eldelt times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Calesiall and quintessential bodies? And yet wee have reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in the leater Ages assist Nature, as here to-fore. We have neither Gyants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse evertue, which from the Heavens receive evertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse; wee might easily fetch store of proose; as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good aunswer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World were eternall; why not all thinges in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdome, but that every Nature had been a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternal beeing in the World? For if all were equall: why not equall conditions to all? why should beauenly bodies sine for ever; and the bodies of Menrotte and die?

Againe., who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire.: that the Sunne should travaile betweene the Tropick, and never exceed those boundes, nor faile to performe that Progresse one in every yeare. the Moone to live by borrowed light. the strift starres (according to common opinion) to be fashned like Nailes in a Carte-wheele.; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or is none of these had power over other: was is out of Charies and Love, that the Sunne by his perpetuall travaile within those two Circles, hath wished, given light cunto, and releived all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne have of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie. He may justly be called eternal charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be saide of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountains

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of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleiue againe in the old Play of the gods? Tea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hestodus dreampt of. But in steed of this mad follie, wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason descerne it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselues they have not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæillud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errours onto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition bee taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Calo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphyficks; I (ay that the best is but nominal, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who give the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they understand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But bee it what hee will, or bee it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all : yet that it hath choice or onder striding ( both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is wnans werable of Lactantius: Is autemfacit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can bee said to bee the door of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truely express by Ficia: in Ficinus. Potest vbique Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis Plat. materijs, diuersa facere: sublara vero mediorum materiarumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operati; it is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter beeing present. Now if Nature made choyee of duersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heaten and Earth; it had then both onderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; teason of sipole; vertue and knowledge to sinish; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had beene but one and the same: all of the

matter of Heauen, or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature
Lad, define this will, and this winderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur
Natura potius, quā Deus nominetut? Why should we then call such a cause
rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and give the
Lad, 1.1 de first and highest place to Divine power: Omnes homines notionem dec-

rum habent, omnelq; fummum locum diuino cuidam numini aflignant. And this I fay in flort; that it is a true\_effect of true reason in man (were there\_no authority more binding thin reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most jublime power. Vera Philosophia, est a scensus ab his quæ stuunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper cadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which slow,

and rife, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature . be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth, Vetlels of honor and dishonor. It is Nazure that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good onto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth alfo good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that bath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing init selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all thinges; in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it (elfe it existeth not. For Iball we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heawy things fall towards it Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therfore seeing all things work as they do, (call it by form, by Nature, or by what you please) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot refift; or by a faculty, in fused by the supremest power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder. I to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath ; doth yet work all things to their last and outtermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that sobich is granted by all Antiquity, and by al men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinit, and eternall, (which also necessity doth prove vonto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as eafily follow which have beene delivered by divine letters, as the waters of arunning River doe successively pursue each other from the first fountaines.

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This much I say it is, that Reasonit selfe hath taught vs: and this is tall 1404 selections the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia pracedit, Religio sequitur: quia rienus. prius est Deum scire, consequens colere, Sapience goes before, Religion followes: because it is first to know God, and then to worship bim. This Sapipience Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute line de dela good: and another, scientiam retum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (faith Isidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reafon and examples per soaded: fides nequaquam viextorquetur; fed ratione & exemplis fuadetur. I confesse it, That to inquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret indement, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione infaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it. For as it is no (hame nor dishonor (faith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpatter, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further : so what soeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, It acknowledgeth it to be so; as conderstanding it (elfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, finite or non to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Rea-secundum na fon and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus natu, non cohumanu mersi ) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how entil Arif. it was made, it cannot teach us : and feeing the fame Reason and Necessity poster. make vs know, that the same infinit power is every wher in the world; and yet how every where it canot informe os our beleefe hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I have beene already over long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weake and defective. Among the grofest, the vusuable division of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to inlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All menknow that there is no great Art in the deuiding evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it sutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake to much, and yet say little; Ipfi nobis furto subducimur, We are stollen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that. is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleeve as he doth ; that who so thinkes himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselues, to defend them from themselues, from selfe lone, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally

E 3

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I have onely taken counfaile from the Argument. For of the Allyrians, which after the downefull of Babel take up the first par , and were the first great Kings of the World, there came listle to the wiew of posservity: Jone few enterprises, greater in same than faith, of Ninus and Semiratuis excepted.

It was the flory of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that ouercame the confuming difesse of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures wee are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up bere and there in the same time. I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with Virg. I.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;
They appeare here and there floring in the great gulfe of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to \(\pi\); though most of the Authors Names, have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had dwerstip of Government; they had Kingly rule.; Nobilitie., Pollicie in warre; Navigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seing in a generall Historie weshould have left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly bee called a digression. True it is that I have also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge. I must east the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing wee digresse in all the wayes of our lives: yea seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better bee excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Historic, and of the Kindes.

The same hath beene sught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Six Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught we by the Prophets and Apossels; and every day preacht with order. But wee still make large digressions: yea the teachers themselses do not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians bid wrested the Empire from the Chaldwans, and had raised a great Monarchie, producing Astions of more importance than were essewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilest it so shorished, that the affaires of the nations adiogning had reference there—unto. The like observance was to be cused towards the sortiums of Greece, when they againe began to get ground upon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of

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Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who refifted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from ther severall beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them op. And berein I have followedthe best Geographers: who seldome give names to those small brookes, whereof many, loyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weake, and the Stile not every-where like it selfe: the first shewes their legitimation and true Parent; the second, will excuse it selfe ropon the Variety of Matter. For Virgill, who worte his Eclogues, gracili auena, evled stronger pipes when he sounded the warres of Aeneas. It may also bee layd to my charge that I we divers Hebrew words in my first bookes and else where: in which language others may thinke, and I my-selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus; others in lattaine Carecter in S. Senensis, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But fay I had beene beholding to neither, yet were it not to bee wondred at hauing had a eleven yeares leafure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other | tongue, how-fo-euer, I know that it will bee faid by many, That I might have beene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times; having beene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answere, that who so ever in writing a moderne Historie, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out bis teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. Hethat goes after her too farre off, looseth her fight, and loofeth him-felfe: and hee that walkes after her at a midle diftance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Basenesse. It is true . that I never travailed after mens opinions , when I might have made the best ruse of them: and I have now too few daies remayning, to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, doe yet, (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the grave. It is enough for me(being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet lyting, in their persons that are long fince dead; and haus it laid to my charge. But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainely if there be any, that finding themselues spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them over a new; they shall therein accuse themselves instly, and me fally.

#### The Preface.

For I protest before the Maiesty of GOD, That I malice no man onder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all : seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions; but that they seeme diverse persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so doe I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis sed tibi; or (as it hath fince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher , Satis est vnus , Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that mestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleased him to per've some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister from which all that is presented, hath received both blows of thanks. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicij, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduerfitie hath disarmed mee. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farre to fall: and for ryling againe, as in the Naturall privation their is no recession to habit; so is it seldome seene in the privation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promife a second and third volume (which I also intended) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with never fo many courteous phrases; yet shall we ever-more be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more congentle and concurteous Readers of my Louetowards them, and well-descruing of them, than ever I shall doe againe. For had it beene otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure, to have made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



# ONTENTS OF CHAPTERS, PARAGRAPHES.

AND SECTIONS, OF THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

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The beginning of the great Antiochus his reigne. Of Ptolemie Euergetes and Philopator, Kings of Agypt. Warre betweene Antiochus and Philopator. The rebellion of Molo; and Expedition of Antiochus against him. The recontinuance of Antiochus his Egyptian Warre: with the paffages betweene the two Kings: the victorie of Ptolemie; and peace concluded. Of Achaus and his rebellion; his greatneffe, and bis fall. Antiochus bis Expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Some-what of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

#### d. III.

The lewd reigne of Ptolemie Philopator in Egypt: with the tragicallend of his favourites, when hee was dead. Antiochus prepares to warre on the yong child Ptolemie Epiphanes, the fonne of Philopator. His irrefolution, in preparing for diuers wars at once. His voyage toward the Hellespont. He leekes to hold emitte with the Romans, who make friendly show to him ; intending nevertheleffe to have warre with him. His doings about the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

#### ð. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their warre with Philip : after which they quarrell with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence hee is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans. His flight unto the King An-

### of the fift Booke.

tiochus. The Æcolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achaans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denyed to Antiochus by the Romans.

#### ). V.

of the long warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. of M. Porcius Cato. Iniuries done by Mafaniffa to the Carthaginians ; that fue to the Romans for instice in vaine.

#### ø. V I.

The Etolians labour to pronoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to warre wpon the Romans; by whome they hold them (elucs wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achaa, The exact skill of Philopoemen in advantage of ground : whereby he viterly vanpanifeth Nabis. Antiochus being denyed peaceby the Romans, ioynes with the Æto-lians. The Ætolians surprise Demetrias; and, by killing Nabis their Consederates seise wpon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopoemen his per/wafions annexe themselves to the Achaans.

#### d. VII.

Antiochus, per [waded by Thoas the . E. tolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundrie passages betweene him, the Etolians, Chalcidians, and others. Hee winnes Chalcis, and therby the whole Ile of Eubcea. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadours, and the Etolians : with the civile answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achaans. That it concerned the Greeks to have defired peace, between the Romans and Antiochus: as the best assurance of their ownelibertie. Of Scipio's; and that beginning of faction a-many pettie Estates that fell to the King. Of mong the Roman Mobilitie.

Aminander: and an idle vanitie, bywhich King Philip was lost. Hannibal gines good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Theffalic. The King retires to Chalcis: where he marieth a your wife, and reuels away therest of the Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Consul, all forsake Antiochus. Hee with two thousand Etolians keepes the Streights of Thermopyla. He is beaten, and flies into Alia: leaving all in Greece unto the

#### d. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, haning wish him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. Hee graunts long Truce to the Atolians, that fo beemight at leifure paffe into Alia, Much troublefome bufineffe by Sea : and divers fights. An invalion wpon Eumenes his Kingdome; with the fiege of Pergamus, raifed by an handfull of the Achaans. L. Scipio the Confut comes into Afia: where Antiochus most earnestly desireth peace, and is denyed it. The bettaile of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus, being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what for the Romans of ed their wistorie. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph ouer Antiochus, is furnamed The Afiatique, as his brother was stiled The African.

#### d. IX.

The Etolians, and the Gallo-greekes. vanguished by the Roman Consuls Fuluius and Manlius Manlius hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged ( among other objections) with attepting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies: the books of Hermes: and that Inscription SIMONI DEO SAN. CTO. The ingratitude of Rome to the two

CHAP.

### The Jecond Macedonian Warre.

Me condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which wer Affociates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They deale infolently with the Achaans. The Macedo. nian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome by his fonne Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes iealows.

The death of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie : notwithstanding some examples which may seeme to proue the contrarie.

ò. III. Philip making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne (ubiects, His negotiation with the Bafarnæ. His crueltie. He (ufpecteth his fonne Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his bro-

ther Persons; and shortly after staine, by his fathers appointment. Philiprepenteth him of his fannes death, whom hee findeth to have beene innocent : and intending to revenge it on Perfeus, he diech. ò. IIII.

How the Baftarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaulour of Perseus in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romans and how they fuffered Malaniffa , cruelly to ofpreffethe Carthaginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtayned. The treason of Callicrates; whereby all Greece became more obnexious to Rome. than in former times. Further quarrelis to Perfeus. He feeks friendship of the Achaans, and is withflood by Callicrates. The Romans discouer their intent of warring wpon

How Eumenes King of Pergamus was bufed with Pharnaces, the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his Enemies the Rhodians ; with the causes therof, The unv fuall floutneffe of the Macedo.

nian Embaffadors. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly loue between Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus his denice to poilon some of the Roman Senators: whervpon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the iu-Stice of this warre.

The Romans folicit the Greekes to ioyne with them in the warre against Perseus. How the Greekes flood affected in that warre. The timoroufnes of Perfeus. Martius a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field; and winnes part of Theffalie. The forces of Licinius the Roman Conful:and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Theffalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had or might have had, but loft by his fear. Perfous

braues the Romans, fights with them knows not how to ve his victorie, fues for peace. and is denied it by the vanquished. Perfeus, hauing the worse in a skirmish, for sakes all the Countrie lying without Tempe. The Boeotians rebell against the Romans, and are rigoroully punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against Perseus. They vex the Greeks their friends; for whose eafe the Senate makes provision; having heard their complaints. The flattering Alaban-

Q. Martius the Roman Conful, with extreme difficultie & danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The Towne of Dium quitted by Martius, repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in bardestate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius fent Embassador to Marcius from the Achaans. Polybius his honest wife lome beneficiall to the Achaans. King Eumenes growes aver le from the Romans. Perfeus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria, whom hee drawes into the Roman war. He fends Embassadors to the Rhodians, who vainly take upon them to bee Arbitrators betweene Him

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and the Romans. Perseus loofeth a mightie fuccour of the Bastarna, by his wretched par-

of L. Æmylius Paulus, the Conful. His iournie. He forceth Perseus to discampe. He will not hazard battaile with any diladuantare. Of an Eclypfe of the Moone. Emylius his Superstition. The battaile of Pydna. Perfeus his flight. He for fakes his Kingdom: which haftily yeelds to Emylius. Perfeus at Samothrace. Hee yeelds bimfelfe to the Roman Admirall; and is fent prisoner to Æmylius.

Gentius King of the Illyrians , taken

by the Romans.

How the Romans behaued themselues in Greece and Macedon, after their victorie ouer Perfeus.

ð. XI.

Thewarre of Antiochus voon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors. ð. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prulias, Malanissa, and Cotys. The end of Perfeus and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Effates. The Triumphs of Paulus. Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the worke.





# THE FIRST PART OF

THE HISTORIE OF THE

World: Intreating Of The

Beginning, and first ages of the same, from the Creation vnto ABRAHAM,

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Снар. І.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

I.
 That the inuifible God is feene in his Creatures.



O D, whome the wifest men acknowledge to be a power vnessable, and vertue infinite, a light by abundant claritie inussible, an understanding which it selfe can onely comprehend, an essence eternall and spiritual, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie, was and is pleased to make himselfe knowneby the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and sustained) we behold the image of that glorie, which cannot be meassired, and withall that one, and yet vniuerfall nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heauen, we perceive a shadow of his divine counter.

nance, in his mercifull prouifion for all that lue, his manifold goodneffe: and laftly, in creating and making exiftent the world vniuerfall by the abfolute art of his ownered, his power and almightineffe, which power, light, vertue, wifedome, and goodneffe, being all but attributes of one fimple effence, and one God, weein all admire, and in part differnce per fixeulum resaturarum, that is, in the difpolition, order, and varietie of celefiall and terreftriall bodies: terreftriall, in their ftrange and manifold diuerfities; celefiall, in their beautic and magnitude; which in their continuall and con-

tra

trarie motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions their Almightie mouer.

Hugo luper Ec-Greg.in Mor. Herm, ad fil. Tat.1.5. Vmis & immanifeflus, omnia autem manifeftans, per omnia nibil apparitio quàm generatio Tohn 5.3.

1.Tim.6.16.

Origen, lib. 2.

σερί αρχών.

reop. c.4. Cal.

\$.2.9.12.art.11.

Hierar . Thom.

ter manifesta-

feiretur,& ille Deus omnium

effe crederetur

Rom c v Cufan.de gen.

dialog.

Rom.1.20.

A.Mont.Nat.

& alibi.

2,

In these more then wonderfull workes, God (faith Hugo) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects all that line wintesse in themselues; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable foules: for according to S. Gregorie, Omnis homo co ipfo quod rationalis condituse ft, ex ip-Sa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum effe colligere debet : Eucry man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him is God. This God all men behold (faith Iob ) which is according to the Fathers, Dominationem illius 10 conspicere in creaturis, to discerne him in his prouidence by his creatures. That God apparet, & in hath beene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding, grounded on these places of S. Iohn, and S. Paul, Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither have yee seene his shape. And againe, Whom neuer man faw, nor can fee. · And this I am fure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. Ju-

gustine, Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, idipsum guod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest, That nature, or that substance, or by whatlocuer name that is to be called which is God, what focuer that bee, the fame cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyrill, Chry (ostome, Grego- 20 rie Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregorie the Great, Euaristus, Alcuinus, Dio-Theolog. Hier in nifius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne word, Estiam.dug.l.2. and by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the understood lanae 17th.c.12.00 13. Greg. Magn. guage of the Almightie, vouchfated to all his creatures, whose Hicroglyphical Chara-Li8.mor. Euar. eters, are the vinnumbred Starres, the Sunne, and Moone, written on these large vo-Epift 1. Decret. lumes of the firmament: written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all Tring, 16, D. A. those liuing creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore faid that learned Cusanus, Mundus vninersus nihil alindest, quam Deus explicatus, The world vniuerfall is nothing else but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (faith St. Paul) are seene by creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. 30 Deus,qui natura Of all which there was no other cause preceding then his owne will, no other mat-ลิบาร์เมียน pof- ter then his owne power, no other workeman then his owne word, no other confidefet feiri, opus fe- ration then his owne infinite goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owneloue, so was it at length in the most wife order, by his vnchanged will mooued, by his high wifedome disposed, and by his almightie power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (faith Mirandula) wee ought to love God Ex fide, & ex effectibus, (that is) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: Negue enim qui cau-Ambin epil, ad fa caret, ex caufa & origine sciri, cognos cique potest, sed vel ex rerum, que facta sunt, queque fiunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo: For he 40 of whome there is no higher cause, cannot beeknowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (faith Montanus) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things. which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or elfe by the word of God himfelfe.

> That the wifeft of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have been ecreated by



His work, and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned 50 Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different mancrexprest, I meane all those who are entitled by S. Augustine, Summi Philosophi, Philosophers of highest judgement and vnderstanding. Mercurius Trismegislus calleth God, Principium universorum, The originall

of the vniuerfall: to whom he giueth also the attributes of Mens, natura, actus, necefsitus, fints, & renouatio. And wherein he truly, with St. Paul, casteth vpon God all power; confeshing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands : verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus. ZOROASTER (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) tooke the word fire to expresse God by (as in Deuteronomy Deut.4. 24. and in St. Paul it is vied) Omnia ex uno igne genita funt, All things (faith he) are can- Hebr. 12.19. sed or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkeable wordes are thus converted. Cum abscon- Orph. design. 10 diffet omnia IVPITER summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans louc. coritata & mirabilia : Of which I conceiue this sense; When great IVP ITER had hid. den all things in himselfe, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had forethought.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; Vnus Deus Pater Creator Jummus. Plato calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vinuersall, totius rerum natura, caufa, & origo Deus. But hercof more at large hereafter.

Now although the curiofity of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Dininity: (it being true that the Scrip-20 ture hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the Fathers with others excellently learned are my examples herein; so St. Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable to remember what sever he found agreable to the word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them, that know him not as in his Epiftle to Titus he citeth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander, and in the feuenteenth of the Alts, Aratus, Gr. for Truth (faith St. Ambrofe) by whomsocuer vttered, is of the holy Ghost; Verstas à quocang, dicatur , à spirita fancto est : and lastly let those kinde of men learne this rule, Que facris servicions, prophana non funt, IN othing is prophane that serueth to the wie of holy things.

> ð. III. Of the meaning of In Principio. Genef. I. I.

His visible world of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (faith Tertulian) tungs beganize to be ning, or first of all: in which the Hebrewes seeke some hidden my-strie, and which in the Iewes Targum is connected by the word Sapiene tia) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men to be the striet of blossoment: but only to creation then. For before

that beginning, there was neither primary matter to bee informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word beginning could not bee referred to all things, for must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (faith Lastantine) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dif-50 pose of things made: whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. Nam impossibile plura culan, demente effe infinita : quoniam alterum effet in altero finitum, There cannot be more infinites then lib. 3. one; for one of them would limit the other.

d. IIII.

mandra de in fermene facio.

#### d. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth. Genef. I. I.



He vniuerfall matter of the world (which Moyfes comprehendeth vnder the names of Heanen and Earth) is by divers diverly vnderstood: for there are that conceive, that by those wordes, was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetikes understand it, to which St. Augustine and 10 Ilidore seeme to achere. Fecisti mundum (faith St. Augustine) de mate-

ria informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, penè nullam rem : (that is) Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme : which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was

little other then nothing.

But this potentiall and imaginary materia prima cannot exist without forme. Peter Lombard, the Schoole-men, Beda, Lyranus, Comeflor, Toftatus and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding Beds.Hex.Stra- instant (faith Beds and Strabo) hee filled with Ingels. This Empyrean Heauen to Super Genes. Steuchius Eugubinus calleth Dinine claritie, and uncreated: an errour, for which he is sharply charged by Pererius, though (as I conceive) herather failed in the subsequent, 20 when he made it to be a place and the feate of Angels, and iust Soules, then in the former affirmation : for of the first, That God liucth in eternall light, it is written; Mr claritas dinina foule praife thou the Lord, that concreth himselfe with light: and in the Revelation. And non eff lux facta, the City hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to Shine in it : for the glory of God noncreata, sed did light it. And herein also Iohn Mercer vpon Genesis differeth not in opinion from Eugubinus: for as by heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the inuifible or Appr. 21.23.
Mercenin Gen, fupercelestiall, so in his judgement, because it was in all eternity the glorious scate of God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; Quem mundum supercalestem meo iudicio creari (faith Mercer) non erat necesse:

But as Moles forbare to speake of Angels, and of things inuifible, and incorporate, 20 for the weakenesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of £gypt, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiveable Vniuerfal; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or what soeuer else (not himselfe) was increate and eternal: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisedome of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can containe: How great is the house of God (faith Baruch) bow large is the place of his possessions; it is 40 Bar.3.24.35.

great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeasurable.

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, Heaven and Earth, was meant the folid matter and fubstance, aswell of all the Heauens, and Orbes Supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sine poffe fieri: Which matter (faith Caluin) was so called, quod totius mundi femen fuerit; Because it was the seede of the Vninersall, an opinion of ancient Philosophers long

Culan, in com-

Eug. (of. & de

Pfal. 104. 12.

50

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses underflood in the word Earth : and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.



O s E s first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his spirit beganne to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as Basil faith) preparare naturam aque ad facunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulnesse.

For ynder the word Heanen, was the matter of all heauenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of Earth and Waters, all was meant, what soeuer is vnder the Moone, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. They shall pe Pfal. 103.26. rifh (faith Dauid) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke saith Esay. Neither Esai. 11. 20 were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written. Let the waters under the hea- Gent. verf 9. uens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare: which proueth that the dry land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet diffinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the Earth, much leffe of the Vniuerfail. Initiotu Domine terram fundasti, Thou,O Lord, in the beginning half founded the Earth: and againe. The Earth was covered with the Deepe (meaning with waters) as with a gar- Pfal. 104.6. ment, faith David. And if by naturall arguments it may bee proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water; water, aire; aire, fire; and so on the contrary, Deus ignis sub- Zens. flantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into wa-30 ter. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie

of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. Calum verò er terra in slatu crea- Gul, Paris, 600, tionis remanserunt, quantum ad substantsam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis pollmodum superaddita est. And the word which the Hebrewes call Maim, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specificall water; but the farme more properly fignifieth liquor. For (according to Montanue) Eft anten 4. Mont, denne, Maim liquor ceminus, & huic nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurale numero aquas fecit. For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it call it in the Plural Aquas. 40 Waters.

This Maffe, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: And the earth Genes. 2. was voide: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did the earth budde forth the hearbe, which feedeth feede, & the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God faw that it was good; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused, nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. God faw that it was 50 good; that is, made perfect; for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. Es perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera, The workes of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lumpe of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their invention of Demogorgon: HESIODVS and ANAXAGORAS the knowledge of that Chaos, of which Ouid:

). V.

10

Quid.Metam. lib. 1.

Ante mare, & terras, & (quod tegit omnia) calum, Vnus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe, Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestag, moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide, In all the world one only face of nature did abide: Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and that this is not to be fearched curiously.



Fter the creation of Heauen and Earth, then voide and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The Seuenty Interpreters vie the word [aper-ferebatur, moued vpon or ouer: incubabat, or fauebat ((aith Hierome) out of Basil, and Basil out of a Syrian Doctor, Equidem non meam tibi , sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo ( faith Basil)

which wordes encubare or fourre importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a 20 speciall liking. Verbum translatum est ab auibus pullitiei sua incubantibus, quàmuis spirituali, & plane inenarrabili, non autèm corporali modo. The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a spirituall and unexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes convert it to this effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat, The Spirit of God did flutter : the Chaldwan Paraphraft in this sense, ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat, or as other vnderstand the Chaldwan, flabat, pellebat, removebat: the winde from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon, according to the 147. Pfalme. Ffal. 147.18. He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor exha-Ar. Mont. vt sup. lation: Arias Montanus in these wordes, Et spiritus Elohim Merachefet, idest, effica-

Efay 55.8.

Basil. Hexam.

Tunius.

citer motitans, confouens, ac agitans super factes gemini liquoru; The Spirit of God effe- 20 Etually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, Ar. Montadena- and the last passine and materiall, to wit, causa, which is the divine goodnesse, Ichi, tura, pag. 149. which is, fiat, sine erit, let it be, or it shall be. Que vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: which voice (faith he) was the first that was ottered by the word of God. The third Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, vis quedam dinina, agilis ac prasens per omnia pertingens, omnia complens, that is, a certaine dinine power, or strength enery where, actine and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he calleth Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; matter apt to become enery thing. For my selfe I am resolved (Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, See- 40 ing Godu in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot bee conceiued by any minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts (faith the Lord in E/ay) are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to St. Paul) past finding out. Orighteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, faith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation, or how else, the manner is only knowne to God, quemodo in omnibus sit

Aug. Tratt. 20. rebus, vel per effentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit ; For how God (faith 50 in loban. 17. 25. St. Augustine, speaking of his V biquitie) is in all things, either by effence, presence, or power, our under standing cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deam hominema, distaret, fi Latt.in Prefat, consilia, & dispositiones illius matestatis aterna, coeitatio assequeretur humana : There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans understanding could conceive the

CHAP.I.S.6. of the Historie of the World.

counsels and disposing of that eternal! Maiesty; and therefore to be ouer-curious in fearching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the world. or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diftinguilhing, gave forme to the matter of the Vniuerfall, is a labour and fearch like vnto his, who not contented with a knowneand fafe foord, will prefume to paffe ouer the greatest River in all parts, where hee is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one loose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enjoy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumfpectly: we warme our felues fafely, while wee stand neare the fire; but if we feeke to outface the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith be-

10 come blinde or burnt. But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedethall production, and all what focuer is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede bee truely called Principlum motus, and with Mirandula, vis cause efficientis, The force of the efficient cause, St. Augustine sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or breath, sub nomine spiritus, under the name of a spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura, for a created virtuality : Tertullian and Theodoret call it alfo a breath or winde: Mercurius nameth it Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, a pure or thinne intelligible spirit : ANAXAGORAS, mentem : Tostatus, voluntatem & mentem 20 Dei, The will and minde of God; which Mens, Plato in Timao, maketh animam mundi,

The foule of the world: and in his fixt Booke de Republica he calleth it the law of Heauen; in his Epiftles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as Cyprian wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saujour, Mens deficit, vox filet, o non meatantum, sedetiam Angelorum: My minde faileth, my voice is filent, and not mine only, but even the voice of Angels: fo may all men elfe fay in the vnderstanding, and vtterance of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (faith Nazianzenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and an other, by which he can, Sed con substantiale illi Nazian, lib. a, est quicquid eius est, & quicquid est, what souer attribute of him there is , and what souer Theat.

he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is. But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God,

which then formed and diftinguished, and which now sustaineth, and giveth continuance to the Vniuerfall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the fame is it, which maintayneth all things, faith SALOMON. If thou fend forth thy Spirit Wild capt. (faith DAVID) they are created: And GREGORIE, Deus suo prasentiali effe, dat omni- vers. 7. bus rebus esse, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being to all things , by being present with all things, So as, if he Should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away, and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all

40 things, Virgil hath exprest excellently.

Principio calum ac terras, campofá, liquentes, Lucentemá, globum Luna, Titaniaá, astra, Spiritus intus alit : totamá, infusa per artus, Mens agitat molem, & magno fe corpore mifcet.

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid mayne, The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian, A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse, A Minde, which through each part infus'd doth paile, Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce All this great body of the Vniuerfe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both diftinguished and adorned it. His Spirit bath garnifhed the heavens, faith 10b. So 10b 2.26, v. 13.

Virg. Entid.

then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtility of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to energynature, while it moued upon the waters, which were in one indigested lumpe, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten aire: an element, superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce: light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit Chrysoftome calletha vitall Operation, aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aque non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia ha- 10 buerint. He calleth it à vitall Operation giuen by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living creatures.

#### VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it : and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

Hefe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea : and this 20 light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and inftrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but, with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniting of the

Gen. 1.14.

difperfed light therein. This is proued by these wordes, Let there be lights in the firment, to separate the day from the night; which lights in the firmament of heaven were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a mozion instantly to follow, by which dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which fucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Suns crea- 30 tion, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fift verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the feas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beafts, plants, minerals, and mans body : fo may light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heaven. Howbeit neither the Sunne, nor any thing fenfible, is that light it Lux dicitur, que selfe, que causa est luci dorum, which is the cause that things are light some (though it make se, & omnia viit selfe and all things else visible) but a body most illightned, which illuminate th the fan. in Compend. Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greekes call Lether, the 49 sepand exactive place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light Auicenna calleth vehiculum & fomentum omnium caleflium virtutum, & impressionum: the conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all celeftiall vertues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. Ariflotle calleth light, a quality, inherent, or cleaning to a Diaphanous body, Lumen est qualitas inharens Diaphano: but this may be better auouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: Ficin, lib. de Lu- which heat (fay the Platonicks) abeunte lumine residet in subietto, the light being departed doth reside in the subject, as warmth in the aire, though the same be deprived of light. This light Plotinus and all the Academikes make incorporall, and so doth Mon- 50 TANVS, Chi nec duritia resistit, nec spatium : Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space

Ariflotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus, Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus, CHAP.I.S.7. of the Historie of the World. giue materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the

heaven to the earth, nor is it refifted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the folid body of glaffe, or other Cristalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by vncleane and vnpure earthy substances, lesse hard and more case to inuade then the former, the same is, Quod obstaculum natura terreum atg, fordidum, non capit candidam Plotin. luminis puritatem: Because an obstacle, by nature, earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure clear nelle of light: alluding to that most divine light, which onely shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly droffe, and humane vncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion: neither doe I maruaile to at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or latter Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselues therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed hereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. Thomas Aquinas (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of Beda, Hugo, Lom. bard, Lyranus, and others: so is his owne judgement herein; as weake as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more fubtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Dininity: of whome it may be truly faid, M ihil saptentie odiosius acumine nimio: Nothing u more odious to true wis dome. 20 then too acute fharpneffe. Neither hath the length of time, and the fearch of many lear-

ned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and deuoured) resoluted vs, whether this light be fubftantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they fay it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet enery day we see the aire illightened: incorporall it cannot be, because it is sensible : sensible it is, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed : others say (as Patricius) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Lucida corpora

30 Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then funt plans for either, or both must be one of these, Lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous nebris imperuis. or transparent; but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous Opaca sunt ple-(being neither light, nordarkeneffe, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and shining. Lucide Transparentia and thining obtayne their to being of the light, and therefore, if we derive this being few Diaphana and thining obtayne their fo being of the light, and therefore, if we derive this being few Diaphana of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against na- mine of tenebris: ture; and therefore he conclude that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, dienis & lumiand immediately of it felfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all permeanur.

Lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, lumen, (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is Scal, Subt. ex. 71. an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of heauen, or from any other light, is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentionall Species may be vnderstood by the example of a redde, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sunne through redde or greene glasse: for then wee perceive the same colour cast vpon any thing opposite; which reducise or other colour we call the intentional Species of the colour in that glaffe. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created be the fame, which the Sunne inholdeth and caffeth forth, or whether it had continuance 50 any longer, then till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God observed in the worke of Genel. i. the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for Mofes repeateth twife the maine parts of the vniuerfall; first, as they were vers. 12. created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heanens,

Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heauens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called, Arida, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: fo the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the fubstance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united and set in the sirmament of Heauen : for to Light created in the first day God gaue no proper place or fixation, and therefore the ef- 10 fects named by Anticipation, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedome of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might give light, heat, and ope-

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) beganne to budde forth the budde of the hearbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite enery part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generati-Symadmodum on, and to gine activity to the feedes of all natures: For as a King, which comman-20 Rev alpute 6th. deth fome goodly building to bee erected, doth accommodate the fame to that view and end, to which it was ordayned; fo it pleased God (saith Procopius) to command the light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approved, and approving it difposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future creatures.

Iob 38.24.

Herm.

But in that it pleased God to aske of IoB, by what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth; we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we eniog Eld. 2. c.6. 40, the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (faith EsdRAS.) And those which inhabite the heavens, doe only know the effence thereof. Nihil is notum in calo, nibil notum in terra, Mothing unknowne in heaven, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. 30 Res vera sunt in mundo inuisibili, in mundo visibili vmbra rerum: Things themselues are in the inuisible world, in the worldvisible but their shadowes; Surely if this light be not spirituall, yet it approcheth nearest vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for how socuer, it is of all things seen, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men and other creatures all celestiall influences; it diffipateth those sadde thoughts and forrowes, which the darkenesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse our eyes vnto heauen, that by the sight thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible meruailes, may continually trauaile to fur- 40 mount these perceived heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatu; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selse in things created. Et ipfa lux facit, vt cetera mundi membre digna fint laudibus, cum fuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet, It is the light, (laith St. AMBROSE) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty unto all : of which Ouid out of Orpheus :

Ficin.

Ouid, Met, 1,1.

Ille ego fum, qui longum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus, Mundi oculus.

The world discernes it selfe, while I the world behold By me the longest yeares, and other times are told, I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceived. Therefore was God called lux ipfa, and the light by Hermes named lux fancta, and Christ our Saujour faid to bee that light 1011. 1.9. 5 140 which lighteneth enery man that commeth into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incom- 46. prehenlible fublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits, nor a light, fuch as can be differred. Deus profe-Elò non mens est, at verò vt sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit. God (faith HERMES in POEMANDRO) certaine-10 ly is not a minde, but the cause, that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which enery (pirit is ; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the Masse and Chaos being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickned, and the Waters having now received Spirit and motion, refolued their thinner parts into aire, which God illightned the Earth also by being contignat, and mixt with waters (participating the same Gon, 1, 10. diuine vertue) brought forth the budde of the hearbe that feedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spi-20 rit) produced, and with motion begat the time, and times succeeding.

d. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters about the firmament: and whether there be any cristalline heaven, or any primum



> Fter that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created . God faid . Let there be a firmament in the middeft of the waters, andlet it separate the waters from the waters: that is, those waters which by rarifaction and enaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth

But these waters separate aboue this extension, which the Latine translation calleth firmamentum, for expansum (for so Vatablus, Pagninus, and Iunius turne it) are not the cristalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men, which opinion Basilius Magnus calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters aboue the firmament, are the waters in the aire aboue vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated 40 from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes Raquia, which Montanus writeth Raktagh, and Shamaym, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for aire, and more properly for the aire and ether then for the Heauens, as the best Hebricians understand them, quo suprema ac tenuia Mont. nat. bist. ab infimis crasses diducta interfectage distarent, for that whereby the supreme and thinne bo. foliss. dies were placed in distance being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters : and the waters about the firmament express in the word Maym, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vied for the aire, the Scriptures enery where witnesse, as in the bleffings of Toseph, and in the 104. Pfalme. \* By these springs shall the Gen. 49.25. 50 fowle of the heaven dwell; and 2 vpon Sodome and Gomorrha it rained brim slone and fire out Plat 104. 12. of the beauen; and in Isaacs bleffing to IACOB, God give thee therefore of the dew of cap.27.28. heaven; and in Deuteronomy the 11. But the land, whither you goe to posself et, is a land, Deut. 11, 11, that drinketh water of the raine of beauen; and in Ion, Who hath ingendred the frosts of 106 28, 29. beauen; and in St. MATTHEW, Behold the fowles of beauen, for they fow not. Man. 6.26.

Laftly,

50

Gen. \$1.4.

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heighth, as, Let vs build us a Tower, whose toppe may reach to heaven, &c. and in this very place Basil anoucheth that this appellation of heauen for the firmament, is but by way of similitude : his owne wordes be these, Et vocauit Deus sirmament um calum. Hec appellatio alij quidem proprie accommodatur, buic autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament heaven: This appellation (faith Basil) is properly applyed to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this (that is, to the Firmament deciding the waters) it is imposed by similitude: and if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of Moses 10 in the eighth Verse conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth, Verse makes it manifest: for in the eight Verse it is written, that God called the firmament, which deuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the firmament of Heauen, aire, in these wordes: And let the fowle flie wpon the earth in the open firmament of heaven: and what vse there should be of this icye, or cristalline, or waterie heaven, I conceine not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the Primum mobile would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the fwiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. Sed nemotenetur ad impossibilia, but no man ought to be held to impossibilities; and faith 20 it selfe (which surmounteth the heighth of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conducter the word of truth, which also may be called lumen omnia rationis, & intellectus, the light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first Moueable turneth it selfe so many hundreth thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not : but of these many heavens, let the Reader, that desireth satisfaction, search Orontius, and of this waterie Heauen, Basilius Magnus in his Hexam. fol. 40. 41. 60. and Matth Beroaldus his second Booke and fixt Chapter. For my selfe I am perswaded, that the waters called the waters about the heanens, are but the clowdes and waters ingendred in the vppermost aire.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads : The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing

O conclude, it may bee gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wife God in the Sod incomprehenfible when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehenfible when there was no other nature of all things: and in the first that this was the order of the most wise GoD in the beginning, and 40 three daies he diftinguished and gaue to every nature his proper forme;

the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of gravitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, deuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world : he set in the firmament of Housen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fifls, giving to all, that have life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to creatures vegetative and growing, their feedes 50 ad salating in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being : and the generations of the world are preserved.

CHAP.I.S.10.

That nature is no Principium perfe, nor forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance, how fecond causes should have any proportion with their effects.

Nd for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reft, according to Arifolde, the fame is nothing elfe, but the firength and faculty, which God hath infuled into euery creature, having no other felfe-ability, then a Clocke, after it is wound by by a motion and reft, according to Ariflotle, the same is nothing else, but the

mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vinto this facultie, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the sterne of a shippe, and finding it guided by the helme and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the pecce of wood, without all consideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the judgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all elfe, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke what soener they worke: Virtute primi aclus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt : for as the minde of man feeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the cares, and maketh choise by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hea-20 ring to the cares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giveth abilitie, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall organs, feuerall effects; all fecond causes what socuer being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Vniuerfall. For asit is Gods infinite power, and euery-where-prefence (compaffing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours; to vapours to be made cloudes; cloudes to contayne raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gave them, would become alto-30 gether filent, vertueleffe, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEVS; Per te viref- Natura chim;

cunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull greene. I enforce not these remota prosithings, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath given to his flate diams, creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his provius mibit eff. workes in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or hours is lightly sales in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or hours is lightly sales in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or hours is lightly sales in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or hours is lightly sales in the sa they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (faith Lastantius, speaking of the wisedome of the Philosophers)

40 si facultas inueniende veritatis huic studio subiaceret, aliquando esset innenta; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullamibi effe fapientiam, If in this fluaie (faith he) were meanes to finde out the truth, it had ere this beene found out : but feeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisedome there to be had. Il am si de una re pracisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum sei- cyprian de mesentia necessario haberetur, If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should tells. necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in nature, and the wayes of her working: fo were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first mat-50 ter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth fublift. And feeing

it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other fubstance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught; neither are these formes (saith alearned Authour) any thing, si ex ea exprimantur

ģ. X.

14

#### ð. X I.

Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.



Nd, as of Nature, fuch is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be fafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an incuitable necessity, and made it more generall, and vniuerfally powerfull then it is, by giving it dominion over the minde of man.

and ouer his will; of which Ouid and Iunenal.

Innen fat.7.101

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Scruss regna dabunt, captinis Fata triumphos,

Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile. Kingdomes to flaues, by Deftinie, To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Bafil, Efa. 4. Aug. de beref. 70. c.35. Tho.cont.Gent. 3. c.83. Ficin. in 12.de Lic.de fat.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharifees, Prifcillianists, the Bardilanists, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas have observed: 40 but, that Fate is an obedience of fecond causes to the first, was well conceived of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Piotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the fame being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrylippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessity, and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (quod de vnoquog, nostrûm fatus est Deus) and the definite lot of all living. And certainely it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne set: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Sommers, more hot and cold, are not fo vicertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keep one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to fprings, and foun-

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.I.S.II.

taines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the baself liuing creatures, why should wee robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for feeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisedome who is infinite, there can be wanting (cuen for euery starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery hearbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth bath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her dufly face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them; so were not those vicountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end,

to then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his divine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his just will to determine. Origen vpon this place of Genesis, Let there Gen. 150 belight in the firmament, &c. affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things what focuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisedome: which latter part I beleeue well, and this faying of Syracides withall. That there are Eccl, 42, 6.32. hidde yet greater things then thefe be, and we have feene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacitie of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and vttermost vertues of hearbs and plants, which our felues fow and fet, and which grow under our feete, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of cele-

20 stiall bodies: for hardly (faith SALOMON) can we different the things that are upon the wift, 16, earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuestigate the things that are in heauen? Multum est de rebus calestibus aliquid cognoscere: Aistote, It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destinie, so on the contrary we doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then fure the impious excuse of some were instifiable; of whom St. A VG VS TINE. Impia peruersitate in ma Aug. 20, Super

20 lis factis recti simè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem (yderum, quam Gen. ad ii. commissionem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of eaill deedes, they againe with wicked peruer seneffe urge, that rather the Authour and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the enill is to be accused.

But that the Starres and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the fensitiue appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora calestia (faith DAMASCENE) constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in vs habits, complexions, and dispositions: for the body (though Galen inforce it further) hath vindoubtedly a Gal. l.mor.an. kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in hu- sequence 40 mour, and mindes weake in vertues: for those of cholericke complexion are subject

to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they fuffer themselues to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vaffailes, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am resolued: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celeftiall bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods prouidence) haucabfolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beafts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so who so ever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pictic prepared, putteth himselfe altogether under the power 50 of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris : Fate will be o Quint.

uercome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect, it conquereth. But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is abfurd to thinke, other then as aforefaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & Aug de cinit.

CHAP.I.S.12.

though all learned men haue.

term. 3.

Hor.lib.4.0.1.

ad vitam ipfam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit : The light of the Sunne (faith Saint AVCVSTINE) helpeth the generation of Sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourifieth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway (faith St. Ambrofe.) And St. Avgvstine : Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; Godruleth the bodies below by those abone, but he anoucheth not that superiour bodies have rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.

But howfoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and Ariflotle himselfe confesseth, that the heavens doe not alwaies worke their of- 10 fects in inferiour bodies, no more then the fignes of raine and wind doc alwaies come to passe. And it is divers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. Est in Inuencis patrum virtus; In the young offforing the fathers vertue is, and so the contrary, patrum vitia: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vitious men, to vertue.

#### Egregia est soboles, seclerato nata parente.

A worthy fonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods referued power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world fo wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew, and reforme them; nor any fo well disposed, whom (the raines being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will ener retaine a sauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the fweet fauour of vertue first received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and casily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline 30 the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vitious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the feedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe nature and kinde could have yeelded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselues into weedes, by being set in a soile sutable, and like themselves, are made more vnsauoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adiuuabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam; Awise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the foile. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omnta fa- 40 pientis medici dominabuntur astris , A wife man , and the ominous art of wife Phylitian shall prevaile against the starres. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the flarres, as he did the rest of the Vniuersall, whose influences may be called his reserued and vnwritten lawes. But let vs confider how they binde: euen as the lawes of mendoe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their lawes decreed, that a theefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances are daylie by Judges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to fuch a feuere execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to judgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But feeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe fometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselues, it were then impious to take that power and libertic from God himselfe,

which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Sauiour taught. And let us not be leade un- Matt.6. :3. to temptation, but deliver vs from evill, had beene no other but an expense of wordes and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath affured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation fo forcible, which our humble prayers and delires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder : for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destinie, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himfelfe should in a kinde haue shut vp himfelse therein. 10 How milerable then were the condition of men (faith St. AVGVSTINE) left altogether

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleeueth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginarie Gods of the other would thereby be despoiled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainely, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christhimselfe claimed at the hands of the Father (I have finished the works which thou 100,18.4. gauest me to doe.) And the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the forrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vinust, as to bind 20 vs incuitably to the destinies, or influences of the Starres, or subject our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of Plotinus, that the starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due; and therefore as I doe not confent with those, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertueleffe : fo I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and absolute power and prouidence, to ascribe to them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it felfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. Lumen est Pl. pol. 6. umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis, Light is the Dadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the Ficin. in 1.7. pol 30 light of light. But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Proui-

#### à. XII. Of Prescience.

dence, Prescience, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinke it not imperti-

nent to touch the difference in a word or two, for every man hath not observed it,

Rescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the
Latines *precognitio*, or *prescientis*) considered in order and nature (if
we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For what soeuer our selves fore-know, except the same be to fucceede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding : neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rife, and fet; that all men borne in the world shall die againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Sommer and 50 Haruest, and that according to the seucrall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seucrals forts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or constraine the Sunne to rife and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselues) are otherwise manifest and knowneto all. The eye of man (faith BOETIVS) beholdeth those things subject to

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sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is a horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our feeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their Boëiius de cofol. owne natures. And againe out of the same Authour. Dinina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quià si omnia euentrent ex necessitate, pramia bonorum, & pana malorum periret, Divine providence (faith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of eaill.

#### d. XIII.

#### Of Providences

Ow Providence (which the Greekes call Pronois) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-feeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not : and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (faith St. Augustine) is deui-

ded into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for prouident, 20 as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times fucceeding. That fuch a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures energywhere teach vs. Moles in many places, the Prophets in their prædictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles affure vs hereof; and, belides the Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the Turks themselves are so consident therein, as they refuse not to accompanie and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shunne any perill whatsocuer, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouing Prouidence, are so many, both in generall and 30 particular, as I shall neede to repeate but a few of them in this place. Sing vato Ged (faith DAVID) which couereth the heavens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth. and maketh the graffe to grow upon the mountaines, which giveth to beasts their foode, and feedeth the young Rauen that cries: all these waite upon thee, that thou maiest give them foode in due feafun. And thou halt drinke of the river Cheareth (faith God to ELIAH) and I have commanded the Rauens to feede thee there. Behold the Fowles of the aire, they fow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : againe, are not two farrowes fold for a farthing? and one of them Shall not fall on the ground without your Father : yea all the haires of your head are numbred. And St. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you; Andhis indgements are written (faith DAVID.)

God therefore, who is every where present, who filleth the heavens and the earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was therefore by Orpheus called oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne word. Gloriam meam alteri non dabo : I will not give my glorie to another. No man commandeth in the Kings presence; but by the Kings direction; but God is eucry where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuerfall providence is seene in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beafts and birds and all liuings for their young ones. If prouidence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuerfall: and if there 50 be a natural llouing care in men, and beafts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniverfall. Amor diuinus rerum omnium est principium, o vinculum universi (faith PLATO.) Anor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumý, etus immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuerle

CHAP.I.S.14.15. of the Historie of the World.

wniuer a machine fundamentum, The love of God is the perpetual knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoueable piller of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the universall. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely 10h.ep 1.c.4.2.8 prouide for all, and fustaine all; so as to absolute power; to every-where presence; God is love. to perfect goodnesse; to pure and dinine loue; this attribute and transcendent habilitie of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

### d. XIIII. Of Predestination.

Ow for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience only fore-seeth: Prouidence fore-feeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of heauen, to the vinworthiest wormes Rom. 8.6.9. of the earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is

only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their faluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Lomb Lt. dill. 39 20 Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, diff 23. and for a preparation to felicitie: divers of the Fathers take it more largely fomtimes: Bern in Probl.de among whom St. Augustine speaking of two Citties, and two societies, vseth these P. d. wordes, Quarum est una, qua pradestinata est in aternum reguare cum Deo, altera ater- Aug.l.15.c.1 de num supplicium subire cum Diabolo, Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to raigne for Ciuil. Dei. euer with God, but the other is to undergoe euerlasting tor ment with the Deuill : for according to Nonivs Marcellus, destinate of preparare; and of the same opinion calincopo.ad are many Protestant writers, as Calain, Beza, Buchanus, Danaus, and such like: and as Romouti. for the manifold questions hereof ariling, I leaue them to the Divines; and why it not. in cap. 9. ad hath pleafed God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will Rom. 30 answere with Gregorie, who saith, Qui in factis Deirationem non videt, insirmitatem Salut. fuam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt: He that seeth no reason in the actions of Greg. Magn. God, by consideration of bis owne infirmitie perceiveth the reason of bis blindnesse. And a- Job 9. gaine with St. Av GVSTINE, Occulta effe causa potest, iniusta effe non potest: Hidden ep. 59.

#### ð. X V.

the cause of his Predestination may be, uniust it cannot be.

#### Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against reason and Prouidence.

Aftly, feeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequent to Gods providence, and seeing that the Starres have no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, Decartem, vel ar-Attificiofum Dei Organum, The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and Cvsanvs, Divini precepti instrumentum, The instrument of the divine precept, we may then with better reason reject that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of sooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all o-30 ther, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Paulanias witneffeth in his Meffeniacks. The Greekes call her wxw fignifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard off; and Hefiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfait Gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward thee grew fo great and omnipotent, as from sener sr.

Ejai.42.3.

Tfal.147.8.

P(al.104.27.

1.Rcg.17.4.

Luke 12.6.

7. 1.Pct.5.7.

Pfal.36.6.

Jerem.23.24.

Kings and Kingdomes, to beggers and cottages, shee ordered all things, resisting the wisedome of the wisest, by making the possession thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, insomuch as the actions of men were faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening Aux vitl deper- in mens lives, but her pastimes; of which PALLADIVS, Vita hominum ludus fortune tinace. Sen ch.74 eft, The life of man is the play of Fortune; and because it often falleth out, that enterorcetes in the prifes guided by ill counfels have equall fuccesse to those by the best judgement congrearandoften ducted, therefore had Fortune the fame externall figure with Sapience: whereof changes of his Atheneus.

to have yied to crie out vpon Fortune, applying to her a Verse of Aschylvs. Tu me extulifit, eadem me is (sentio) 10

Longisime à Sapientia Fors desidet, Sed multa perficit tamen simillima.

From wisedome Fortune differs farre, And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not bee 20 giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: Wibil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non pracesserit, N othing euer came to passe under the Sunne, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one diffinction, what socuer may be objected; for many things there are ( faith he) which happen besides the intention of the inseriour, but not besides the intention of the superiour: Prater intentionem inferioris, sed non prater intentionem superioris, (to Teficimus For- Wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (faith MELANCHTON) Qued Poete fortima Deam, ca- tunam, nos Deum appellamus, Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of murder. He that 20

Exod, 21,12.13. Smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but G od hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now where the Scripture hath these wordes, God hath offered him into his bands, we say, if

he hurt him by Chance, and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the flipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby an other is flaine, was the worke of God himfelte. we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune; and in the Properbs the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord : fo as that which feemeth most casuall and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opi- 40 nion of Ariftotle and his fectators, with those of Plato, and the Academikes to this effect, That the same power which they called animam mundi, the soule of the world, was no other then that incomprehenfible wisedome, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning enery being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which wisedome and Gie, as questi. Li. power they sometime gaue the title of necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by incui-

peare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh St. Augustine in his questions vpon Genefis the first Booke: the fame hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits; which Smee.1.4. e.7. was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which secther was: For what some (faith hee) thou callest God, be st N ature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced 50 by divers termes, according as he veeth, and exerciseth his power diversly.

table ordinance: fometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there ap-

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chaunce were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successes, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.I.S.15.

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honour are given to externall men, and without kernell; and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected citates. In a word there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, belide the partialitie of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our sclues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue, for whosoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I fay fuch an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a diffembler, shall euermore hang under the wheele, which kinde 10 of deseruing well and receiving ill, wee alwaies fallly charge. Fortune withall. For who focuer shall tell any great man or Magistrate, that he is not just, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counseller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successour, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tide of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by fuch an observant slauish course? These men ha-20 uing nothing else to value themselues by, but a counterfait kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are vertues, and all their dustie actions cristalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, Omnis insipiens arrogantia of plausibus capitur, Euery foole is wonne with his owne pride and others flattering applance: fo as who focuer will live altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all forts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend 30 in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for fuch a one is often the authour of his owne miferie, but best it were to follow the aduise, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heresie raged:

### Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

Quid yem.am.

While furie gallops on the way, Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judge-40 ment) had followed the counfaile of his brother QVINTVS, Potuiffet (faith PE-TRARCH) in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadauere sepeliri, He might then have died the death of nature; and beene with an untorne and undiffeuered body buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth : Quid stultius quam desperantem ( prasertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari, what more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endleffe contentions? Who so ener therefore will set before him Machiauels two markes to shoote at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake wooden bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for ashe, that first deuised to adde sailes to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might 50 abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his failes, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his failes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a flow and fure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free effate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and

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the rest, or of whatsoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with St. Paul, who hath 1. cor.c. 8. v. 6. taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and Cap. 12. vers. 6. one Lord, lefus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

### CHAP. II.

### Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created,

Gen.1.26.

de volunt. Dei.

Plat.leg. l.1.



HE creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, God faid, Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, ingens miraculum homo, man is the greateft wonder (faith Plato out of MERCVRIVS:) 2V atura ardentissima artificium, The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Zoroafter) though the fame be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but 30 in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature,

qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an effence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Santum, quie pars putier immortalis, animal, quia in In locum Ouid. Mct.l.1.76.

Sanctius his animal mentify, capacius altæ Deerat adhuc : & quod dominari in cetera posset, Natus homo est.

More holy then the rest, and understanding more A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before, So man beganne to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceine, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and dominion, as St. Chrysoftome, Ambrose, and some others: which St. Ambrose denyeth to the woman in these wordes, Vt ficut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodò ex Deo vno omnia, ità ex vno homine omne genus effet super faciem totius terra: Vnus igitur vnum fecit, qui 50 unitatus eius haberet imaginem, That as Godis one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should have the Image of his vnitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.2. S.I.

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fame Verse, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written Dominamini in the plurall number, and let them rule ouer the fifth of the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is faid to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soulconly, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inussible, as God is immortall and incorporall, so is the foule of manimmortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in every part of the body : Animaest tota in tote, & tota in qualibet parte , The soule is wholly in the whole bo-10 dy, and wholly in every part thereof, according to Ariflotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Ariflotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the Iewes make (faith Toftatus ) and these resemblances, betweene the infi-

nite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde : fo in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Si-20 militude divers; and againe, they diftinguish betweene imaginem Dei, and ad imaginem Dei, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse, and sinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth through and diffolueth the pureft gold. Victorinux also maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude : sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratinum, A word-declaring qualitie in the substance. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ : so the sinnefull soule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it bath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. St. Augustine also against Adimantus the Manichee affirmeth, that by finne, the perfection of this image is loft in man, and 30 in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But how soeuer the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or what soeuer the Fathers conceive, fure I am that St. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which Vi-Horinus doth of the similitude, who saith: As we have borne the image of the earthly, 1,cor, 15,490 fo shall we beare the image of the heavenly; and it cannot be egathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and similitude were yied but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; what soeuer Lombard hath said to the contrarie. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Apolles, euercon-40 ceiued. Now as St. Paul vieth the word (image) for both: fo St. Iames vieth the word

(fimilitude) for both in these wordes. Therewith bleffe wee God even the Father, and 7am.3.9. therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God: How soever therefore St. Augustine seemeth, out of a kinde of elegancie in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, Confitemur imaginem in aternitate, similitudinem in mori- y: fund, bus inveniri, we confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainely. Quasi verò possit esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si Aug. ve sup. enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est, As if (faith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not : no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no 50 image. The verie wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as Let vs make man

in our image, according to our likeneffe: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may bee like vs; and in the next Verse following God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vieth the word (image) only, as thus. God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him. And to take away all dispute or ambiguitie, in the

Verf. 10.

In Gen.

24.

first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as in the day that God created A D A M, in the likeneffe of God made he him. And this similitude S. Paul Colof. the third, calleth the image. Put on (faith he) the rew man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in Stragides it is written, he made them according to his image. Now if we may believe S. Paul before Peter Lombard and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the words directly in one fenfe. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the

Rom.1.23. image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both 10 Zanchide op. Dei in body and minde: Nulla pars in homine qua non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps. No part in a man (laith he) which was not participating Gods image : for God (aid, Let vs make man according to our owne image. But the foule alone is not man, but the Hypoflasis or whole man compounded of body and foule. The body of man (faith he) is the Image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needes be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection seemeth to me fufficient, where he alleageth, that it may be faid that Mofes spake by the figure Synedoche, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall. but the body only: fo when God faid, Let vs make man after our image, hee meant 20 the foule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert (faith S. AVGVSTINE,) Curfed is he that referreth the Deitie of Godto the lineaments of mans body. Deus enim non est humana forma particeps, neque corpus humanum divine (faith PHILO,) God is not partaker of humane forme, nor human: body of the forme divine: The Hebrew word for image is Tfelem, which fignifieth a thadow or obscure resemblance: In imagine pertransit homo, Man passeth away in a Ibadow: Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word; an errour of the Anthropomorphite, against the very essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding then 30 these grosse Heretikes : ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam sigura, The vertue which is in man (faith he) came nearer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God : God is mercifull : God is charitie it felfe, and (in a word) goodneffe it felfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs. and to make vs know of himfelfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of fuch a nature, or wherein can man be faid to refemble his vnex cogitable power and perfectnesse? certainely, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall 40 foule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils Platin Cratyl. are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called Damones, because fcientes of Knowledge, and fubtility; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who have rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vileft beafts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne Of originate Luft. the opinion of St. Chryfoftome and Ambrofe, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some fort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as

make man a ruler and Gouernour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen 50

(or of the aire) and ouer the Beafts of the field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion

ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equi-

tic. Neither doe I exclude reason, as it is the abilitie of understanding. For I doe not

conceine, that Ireneus did therefore call man, the image of God, because hee was

Eph.6.12.

it ought to bee, that is, accompanied with inflice and pietie: for God did not only

animal rationale only; but that he understood it better, with SYBILLA: Image mea ell homo, rectam rationem habens, Man, that is endued with right reason, is faid to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the fame God to ferue, loue, and obey : and therefore faid St. Augustine (who herein came nearer the truth) fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente, God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne image and similitude; and REYNERIUS; Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made Reyndement, after the image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

ò. I I.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the image. of God: and that this image is much deformed by

CHAP.2. \$.2.

Vt Mens is not taken here for anima physica, according to Aristotle, which is forms, vol. natura hominis, The forms or nature of man, but this facultie or gift of God, called Mens, is taken for prima via animi, she principall firmgth of the minde, or follow, cuits active of perpetual ventation contemplatios whose aid, exercise, or office, u the perpetual contemplation

of truth; and therefore it is also called intellectus dininus, intellectus contemplatious, & Pamander anima contemplatina, A dinine understanding, and an intellect or minde contemplatine. Est autem mens nostra (faith CvsANvs) vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex om- Demente. nibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power Idiotal. 3. of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension : vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompanie his wordes) that he effecmeth it to be the very effence of God (which was also the errour of the Manichees and others) and no otherwise separate from God (faith he) then the light from the Sunne : for this Mens or vnderstanding (faith 20 Mercurius) eft Deus in bominibus, Is Godin men, or rather (and which I take to be his sen. Ep. 65. f. meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same effence or \$31.f. nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; fo is this Mens or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and facultie of our foules the pureft; or the lumen anima rationalis. by

the true and eternall light illightned. And this Mens others call animam anima, The foule of the foule, or with St. Augustine, the eye of the foule, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge, que amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur, which followeth after the lone of fapience as her quide (faith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the minde, called anima, betweene which and that power which the La-40 tines call animas, there is this difference. Reason is that facultic by which we judge and discourse; Anima, by which we live. Hereofit is said, Anima corpus animat, id eft, vinificat; anima, or the foule to that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (faith Phile) which God the great directour hath in the world, the fame hath this Anima, or mind, or foule in man. Animus, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Bafil agreeth, which calleth this Mens, or divine understanding, perspicacem anime partens, the perceiuin a part of the minde, or the light, by which the Soule discerneth : dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, In men that fleepe it is this (mens) or understanding, and not the minde or soule, which resteth, 50 during which time it is but habituall in wife men, and in madde men this (mens) is extinguified, and not the Soule: for madde men doe live, though distract.

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abufinely to madde men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken understanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

Lib.g.cap.5.

or that minde: and fometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honest minde, or, a man of a just minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my minds fake; and Ariffole sometimes wieth this word (mens) for the phantalic, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper fignification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending upon matter, but hauing relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object : or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth understand, not depending uppon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and 10 apt to be diffeuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently Mercurius: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praes, mens anima, anima corpori, The Soule (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or understanding is the image of God. God is Presdent or ruler ouer this understanding, this understanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ower the body. This division and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leaue to the Reader to judge of. That Mens humana hath no neede of any organ, Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth booke of the Soules immortalitie laboureth to proue. Zanch. de oper. Zanchius doth not differ from Ficinus in wordes, for (faith he) ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquàm medio, per quod intelligat, quanquàm 20 eget obiecto in quod intucatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat : hoc autem obiectum funt phantasmata, seù rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata, To exercise the facultie of understanding, the minde of man (faith he) needeth no instrument, as a me ane, by which it may understand : but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasmes, or the resemblances of things received from the fense, and carried to the phantasie : But in effect his conclusion feemeth to carry a contrarie fense, when he maketh the Phantalie, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporall Organum; neither can it be understood to be an Organum of any thing; but of the vnderstanding. And hee addeth that the refemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding and minde, as 36 colours are to the fight: whence it to followeth, that the imagination or phantalie it felfe is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of seeing, and as this is an Organum: fo that. Of this question, How the Minde in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to Pag. 185. 5 fe. a most grave and learned discourse in the last Replie of Mr. Dr. Bilson, now Bishop of Winchester, vnto Henrie Iacob. Howsocuer the truth bee determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which we live, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the image of God. But most fafely may wee resemble our sclues to God in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie 40 which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For St. Bernard maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of lum id oft Sapigrace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, efentre virtute. fence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God, whose words ac bonitaticompotem qui seie intuitus creato- arc these: Non proptered imago Desest, quid sui meminit Mens, seá, intelligit & dilirem agnoceres git (which was also the opinion of S. Avgvstine) fed quia potest meminife, intellijuum,aique imitati, prej inge-gere ac diligere eum à quo facta est, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the ny,progauttor- image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loneth it selfe, but because it can tais, fibi concef- remember, under sand, and love God, who created it. And, that this image may be defor- 50

med and made unprofitable, heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit, & inutilem reddidit,

dum animam corruptis concupiscentia affectibus immersit, Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but Sinne bath deformed the beautic of this image, and made

The first Booke of the first part

CHAP.2. S.2.

it unprofusble by drawing our mindes into torrupt concupifcence. It is not therefore (as aforefaid) by reason of Immortalitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of thele by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which were semble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that wee were printed with the feale of Gods image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the Soule 10 is a part of the effentiall constitution of our proper species) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into earth, and contriued within the truncke of dust and clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne instice, pietie, and

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion bath) doe those that are powerfull retaine the image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the waies of God, which in the Scriptures is called walking with God; and all other men Gen. 5.22. folong retaine this image, as they feare, loue, and ferue God, truly, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruife and deface his feale by the waight of manifold 20 and voluntarie offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the image of God, seeing God is instice it selfe; The bloud-thirstic hath it not; for God is charitie, and mercie it felfe: Fallhood, cunning practife, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foule, together with God; and to be short, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkenesse, be- 2. (47,6.14) tweene beautie and deformitie, or betweene righteoushesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of Gods goodnesse, which the fenfuall foules of beafts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falle and dureleffe pleafures of this stage-play world, 20 then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workemanship of Gods wiscdome, and the liberalitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our foules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and Obiect to the minde and Soule, to contemplate the cuer-during gloric, and termeleffe ioy, prepared for those, which retaine the image and fimilitude of their Creatour, preferuing vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in 2, Cor. 3.9 righteousnesse, and true holinesse, as faith St. Paul. Now whereas it is thought by fome of the Fathers, as by St. Augustine with whom S. Ambrose ioyneth, that, by finne, the perfection of the image is loft, and not the image it felfe; both opinions by 40 this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two waies; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely, to have a reasonable and vnderstanding nature,&c. and in this fense, the image of God is no more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost: (for sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts) or, the image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of diuine grace, and heauenly glorie, which is indeede the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall image; and this manner of fimilitude and image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

ð. III.

27

Of our base and fraile bodies : and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Arias Mont. de

He externall man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or according to the lignification of the word, Adam of Adamath, of redde earth, or, ex limo terra, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of carth and water. Non ex qualibet humo, fedex ghaphar adamath (id-fl) are pinguisima or mollisima, Not that God made an Image or Statue of clay,

but out of clay, carth or dust God for med and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of 10

Gen.18.27. Iob 4. U.27.

Eccl.12.14.

nat.f. 156.

That Man was formed of earth and dust, did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue Sodome. Let not my Lord now be angrie, if I (beake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the duft, doe our soules inhabite, according to 10b; and though our owne eyes doe enery where behold the sudden and reliftlesse affaults of death, and Nature affureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the earth haue neither certainetie nor durabilitie, that our bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Mindes the Hiues of vnnumbred cares, sorrowes, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, 20 against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true vnhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vaffall and flaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: feeing Gods iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is excrcifed for euermore, as the euer-liuing fubiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while we have one vanitie left vs to spend : we pleade for titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for riches, while our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time 30 hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with lob, that we must goe the way, from whence we Shall not returne, and that our bedde is made ready for vs in the darke; And then I say, looking ouer late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues, we behold therein the fearefull images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription : That God will bring every worke into judgement, that man hath done under the Sunne.

But what examples have cuer moued vs? what perfwalions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraide? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promised and threatned; but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the 40 eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke vp towards termeleffe ioyes, nor downe towards endleffe forrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing elfe, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor:

> N il hostes , nil dira fames , nil denig morbi Egerunt , fuimus , qui nunc sumus , yjág periclis Tentati , nihilo meliores reddimur vnquam, Sub vitus nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought, What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught: No time can our corrupted manners mend, In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.2. \$.4.

But let vs not flatter our immortall foules herein: for to neglect God all our lives. and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, cafting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious prefumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his lawes and precepts. Frustra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur, They hope in vaine, faith BERNARD, Bernin Pf. Qui which in this fort flatter them felues with Gods mercy.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.

N this frame and carcafe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing foule: (that is) God gaue to a Bodie of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodilic instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spiritof life and immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such

as love and feare him. The Spirit of God (faith ELIHV in IOB) bath made me, and 10b 33.4 20 the breath of the Almightie hath given melife: In qua fententia (faith RABANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labys suis inspirasse in faciem formati, vi vincre posit, & spiraculum vita habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me. Coc. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuctadinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est. In which sentence (faith he) the beg gerlinesse of carnall sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we fould thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans boay of flime, or breathed with lawes or lips wpon his face (being formed) that he might line, and have the spirit of life : for the Prophet also when he faith, Thy handes have made me, spake this tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the cultome which men vie in wor-20 king. Quantum est periculi hijs, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt : In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall fense. By this breath was infused into man both life and foule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call Animam, que vinificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almightie giveth understanding, faith Iob; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclesiastes: And dust ball returne to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit hall ecclesized returne to God that gaue it. Neither is this word (spirit) vsually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the foule; as when Stephen cryed vnto God: Domine Susing Allers 39. 40 Spiritum meum, Lord lefus receiue my Spirit: and in St. I o H N, And Icfus bowed his head, Job. 19.30. and gaue up the Ghoft, or spirit, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall foule of man differeth from the foules of beafts, the manner of the creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abun- Gentaeo. dance enery creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the lining thing, according to his kinde, the beaft of the earth, &c. But of Man it is written, Let us make man in our owne image, &c. and further, that the Lordbreathed in his face breath of life. Wherefore, as Gon 270 from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life: fo shall they againe be dissoluted into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall, accor-50 ding to Ecclefiaftes, returne againe to God that gaue it.

But

50

That Man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortalitie.



30

An, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Winnerfall in whom God concluded the creation, and worke of the world, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderflanding, by which he might contemplate and ferue his Creatour, after

whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and 10 other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the world, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three forts of living natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giving to Angelsan intellectuall, and to Bealts a ferifuall nature, he wouch fafed vnto man; both the intellectuall of Angels, the fensitine of Beasts; and the proper rationall belonging vnto man; and therefore (faith GREGORIE NAZYANZENE: ) Homoeft Vtriufg, natura vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tieth together both natures: and because in the little frame of Arift. Phyl. lib. man's body there is a representation of the Vninersall, and (by allusion) a kind of par-8. cap. 201 ticipation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called Microcofmos, or the little world. Deus igitur hominem factum volut alterum quendam mundum in breut magnum, 20 atque exiquo totum, in terris statuit, God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he Omns in bomine had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world: creatura, o can manuae, as to were another worta, the great anatarge world in the fmall and tittle world in the formation of fearth and duff was formed the flesh of man; and therefore heavie and lum-Aug. 1. qu. 83:4 piffs; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rockes and flones, and there-67. ran. Lac. Forethrong and durable : of which Ohio and a color of the character of the ch

Inde genus durum fumus, experienție lăborum, Es documenta damus que fumus origine nati.

From thence our kinde hand hearted is, enduring paine and care, Approuing Hair our bodies of a ftonic nature are.

"His bloud, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be refembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the aire; his natural! heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it felfe, which flirred up by the heate of the Sunne, affifteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the earth; the haires of mans body, which adornes or ouerflatdowes it, to the graffe, which coucreth the upper face and 40 skin of the earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandring, and vnstable clowds, cartied every where with vncertaine winds, our cies, to the light of the Sunne and Moone, and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat drie vp,& wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the stalks, the thoughts of our minde, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called Mens, and that which alwaies looketh vowards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes prefent with God; and lastly our immortal soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his own image and limilitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, 50 or righteous: (for in Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, Behold, be found folly in his Angels, (faith 10b) yet with fuch a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance, and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therfore called man, the image and fimilitude of his owne righteoutnes.

In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the Vniuerfall (man being the measure of all things; Homo est mensura omnium rerum, saith Aristotle And 10 Meand Pythagoras) that the fourecomplexions refemble the foure Elements, and the taph.c.i.f. feuen Ages of man the feuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the Moone, in which we feeme onely to liue and growe, as Plants; the fecond age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to Venue, the dayes of love, defire, and vanitie; the fourth to the Sunne, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends ; the fixth age is afcribed to Iupiter. to in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to Saturne, wherein our dayes are fad and ouer-cast, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, and by the loffe which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the forrow onely abideth: Our attendants are licknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentic, by to much the more greedily is our end defired, whome when Time bath made vnfociable to others, we become a burthen to our felues : being of no other vie, then to hold the riches we have, from our fucceffours. In this time it is, when (as aforefaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe 20 on vnto, with many lighes, grones, and fad thoughts, and in the end, by the workemanship of death, finish the forrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwayes trauaile both fleeping and waking: neither have those beloued companions of honour and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promifes of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path fo over wee walke, the fame leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lie open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer run-

Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus atas, Ergo non homini , quod fuit ante , redit.

vs againe, with the garments of new leaues and flowers.

neth with a perpetuall ebbe and falling streame, but neuer floweth againe : ou leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne

C H A P.2. S.5.

To which I give this fense, The Plants and trees made poore and old By Winter enuious, The Spring-time bounteous Couers againe, from shame and cold: But neuer Man repair'd againe His youth and beautic loft, Thoughart, and care, and cost, Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine,

And of which CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53. Soles occidere de redire possunt : Nobis cum semel occidit breuis lux, Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

> The Sunne may fet and rife: But we contrariwife Sleepe after our short light One cucrlafting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academickes, the same might also perpetually bee

maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural lining things, and as the fappe and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserued, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwaies either encreasing towards ripeneffe and perfection, or declining and decreafing towards rottenneffe and diffolu-

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.

Hefe be the miferies which our first Parents brought on all mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortall and immortall life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed)

God gaue man to himfelfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. God made man in the beginning (faith SIRACIDES) and left him in the hands of his own counfaile. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beafts, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (faith Lucilius) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernall spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitic. But (as aforefaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of feedes and grafts of life, (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the fenfuall of beaftes. the rationall of man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which socuer hetooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreable to his owne choyce and plantation. This freedome of the first man Adim, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by Aclepius Atheniensis 30 (faith Mirandula) in the person and fable of Proteur, who was faid, as often as hee pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamorpholes among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into diners shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutalitie, from vertue to vice, from meekenesse to crueltie, and from iuftice to oppression. For by the lively image of other creatures did those Ancients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were fignified deceivers, by Lions, oppressours, and cruell men; by swine, mengiuen ouer to lust and sensualitie; by wolues, rauening and greedy men; which alfo S. Matthew refembleth to false Prophets, which come to you in heepes clothing but 40 inwardly they are rauening Wolues, by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which Saint IOHN BAPTIST, Ozee generation of vipers, &c.

Matto .. 7.

#### ð. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuerfall created was exceeding good.



N this worke of man God finished the creation; not that God laboured 59 as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finithed, Cui voluiffe eft feciffe, with whom, to will is to make, faith Beda. Neither did God forest, that hee left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for my father worketh to this day ( sa th Christ ) and I worke; but

God rested, (that is) he created no new species or kinds of creatures, but (as asorefaid) gaue vnto man a power generative, and fo to the rest of living creatures, and to Plants and flowers their seedes in themselves; and commanded man to multiply Gen. 1.28. and fill the earth, and the earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their feuerall kinds: all which being finished, God faw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the earth, but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from fo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and 10 from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the earth afterward curfed, and all creatures of the first age destroied; but the righteous man Noah, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contained, referred by God to replenish the earth.

Снар.з. §.1.

## CHAP. III. Of the place of Paradife.

That the seate of Paradise is greatly mislaken: and that it is no maruaile that men should erre.



ONCERNING the first habitation of man wereade, that the Lord God planted a garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2.6. Of this feate and place of Paradife, all ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgements have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written vppon this part of Genesis, as vpon any one place therein, feeming most obscure : some there are, that have conceiued the being of the terrestriall Paradise, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the

place where Moles wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and judge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselues ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first interpretation, or trusting to their own iudgements, understood one place for another; and one errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those writers which gaue themselues to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeued in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vn-50 derstanding, then to examine theirs. For (faith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradife) magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate perfuali) transmittimus, We passe ouer many groffe errours, by the authoritie of great men ledde and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the understanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their

34

CHAP. 3. S.3.

2.Cor.12.2.

Matt. 24.36.

Jude Ep.v.27. Iob 28.12. 13. 4.18.

learning and their pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth; for they were men; Et humanum est errare. And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God bath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wifeft may behold in themselves their owne weakenesse. Nulli unquam dedit emnia Deus, God neuer gaue the knowledge of all things to any one. St. Paul confest that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, feeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to St. Iude) who is only wife. Sapientia vbi inucnitur? (faith I o B) but where is wisedome found? and where is the place of understanding? 10 man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living. And therefore feeing God found follie in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings; and so the Fathers, and other learned men excufable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our faluation dependeth not.

#### A recitall of firange opinions, touching Paradife.

Ow as touching Paradife, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradife or no? or whether Mofes description were altogether mysticall, and allegoricall? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius with others have Affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Hidekel, and Perath, The tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were

Bartaf.fem.2.

deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Rivers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence, or (by other) Oile, Wine, Milke, and Honnie. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of Paradife by Origen divulged, was againe by Francifcus Georgius received (faith Sixtus Senensis) whose friuolous imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly an- 30 fwere, in the 24. Annotation of his fift Booke, fol. 228. the last Edition.

St. Ambrofe also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and fet Paradife in the third heaven, and in the vertues of the minde, & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceiue it, in mente, or in our foules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the place or garden of Paradife, was meant the foule or minde; by Adam, Mens, or vinderstanding; by Eue, the sense; by the Serpent, delectation; by the Tree of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the Corinthians, c. 6. he indirect wordes alloweth both of a celeftiall and terrestriall Paradife; the one, into which St. Paul was rapt; the other, 40 into which Adam was put by God. Aug Chryfamensis, was of opinion, that a Paradise had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withall the places now not fo much as existing. To which Lutber feemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also understood, that by Paradife was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion Vadianus inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two feuerall places. First, vpon this: Fill the earth, Gen. 10. Of which he giveth this indgement. Hoe ipfo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subjette terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus consitam, Jesem & hortum illud Ada & posteritatis futura fuisse, These wordes (saith he) in which 50 God faid, Bring forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer euery creature, doe clearly hew, that the Vninerfall earth fet or filled with all forts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and feate of Adam, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts the 17. Apollolus ex uno fanquine omne genus humanum adeò factum docet, vt habitarent (uper vniuer (am faciem terra: tota igitur terra Paradi [us ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (faith he) was that Paradife. Which conjectures I will answere in order. Goropius Becanus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place Goropius findeth neare the River of Acesines, in the confines of India.

Tertullian, Bonauenture, and Durandus, make Paradife under the Aquinoctiall, and Bart, 16.126. Postellus, quite contrarie under the North pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, to and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of origen, or rather origen theirs, who would either make Paradisea figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Aire. Strabus, and Rabanus, were both fick of this vanitie, with Origen, and Philo: fo was our venerable Beda, and Pet. Comestor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Bed. in Gen. Massius. But as Hopkins saies of Philo Indens, that he wondred, quo maio genio afflatus; Pet. comest l.i. By what eutil Angel he was blowne up into this errour : fo can I not but greatly meruaile cap 3. at these learned men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing Moles, and after par. him the Prophets, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region, in which it was planted, by the Kingdomes and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of Iudea, or

Woulomagus also, vpon Beda, De natura rerum, beleeueth that all the Earth was taken for Paradile, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (faith hee) hath the same beautie adscribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Tigrus, and Euphrates, had their beginning : for he could not thinke it possible, that these Rivers of Ganges, Nilw, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Agypt, and the other two through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the fountaine of the Ocean.

#### ð. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.



O the first therefore, that such a place there was vponthe earth, the words of Mofes make it manifest, where it is written. And the Lord God Gene. 3. planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made. And howfoeuer the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath converted this place thus, Plantauerat Dominus Deus Para-

40 disum voluptatis à principio; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: It is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense bath this translation (saith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that he planted a garden in pleasure, or that a River went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the scuentie Interpreters call it Paradisum Edenis, the Paradise of Eden, and so doth the Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Nowne appellative; which Region in respect of the fertilitie of the soile, of the many beautifull rivers, and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the indies) doe alwaies keep their leaues, was called Eden, which fignifieth in the Hebrew, pleafantneffe or delica-30 cie, as the Spaniards call the Countrie, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the miftaking, which may end the dispute, astouching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrie, to called for the flourithing beautie thereof, fo was Edena Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure, or delicacie: and as Flaride fignifieth flourishing : fo Eden fignifieth pleasure, and yet both are the proper enigne

Vaf. 26.

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names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebrew ) and Paradise being the choice seat of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seuentie; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Basil, Chry oftome, Theodoret, Gregorie; and to the Rabbines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimchi; and of the Latines, Senerinus, Damascenus, &c. who plainely take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and fet the word (Eastward) for ab initio: for Damafcens owne words are thefe, Paradifus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus: Paradise is a place, mermailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward 10 the East.

And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Parisiensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of latter times, doe both understand these words of Eden, and of the East, contrarie to the vulgar translation; Parifiensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senenfis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words. After this I will beginne to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which that God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Posthac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c. And then Senensis; Mos Es enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terre Orientalis , que dicitur Heden : Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus CH AM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam 20 Heden; For Moses (laith he) doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden : but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERERIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this translation : for this particle (faith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleaging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-flaier from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the fixthday. But furely, as I thinke (referring my felfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-flaier in disposition, though he had not whereon to practife till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that be his translation) adui- 30 feth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) as, God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden, Collocaust Deus ante Paradifum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfeacknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientalihorti Heden, Cherubin; Hee set on the East side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin. BECANVS affirmeth that the Hebrew word (Be) fignifieth (with) aswell as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But Becanus followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde Paradise vpon the river of Acesimes : for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to bee 40 thetree of knowledge, of good, and euill, and would therefore draw Paradile to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answere hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was scated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the sunne riseth in March, which is directly ouer Paradife (faith Damascenus:) affirming, that we alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of Salomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themfelues in their feruice and divine ceremonies, alwaies toward the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Iudea, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is every where in the world, the matter is not great which way wee turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradife, and pray

turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to be eech God, that as by Adams fall we have loft the Paradife on earth: fo by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the Paradife celeftiall, and the Kingdome of heaven. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mysteric in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, then to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradise was, lay Eastward from Iudea and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, which inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Persia: of which Ouid:

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.3.S.3.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabateaá, regna recessit, Persidag, & radysinga subditamatutinis.

The East winde with Aurora hath abiding Among th'Arabian, and the Persian hils, Whom Phoebus first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be objected, that Hieremie the Prophet threatning the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed Nabuchadonosor, 20 and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stoode North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor giveth best satisfaction: for he vieth the word, From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the world, (à principio) id est (faith he) à prima orbis parte, and afterward he affirmeth, that (à principio and ad Orientem) haue the fame fignification; From the beginning and Eastward is all one. à principio idem est quodad Orientem.

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Storie of mankind was not allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the second Chapter and ninth Verse, in these 30 wordes. For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow enery tree pleasant to the fight, ana' good for meate, &c. fo as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the world at large, and then, put him into the garden: and the end why, is exprest: that he might dreffe it and keepe it; Paradife being a Garden or Orchard filled with verf.18; Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kindes, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that Paradife was a terrestriall garden, garnished with fruits, delighting both the eye and tafte. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River version.

fprang, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is also a Countrie neere vnto Charan Exech. 6.27.23.

40 in Mesopotamia, Ezechiel witneffeth. But to all these Cabalists, which draw the truth and Storic of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius answereth in these wordes: Si Paradifus non est fensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Ena de arbore, non est Adam, non funt homines, sed veritar iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias renocantur. If Paradife be not fensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no riuer, if no river, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such river, as Pison, or Gebon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such figtree, or fruit, or leaves, Euc then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things c-30 seemed are called backe into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath S. Hierome vpon

Daniel. Conticefeant corum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate fequentes, ipsam conantur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoria legibus se debere subruere, Let the dotages of them be silent, who following shadowes and images in the truth, endeanour to submert the truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought

Ver[.16.

John 8.44.

Gen.3.34.

to bring Paradife, and the rivers and the trees under the rules of Allegorie.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For God gaue Adam free libertie to cat of euery tree of the Garden, (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees Mofes in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Belides, God left all beaftes to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beastes were neither in the third heaven, nor neere the circle of the Moone, nor beaftes in imagination: for if all these things were enigmaticall or mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And Ezechiel speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings vseth this speech. All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, enuied him, which 10 proucth both Eden, and Paradife therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginarie comparisons. But Meses wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for

Egecb.21.9.

Gen. 13.10.

the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradife, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if hee had not described both the region and the rivers, and how it flood from Canaan, many of the vnbeleeuing Ifraelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this storie of mankind. And is it likely, there would have beene so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the fame had been an Vtopia? For we finde that the valley, wherein Sodome and Gomor- 20 rha ftood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the Paradife of the Lord, and like to the land of Egypt toward Zoar; In like maner was If raell resembled to the Paradise of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which producth plainely, that Paradife it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a refemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and foyle of farre exceeding

excellencie. Besides, whence had Homer his invention of Alcinous gardens, as Iustin Martyr noteth, but out of Moles his description of Paradife? Gene. 2. and whence are their praifes of the Elisian fieldes, but out of the Storie of Paradise? to which also appertaine 30 those verses of the golden age in Ouid.

Ouid Metam. 1.x

Ver erat aternum, placidió, tepentibus auris Mulcebant Zephyri natos fine femine flores.

The joyfull Spring did cuer laft, And Zephyrus did breede Without the helpe of feede Sweete flowers by his gentle blaft,

And it is manifest, that Orpheus, Linus, Pyndarus, Hesiodus and Homer, and after him, Onid, one out of another, and all these together with Pythagoras and Plato, and their fectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stollen treasures of divine letters, altered by prophane additions, and difguifed by poeticall conversions, as if they had beene conceiued out of their owne speculations and contempla-

But besides all these testimonies, if we finde what Region Heden or Eden was; if we proue the river that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of Hauila and Culb, and that all thefe are Eastward from Canaan, or the defarts of the Amorites, where Moses wrote, 50 I then conceive, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true not with standing. And to this purpose (saith St. Augustine)

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententie: vna est corum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt : alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (idest) Ecclesiam : tertia eorum, qui veroq, modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceive it altogether spirituall, and to be a figure of the Church : the third of those, which take it in both fenfes ; which third opinion St. Augustine approneth, and of which Suidas gi- August de ciuis. neth this allowable indgement. Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul Sadas more conditus erat : sic & huius sancti simum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici Paradisas. specie est praditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible:

10 fo was his holie grove or garden to be taken both waies, and endued with a double forme.

Why it Should be needfull to intreate deligently of the place of Paradiff



Vt it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kinde of curiositieto enquire lodiligently after this place of Paradife, and that the know-ledge thereof is of little or no vie. To which I answere, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarily, then by the place proved, the same is

a so made more apparent. For if we should conceive that Paradise were not on the earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne world, from whence Adam was faid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into Indea, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would give any credit vnto it. For what could feeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seate of Paradile so much disputed and doubted of but the conceit that Pifform should be Ganges, which watereth the East India, and Gehon, Nilus, which enricheth Agypt, and these two 30 Rivers fo farre distant, as (except all the world were Paradife) these streames can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth, and workes, and death of our Saujour, were faid to have beene in fome fuch Countrie, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his miracles had beene performed in the aire, or no place certainly knowne, I affure my felfe, that the Christian religion would have taken but a slender roote in the minds of men; for times and places are approued witnesses of worldly actions,

Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place to the judgements of some writers vpon this place of Genesis (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the Grecians or Agyp-40 tians more ridiculous: for who would beleeve that there were a peece of the world fo fet by it felfe and separated, as to hang in the aire under the circle of the Moone?

or who fo doltish to conceive, that from thence the fourerivers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tigris, should fall downe, and runne vider all the Ocean, and rife vp againe in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found. Which left any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are Peter Comestors owne wordes. Est autem locus amani simus longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili zona secretus, adeò eleuatus, vt vs que ad Lunarem globum attingat, o c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our babitable zone by a long tract of land and Seaseleuated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.

And Mofes Barcephas vpon this place writeth in this manner: Deinde hoc quoque re- Bare converted Sponsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esfe regione, atque hae nostraextet by Masus. terra, eog, fieri, vt illine per pracipitium delabantur fluuy tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non posses; eog. impetu impulsi presig, sub Oceani vada rapiuntur, unde rur-Sus prosiliant ebullianty, in hoc a nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore

CHAP.3.S.5.

(faith he) we give this for an answere, that Paradife is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabite; whereby it comes to paffe, that from thence thefe rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as worder cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boile up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this Ephram dicit Paradifum ambire terram, atg, ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq, Luna orbis Lunam cingit, (which is) That Paradise doth compasse or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironesh the whole Orbe of the earth on enery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe 10 not bring question vnto truth it selfe, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of Paradife, which God and his wisedome appointed in the very Nauell of this our world, and (as Melanchton faies) in parte terra meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Center; the Vniuerfall might be filled with people, and planted, and by knowing this place, wee shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for neare vnto this did the Sonnes of Noah also disperse themselues after the floud, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous delire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Auncester, from 20 whence all the streames and branches of mankinde haue followed and beene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that fuch a place there was as Paradife, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the seuerall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

The first Booke of the first part

# That the floud bath not otterly defaced the market of Paradife, nor caused hils



Nd first, whereas it is supposed by Mag. Chysamensis, that the should hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such fort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the sloud the cause of those high mountaines, which are found on all the earth over, with many other

strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of Paradife was after the floud 40 withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no figne of any fuch place, or if the foile and feate had not remained, then would not Mofes, who wrote of Paradife about 850. yeares after the floud, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moses would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the rivers still remaine the same rivers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, Tigris, and Euphrases, we are fure to finde in what longitude Paradife lay; and learning out one of these rivers, which afterward 50 doth divide it selfe into soure branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of Eden went a river to water the garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine translation (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it

selfe, or to Paradife, yet the division and branching of those rivers must be in the North or South fide of the very garden (if the rivers runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore these rivers yet remaining, and Eden manifestly knowne, there could be no fuch defacing by the floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probabilitie, that either these rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the floud which were not, or that the floud (as aforefaid) by a violent motion, when it beganne to decrease, was the cause of high hils, or deepe vallies. For what descent of waters could there bee in a Sphæricall and round bodie, wherein to there is nor high nor low? feeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, Therefore God made a Gen. 3.1. winde to passe upon the earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters fanke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to drie up the abundant slime and mudde of the earth, and make the land more firme, and to cleanfe the aire of thicke vapours and vnholesome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe cuermore diffeuer the violence of outragious winds, and beate downe, and levell 20 the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbes and flowes there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receive a floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the earth and waters, as aforefaid: and therefore it feemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouerbearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the floud made no fuch destroying alteration, Joseph. auoweth that one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third from Adam, was to be seene in his dayes, which pillars were set up aboue 1426. yeares before the floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them, and 20 Infeph. himselfe, to have lived some 40.or 50 yeares after Christ: of whom although

ten in Berofus (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Cittie of Enoch built by Cain, about the mountaines of Libanus, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof Annius (who commented ypon that invented fragment) faith, were to be seene in his daies, who lived in the raigne of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile; and if these his wordes be not true, then was he 40 exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Cittle of Enoch, he conclude thin this fort. Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitus Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referent, The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that region, the Cittie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report. It is also auowed by Pomponius Mela, (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the Cittie of Joppa was built before the floud, ouer which Cepha was King: whose name with his brother Phineus, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found grauen vpon cer-

there be no cause to beleeue all that he wrote, yet that, which he auouched of his

owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen? Now

that fuch pillars were raifed by Seth, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also writ-

50 not be of the first Cittie of the world, built by Cain, the place, rather then the time, Gen.4. 17. denying it.

And to proue directly, that the floud was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the waters of the floud ouerflowed by fifteene cubits the highest mountaines. And Masius Damascenus speaking of

taine Altars of stone; and it is not unpossible, that the ruines of this other Cittie,

called Enoch by Annius, might be feene, though founded in the first age: but it could

Gene.2.10.

Gen.8.11.

the floud, writeth in this manner. Et supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baru appellatur) in quo confugientes multos sermo est diluuy tempore liberatos. And uppon Minyada there is an high mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) unto which (as it is (aid) that many fledde in the time of the deluge, and that they (aued themselues thereon. Now although it is contrarie to Gods word, that any more were faued then eight persons (which Masim doth not anouch, but by report ) yet it is a testimonie, that fuch mountaines were before the floud, which were afterwards, and euer fince, knowne by the same names; and on which mountaines it is generally received that the Arkerested: but vntruly, as I shall proue hereafter. And agains it appeareth, that the Mount Syon (though by another name) was knowne before the floud: on 10 which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants faued themselves also; but (as Annius faith) without all authoritie, either diuine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that when Noah fent out the Doue the second time, shee returned with an Oline leafe in her mouth, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the trees were discourred) shee found not: for otherwise shee might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proofe, that the trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written, folium Oliua, raptum or decerptum, a leafe pluckt, (which is) to take from a tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written 20 to the contrarie) that the floud made no fuch alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeeding ages, especially vnto Moses, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the worlds creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discoucrie.

That Paradife was not the whole earth, as fome have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those foure Rivers.



His conceit of Aug. Chyfamenfis being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few wordes examine that of the Manichies, of Nouiomagus, Vadianus, Goropius, Becanus, and all those that vnderflood, that by Paradife was meant the whole carth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniucrfalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which Vadianus alleageth, bring forth fruit and multiplie, fill the earth

Gen.1.28. Att.17.26.

and subdue it, rule ouer enery creature, or. with this of the Acts, and hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the earth, doe no way proue such a generali- 40 tie: for the world was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and Adams posteritie inhabited in proceffe of time ouer all the face of the earth, yet it disproucth in nothing the particular garden, affigned to Adam to dreffe and cultiue, in which he lived in fo bleffed an estate before histransgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that Adam had beene left to the Vniuerfall; Moses would not then haue said Eastward in Eden, seeing the world hath nor East nor West, but respectively. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after Adams expulsion, if the Universall had beene Paradife? for then must Adam have been 50 chased also out of the world. For if All the earth were Paradise, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That Adam was driven out of the world into the world, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except we should believe with Metrodorus, that there were infinite worlds. Which to denie; he thinkes all one, as to afCHAP.3. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

firme, that in so large a field, as the universall, there should grow but one thistle. Novio-MAGVs vpon Beda, seemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Rivers, Ganges, Nelus, and Euphrates, (which water three portions of the world fo farre distant) to rise out of one sountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the world for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four criuers, being so vnderstood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainely appeare, that Pilon was falsly taken for Ganges, and Gehon fallly for Nilus, although Ganges be a river by Havilah in India, and Nilus runne through Athiopia. The Seventie write Chus for Athiopia, and thereto by the errours of the Manichees, and the mistakings of Nouiomagus, Goropius, and Vadianus, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, then that of Ephram, Cyrillus, and Athanasius: That Paradise was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrie, in which hee was created, and was buried at Mount Caluarie, in Hieru/alem. And certainly, though all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the floud, yet Adams shinne bones must have contained a thousand sadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

d. VII.

Of their opinion, which make Paradife as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the aire.



Hirdly, where as Beda faith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, Paradife to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men (locus a cognitione hominum remotifimus) and Exceptus conceived, that Paralife was farre in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the 20 Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the

Schoole-men charge Beda withall, yet Pererius laies it off from Beda vpon Strabus, and his Mr. Rabanus: ) and whereas Rupertus in his Geographic of Paradife, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of Plato, and Plato out of Socrates; but neither of them (as I conceine) well understood : who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the soules of the bleffed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the Areopagites, (in this Diog.Lacrin and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeved in plaine Sco. termes, especially Plate: though Socrates in the end suffered death, for acknowledge-40 ing one only powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wifest man. Instine Martyr affirmeth, Justin, Mart, that Plato had read the Scriptures; and St. Augustine gave this judgement of him, as admad Gent. his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it see- dies. meth to me, that both Tertullian and Eusebius conceine, that Socrates, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradile, and not this of Eden. Solinis, I grant reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount Atho (called Acrothones) which being about all clouds of raine, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their many yeares) are called Macrobio; (that is) Long-lined. A further argument is vsed, for proofe of the heighth of this 50 place, because therein was Enoch preserved from the violence of the floud : approued by Ilidore, and Peter Lumbard; in which place also Tertullian conceived, that the bleffed foules were prescrued till the last judgement; which Irenaus, and Instine Martyr also beleeved. But this opinion was of all Catholike Divines reproved, and in the Florentine Councell damned; of which St. Augustine more modefly gave this

judgement.

Gen.2.8.

3.24.

44

judgement. Sicut certum est Enoch & Eliam nune viuere : ita vbi nune sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est: (that is ) As it is certaine that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now line: so where they now line, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is uncertaine. But Barcephas gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necesfarie that Paradise should be set at such a distance and heighth, because the source Riuers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient sorce to have thrust themselues under the great Ocean, and afterwards have forced their passage through the earth, and have rifen againe in the farre diffant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreames have been answered by divers learned men 10 long fince, and lately by Hopkins and Pererius writing vpon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few : for to vie long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanitie in

the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventour. It is first therefore alleaged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being set so neare the Moone, it had beene too neare the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have beene too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or have abyding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according 20 to Ptolomie and Alfraganus) is scuenteene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a groffe account about one hundred and twentie thou and miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradife, being raised to this heighth, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or cies of men: feeing, it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortific the former opinions, Toftatus addeth this, that those people which dwell neare those fals of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neare the Catadupa, or ouer-falls of Wilus. But this I hold as fained. For I have seene in the Indies, farre greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwel- 20 ling neare them, are not deafe at all. Tostatus (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth Baffl and Ambrosetogether : to which PERERIVS, Sed ego hac apad Basilium & Ambrolium in eorum scriptis, qua nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; But I doe

not remember (faith he) that I euer read those things, either in Balil or Ambrosc. But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall Paradise, for ought we know. For although flelh and bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of Heauen, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all 1. CW. 15.36.51 die (faith St. PAVL) but all shall be changed: which change, in Enoch and Elias, was eafie to him that is Almightic. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest that by the 40 floud all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons, and therefore in the terrestrials Paradife they could not be.

For Tostatus his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but belieued that Paradise was raised about the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits about all mountaines, that the floud did not therefore reach it: (which Scotus and other later Schoole-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in

Paradife, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, & without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that the waters overflowed all the mountaines under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to Massus Damascenus, and the Thalmu- 50 difts, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faued themselves on the mountaine Baris, and on syon. But to helpe this, Scotus, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith; that the waters stood at Paradise, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Iordan; and as the floud was not naturall, so was Paradife faued

C H A P.3. S.8. by miracle. And Thomas Aquinas qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that Paradife was so scated as Beds and others seeme to affirme in wordes, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, for the delicacie and beautic fo refembled. But this I dare anow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, then to resolue, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of Tostatus, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Asha, and Aslas, ouer-reach and furmount all windes and cloudes, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the hilles both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Pricits, sacrito ficing on these mountaine tops, doe not finde the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blownethence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne : yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and Plenie himselfe (who was not fparing in the report of wonders) autweeth the contrarie. But were it graunted, yet the heighth of these mountaines is farre under the supposed place of Paradife; and on these selfe hilles the aire is so thinne (faith St. Augustine whom herein I mustrust) that it is not sufficient to beare up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of aire to mount her selfe by.

d. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise under the Aquinoctiall: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climates.

20

Hole which come neare unto reason finde Paradise under the Aquino-Etial line, as Tertulian, Bonauenture, and Durandue; judging, that therevnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitie of soile: but against it Thomas Aquinas objecteth the diftemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is

30 (non caufa procaufa) for although Paradife could not be vnder the line, becaufe Eden is farre from it, in which Paradife was; and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigrit, or Ganges vnder it, (Ganges being one of the foure rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of diffemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, conlidering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Countrie, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and so toward the Aquinottiall, did so much the more exceede in heate. It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were fituated directly under it, were of a diftemper uninhabitable; but it seemeth that Tertullian conceined better, and so did Autenne, for they both thought 40 them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that Paradife had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or

within the Tropicks, and nearest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discoucred. Indeede it hath so pleased God to prouide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that fuch inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of mens trauailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or 50 as afruitlesse lumpe to fashion out the rest. For God bimfelfe (laith I s A I) that formed 161 45 .181

the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottestregions of the world, seated under the Aquinoctiallline, or neare it, are so refreshed with a daylie gale of Easternely winde (which the Spaniards call the Brize, that doth euermore blow ftrongest in the heate

Cicero Soma.

of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne can not fo much mafter it, that there is any inconvenience or differmperate heare found thereby. Secondly, the nights are fo cold, fresh and equall, by reason of the entire interpolition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper, Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and fome few fandie parts without trees, which are not therefore fo well inhabited as the rest, and such difference of soyles wee finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions have so many goodly rivers, fountaines and · little brookes, abundance of high Cadars, and other stately trees casting shade, so ma- to ny forts of delicate fruites, cuer bearing, and at all times beautified with bloffome and fruit, both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts bee belt compared to the Paradife of Eden: the boughes and branches are never vnclothed and left naked their sappe creepeth not under ground into the roote, fearing the injurie of the first incither doth Pomona at any times despise her withered hulband Vertumnus, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called Terra vitiofz; Vitious Countries: for nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruites then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, Tertullian and those of his opinion were not deceiued in the nature of the place: but Aquinas, who misliked this 20 opinion, andfollowed a worse. And (to say the trueth) all the Schoole-men were

#### 8. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Calesyria, there is a Countrey in Babylon , once of this mame as is proved out of Efa.37. and . Ezech. 27.

groffe in this particular.

Hele opinions answered, and the Region of Edennot found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder Torrida Zona; it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the scate thereof, for in it was Paradise by God planted. The difficultie of which fearch resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Mafters; so are most of these places, by Moses remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, (Cyrus onely and few other excepted) fought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The Gracians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romanes despised once to remember 40 them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: fo did they transforme the names of all those principall places and Cities in the East: and after them, the Turke hath fought (what hee could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now befides those notable markes, Emphrates & Tigris, the better to find the way, which leaderh to the Countrey of Eden, we are to take for guides the set wo considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from Canaan and Iudea; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to Indea Eastward was Arabia Petraa; but in this Region was Moses himselfe when hee wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was Arabia the Defart, both which in re- 50 spect of the infertilitie could not be Eden, neither have any of the Arabians any such rivers, as are exprest to runne out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that Eden must be Eastward, and beyond both Arabia Petraa, and Deserta. But because Eden is by Mofes named by it selfe, and by the fertilitie, and the rivers onely described, we must

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.3.S.9.

feeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations hetter described. In the Prophet If at I finde it coupled and accompanied with other Tai 27.0,12. adjacent Countries, in these wordes spoken in the person of Senacherib by Rablakeh. Have the Gods of the N ations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as GOSAN. and HARAN, and RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telastar : and in Ezechiel, where he prophecieth against the Tyrians: They of HARAN and CANNEH, Cap. 27. ver 5.23. and EDEN, the Merchants of SHEBA, ASHVR, and CHILMAD, were thy Mer.

chants . erc. But to avoide confusion, we must understand that there were two Edens, one of which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where he divideth Spria into three Prouin- Cap. 1. verf. 1. ces, whereof, the first he maketh Syria Damascene, or Decapalitan: the second part is that Valley called Auenis, otherwise Conuallis, or the Tract of Chamath, where Allyria is joyned to Arabia the Defart, and where Ptolomie placeth the Cittle of Aueria: and the third is knowne by the name of Domus Edenis, or Calefiria, otherwise Vallis ca- Strabs. ua, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaines of Libanus and Antilibanus, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it for Coele in Greeke is Caua in Latine. But this is not that Eden, which we feeke: neither doth this Prouince lie East from Canaan, but North, and so joyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Cittie therein called Paradise, the Jewes belee-20 ued this Calefyria to be the same which Moses describeth. For the same cause doth Hopkins in his Treatife of Paradife reprehend Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this, Eden, with the other Eden of Paradife: though to give Beroaldes his right, I conceive that he ledde the way to Hopkins, and to all other latter writers, fauing, that he failed in diftinguishing these two Regions, both called Eden : and that hee altogether misunderstood two of the foure Rivers (to wit) Pifon and Gehon, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out Eden, which (as Mofes teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Defarts, where hee wrote after hee had paffed the redde Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet Isai and Ezechiel ioyneth with it. For (faith Esalah) Gofan, Haran, and Reforb, and the children of Eden, 20 which were at Telaffar. Also Ezechiel ioyneth Haran with Eden, who, together with Ezech 27. v.23.

those of Sheba, Albur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that traded with the Cittie of Tyre, which was then (faith Ezechiel) the Mart of the people for many Illes. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the Perfians conveyed their merchandile to Babylon, and to those Citties upon Euphrates, and Tigris, and from thence transported them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port of the Mediterrane Sea : as in ancient times to the Cittie of Tyre, afterward to Tripolie, and now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isicus, now Laiazzo. Executed in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-towne of that part of 40 the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Countrie yeelded; and having counted the feuerall people and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. They were Versage

thy Merchants (faith the Prophet) in all forts of things, in rayments of blew filter, and of

Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all pretious flones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which Persia and Arabia Fælix yeeld: and because Sheba and Raama are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Persian Gulfe, therefore did those Nations 50 both vent fuch spice, sweet gummes, and pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) having trade with their neighbours of india, had from them also all forts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris, and from the Cittie of Terredon (built or enlarged by Nabuchodonozor, now called Balfara)

broidered workes, fine linnen, corrall and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Mer-

chants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes. The

thence fent up all these rich merchandises by boate to Bubylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies journey of Aleppo, and then ouer land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripolie (formerly Hieropolie) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which Ezechiel ioyneth with Eden, inhabited farre up the river, and received this trade from Arabia and India, belides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of Persia, which bordered them. St. Hierome understandeth by Canneh, Seleucia, which is seated vpon Euphrates, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from Seleucus, who made thereof a magnificent Cittie. Hierofolymitanus 10 thinkes it to be Cteliphon, but Cteliphon is feated downe low vpon Tigris, and Cannel cannot be on that fide, I meane on the East-fide of Tigris, for then were it out of the Flin. 1.6. c.26. Valley of Shinar. Plinie placeth the Schenite vpon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be fourdable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaueth to be the bound of Arabia the Defart, and where the river of Euphrates reflecteth from the De-

Strabo. L.16.

Gen.11.31.

fart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward Schenita) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, stretching themselves from their owne Cittie of Canneh in Shinar Westward along the banks of Euphrates, as farre as the Cittie of Thap (acus, where Ptolomie appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description of the Schenita by Strabo, whose wordes are these; Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam 20 & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas, The Merchants which trauaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites. Therefore those which take Canneh for Charran doe much mistake it. For Charran, to which Abraham came from Vr in Chaldea (called by God) standeth also in Mesopotamia, not vpon Euphrates it selfe, but voon the river of Chaboras , which falleth into Euphrates : and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in Ezechiel (as) they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants. Wherefore Charran which is fometime called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the same Charran of Mesopotamia; and when it is written Aran, then it is taken for the region of Mesopotamia: or Aran flusiorum, the Greeke word (Mesopotamia) impor- 30 ting, a Countrie betweene Riucrs: for Mesos in Greeke, is Medius in Latine, and Potamos, fluuius; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the Cittle it felfe, to which Abraham came from Vr (as aforefaid.) For Strabo in the description of Arabia, giueth that Tract of land from the borders of Calefyria, to the edge of Mesopotamia, to the Schenite, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrates, and were in after-ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabite Batanea, and the North part of the Defarts, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of Palmirena, which lyoth betweene Syria, and Arabia the Defart. So as these of Canneb lay in the very ligh-way from Babylon to Tyre, and were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet Ezechiel coupled together, 40 they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c. But St. Hierome made a good interpretation of Canneb, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witnesse Appian; ) and so Rabanus Maurus callethit in his Commentaries vpon Genesis; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Citties, flanding in Triangle with Seleucia, and almost the next vnto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, and Mann-canne; the one a little to the West of Selencia, and the other opposite vnto it, where these rivers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to joyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley Shinar) it is vncertaine: but it is a note aswell of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seate thereof, that so many other Citties did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne, or betweene Canne the old, and the new : which additions to distinguish Citties by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

Now of the other Cittie ioyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, St. Hierome on the Indges speaketh thereof in these words: Cumá, reverterentur, peruenerunt ad Jud. 1. Charran, qua est in medio itinere contra Niniuen, undecimo die, When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Niniue) the eleuenth

CHAP.3.S.9.

day .

This Cittie is by the Martyr Stephen named Charran (speaking to the high Priest: Teemen brethren, and fathers hearken: The God of glorie appeared to our father ABRA- All 7. I. HAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran. But the seate of this Cittie is not doubted of : for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, withto all, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of Craffus the Roman, who for his unfatiable greedinesse was called Gurges avaritie, the gulfe of avarice. Whereof

Myrias Latio maculanit Sanguine Carras,

Lucan. l.t. 105.

With Roman bloud th' Affyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this Cittie Canne or Chalne is made manifest by Moses himselfe, where it is written of NIME O.B. And the beginning of bis Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Gen. to. 20 Mead, and Chalme, in the land of Sinaar, or Shinar : where Mofes theweth the fiftcompolition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Citties and people were subject vnto Nimrod, all which lay in the faid Valley of Shinar or nearest; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract, afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which also Eden ftretcheth it felfe. Chaldes, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem funt (faith Comestor,) Three names of one Countrie : which Region of Babylonia tooke name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of Genefis, in these wordes: And as they went from the Vert 2; East, they found a Plaine in the land of Shinar, and there they abode : in which Plaine Babylon was built (as aforefaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the first beginning of N imrods greatneffe, and before he had fubdued any strange, or farre-off nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by Moses to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneth to Babylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants, which traded with the Tyrians : and Esai in the threats of Senacharib against Hierusalem (with other Nations that Senacharib vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telaffar. But before I conclude where Eden it felfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which Ezechiel ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in Genefit the tenth. Moreover Verf.7.

40 the sonnes of HAM were Custo, &c. And the sonnes of Cvs H were Scha, and Hauilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the sonnes of RAAMAH were Sheba, &c. and anon after Cv s H begat NIMR OD: To as Sheba was the grand-child of Culb, and Nimrod the fonne of culb, whose elder brother was Sebah: though some there are that conceive to the contrarie, that Nimred was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Rasmah or Regma tooke that part adiovning to Shinar, toward the Sea-side and Persian Gulfe (called afterward Raama and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (faith Ezechtel) the Mer-

chants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faires with the chief 50 of all spices, and all pretious stones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth Arabia deferta from Arabia Falix, and which in yneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie Strabo calleth Catabaria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankin- strabo. 1.16. cense is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on

the East side of the Persian Gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebans, spoken of by Ezechiel, and faid to have beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and pretious stones: of which they had not only plentie of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana according to Strabo) for exchange of their Aromatiques and other proper commodities. For as Strabo reporteth out of E-RATOSTHENES. In Persica ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretios vniones gignantur : in alysvero, clari & perlucidi lapilli. ERATOSTHENES (faith STRABO) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian Gulfe there is an Island, in which there are many pretious pearles bred : and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now the difference betweene Sheba, the sonne of Raamah, and Seba, the sonne of Cush, is in this, 10 That Seba is written with the Hebrew (Samech,) and Sheba with (Schin: ) bur whatfocuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographic, their Countries and habitations are divers. For Sheba is that part which bordereth the Persian Sea; and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the redde Sea; and so that place of the 72. Pfalme, expounded. Reges Arabum & Saba, hath in the Hebrew this fense: Reges Sheba & Saba.

The Shebans Ezechiel nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the fame river, vpon which the Edenites were leated ; and for those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast and vpon it, past vp the Countrie, by Tigris and Euphrates, being joyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden which 20 Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to conucy their merchandise toward Tre. And as the Citties of Charran, and Canneb, border Eden on the West and Northwest: fo doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east. Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrast, which Countrie by the Geographers is called Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange for (R:) which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar : for these Senacharib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telasfar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to 30 conney it over into Syria, and to Tyris. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of Senacharib, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly dilioyned.

For it appeareth both in Esai the 37 and in the second of Kings, by the threats

of Rabfache, the while the Armie of Affiria lay before Hierufalem, that the Citties of Gofan, Haran, Refeph, and the Edenites at Telasfar, had relisted the Affyreans, though by them (in a fort) maistered and recourred. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, whom my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaffar. But it appeared manifestly after Senacharibs death, that 40 these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for Esar-Haddon held Assyria, and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. And after that the Armie of Senacharib, commanded by Rabsache, which lay before Hierusalem (Ezechias then raigning) while Senacharib was in Agypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King of Babel fent to Ezechias, both to congratulate the recourse of his health, and his victorie obtained ouer the Affyrians. After which ouerthrow Senacharib himselfe was slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, Efar-Haddon succeeding him in Affria. To the Babylonian Embassadours sent by Merodach, Ezechias shewed all his treasures, aswell proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of Babylon afterward to vndertake their conquest and subuersion. So as, the suspition of 50 warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Asyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Affria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Affireans; and their Garrison-place was at Telastar: and the

very word (Telassar) faith Iunius, fignifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the Ass.

rians. This place Hierofolymitanus takes for Refem, others for Scleucia: but this Telaffar is the fame, which Am. Marcellinus in the Historie of Iulian (whom he followed in the enterprise of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke : It is scatted in an Island of Euphrates vppon a steepe and vnassaultable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour Iulian durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assirians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrie adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place Ptolomie calleth Teridata, having Reseph (which he calleth Resepha) on the left hand, and Canneh, Asia Tab. 41

10 (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand, not far from whence is also found the Cittie of Mann-canne vpon Tigris, and all these seated together, as Esay and Ezechiel have forted them. But the vinderstanding of these places is the more difficult; because Assyria (which the Chaldeans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Allria & Melopotamia in Babylonia nomen transicrunt (saith NIGER,) Assiria and Mesopota- cosmoe Asia. mia tooke the name of Babylonsa. Lastly, it appeareth by those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world Eden is feated, as, by Charran or Haran in Mesopotamia : also by Canneh and Reseph, according to the opinion of Vatablus,

who in these wordes translateth this place: Plantauerat autem I EHOVAH Deus hor-20 tum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a garden in Eden, Eastward: that is (faith he in his Annotations.) Iusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finilus Arabia & Mesopotamia, He commanded trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Me Copotamia.

۵. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradife.

Nd for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nessorian Christians, that inhabite Mesopotamia, which Epiftles in the yeare 1552. they fent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and Andreas Mafeus hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may

haue some farther light for the proofe of that, which we haue said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island as Masius in his Praface to these Epistles faith, is commonly called Gozoria (as it were, the Island, by an eminencie) It hath (faith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was 40 sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtleffe) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be swallowcd vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Asspira, Babylowia, and Chaldea. This Island of Eden hath up the River, and not farre beyond it, the Cittie of Hafan-Cepha, otherwise Fortis Petra: below it, it hath Mofal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of Massus) it is not about twelue miles diftant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that Mofal or Mofel by Marius Niger is remembred among the Citties higher vp Tigris, in these wordes. Iuxts autem V: sup 2. Tigrim, Ciuitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, qua nunc Mosel dicitur, magna sane, &c. (that is) By Tigris are these Citties, Dorbeta neare unto mount Tauras (which

30 is now called Mofel) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of Niger, displacing Mofel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I say) needes not here to trouble vs : seeing for this matter, the testimonie of Masius informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, anowing that this Mofal (or Mozal) is in the confines of Mesopotamia and Assyria, seated upon Tigria, and in the neighbour-

Efe. 7.0.12.

50

20.12.

E/a.39.1. E/a.37.38.

Esa.39.2.

hood of Niniue; and that it is the famous Seleucia Parthorum. The Nestorian Chri-Stians in their former epiftle call it Attur in these words: Ex omnibus Civitatibus de pagis que sunt circum Civitatem Mozal (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Niniues 3 Of all the Citties and townes which are about the Citic of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbourhood of Niniue. As also Niger acknowledgeth Ctesiphon, a Cittie thereabout to be called Asfur (which is the fame as Attur, after the Dialett of those Nations, which change sh into T.) Neither is it much that he should mistake Ctesiphon (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Affur. By this then we may come somewhat necre the end of our purpose. For the the of Eden, which lyeth in the breast of Tigris, is but twelve miles from Moful, and that ancient Cittie, which Ptolomie and Tacitus call Winus, 10 and the Scriptures Niniue, Philostratus, and Simeon Sethi, Mofula, and Iohn Leon Mo-(al, others Mosse, (though it be not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher vpon the same river of Tigris, neere Mofal: so that we are like to finde this ile of Eden heere-about. For the same Andreas Masius which placeth it about Molal.

makes it to be belowe Hasan-chepha, which is vpon the same river of Tigris. The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the 2 estorians in both their epiftles speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, ariver of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we have a testimonie from the learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigris was 26 ariuer of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath beene subject to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages. received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was after the floud called Shinar, and then of the tower of Babel, Babylomis; and the North part of Eden is that Tract of Melopotamia, Allyria, and Armenia, which embraceth both the banks of Tigris, betweene Mount Taurus, and Seleucia. And of this Region of Eden that auncient AETHICVS maketh mention, (not that latter AETHICVS disciple of CALLINICVS, otherwise by PLVTARCH and ATHEN AEVS called ISTRI, who lived in Agypt in the raigne of PHILADEL- 20 PHVs, but an other of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of Greeke by S. HIEROME. And though by corruption of the ancient coppie it be written in AETHICVS Adonu, for Edenis, yet Adonis being a river of Phaniera, cannot be vnderstood to be the region named by AETHICVS. For AETHIc v s makes it a Countrie, and not a river, and ioyneth it with Mesopotamia and Athiopia, calling the land of CH vs Ethiopia, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the river which watereth the Regions (fayth AETHICVS) falleth into the Gulte of Persia: which river he calleth Armodius, for Tigris; Tigris being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of Armenia both Tigris and Euphrates have their originall: for out of Eden came a river, or rivers, to water the gar- 40 den, both which rivers (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates come out of Armenia, and both of them trauerse Mesopotamia, Regions first of all knowne by the name of Eden for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that Eden contained also fome part of Armenia, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places is not vnworthie the name of Eden. For in some part thereof (fayth STRABO) the leaves are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Alfo STEPHANVS de wrbibus mentioneth the Cittie of Adana vpon Euphrates: and the name of Eden was in vie in Amos time, though he speake not of Eden in the East, but of Eden in Calesyria. But to the end I may not burden the readers patience with too long a difcourse, it may suffice to know, that Euphrates and Tigris (once joyned together, and 50 afterward separate) are two of those source heads, into which these rivers which are fayd to water the garden of Paradift, were divided: whose courses being knowne,

Eden, (out of which they are fayd to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that Hidde-

kel and Perath were Tigris and Euphrates it is agreed by all: for the Scuentie and all

others

others conuert Perath by Euphrates, & Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt : and all men winderstand Hiddekel by Tigris (sayth VATABLE.) And because that which I have favd of the Ile of Eden, shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have heere-under fet downe the words out of the two generall epiftles of the Nestorians, as Masius (ad verbum) hath converted them into Latine. The occasion of those letters and fupplications to the Pope were, that the Nestorian Christians which inhabit Mesopotamia, Asyria, Persia, and Babylonia, and have to this day (at least in Queene Maries time they had) fitteene Churches in one Cittie, called Seleucia Parthorum, or Molel vpon the river of Tigris, having no fufficient authoritie to choose themselves 10 a Patriarch (which cannot be done without fower or three Metropolitan Bishops at least) fent to the Bishop of Rome in the yeare of Christ 1552 (as aforefaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto fuch an election as themselves had made : having three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect, sent one Marans thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they make knowne to the Bishop of Rome the flate of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a couctous defire to enrich himself had forborne to institute Metropalitane Bifloops, when the places fell void) they all affembled themselves together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for 100 yeares had been of one house and familie to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remai-20 ned one Bilhop of the same stock and kindred, who aspired to the same dignitic, which his Predeceffours had held, the rest of the Profesiours refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and for the choice of a Gouernour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches affembled themselues. The words of the generall epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the sayd epistle. Verum nos non acceptauimus neque proclamanimus ipsum, sed subitò conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis que funt circum Ciuitatem Mofel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Niniues, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Insula qua est in medio Tigris, fluminis, Eden, ex Tauris Persia, ex Nisibi, &c. which is, But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the 30 East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Niniue, and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Tigris, a riner of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the riner Tigris. And in a second epistle at the same time sent, they vie these words: Neque supersunt apud nos Metropolica, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli panci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbele, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan, en è vestigio conuenimus in Insulam, que est intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimus q, compactum inter nos &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops to whome it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as, the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salma-

flus, and the Bisbop of Adurbeigan: but loe we assembled speedily in the Iland Eden, which 40 is in Tigris, and agreed betweene our felues &c. Now this Iland of Eden Masius describeth with other places; which being well

conceined, the Westerian epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (faythhe) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the fower forts of Christians in those parts of the world, and in the South part of Africa, which hee calleth Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronita, and Cophti, he goeth on in these words : Mox. auditaillius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris insulam, que duodecem circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem sere millia possuum Suo ambitu continet, muris undiq cincta, & à paucis alijs qu'am Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch (as those that came to Rome 30 reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Ilandof Tigris or Eden before spoken

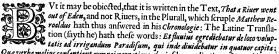
of, which Iland is situated about 12 miles about Mosel, containing very neere ten miles in compasse, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Chriflians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of Eden by the name of Geferta, Infula Tigris: fine Geferta.

Furthermore, describing the Citie of Hosan-cepha, or Fortis Petra, he placethit supra pradictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam, about the foresaid Iland of Tigris, being feated on a fleepe rock. Of this Hand of Geferta Andrew Theuet maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: Geserta ou Gestre est au milieu de la riuiere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie. Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the soile the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the ancient name of Eden liueth, and of that Eden, which lyeth Eastward from Arabia Petras, and the Defart where Moses wrote, and that Eden which bordereth Charran according to Ezechiel, and that Eden which is scated according to the affertion of the faid Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of Re- 10 feph, Canneh, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Assyria and Babylonia, where the Edenites in Thelassar were garrisond to relist the Assprians, whose displantation Senacherib vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tigris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the knowne rivers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradife.

#### XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which feemeth to make the foure rivers to rife from one streame.



Que verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & eius dem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc cft) fluui procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium, & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went 30 out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into source heads: which words (fayth Beroaldus) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated : And a river was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads. The Tigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it converts it thus: Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicijs. And a River went out of pleasure in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word locus, or place, Et fluius egrediebstur de locovoluptatis: And a River went out of the place of pleasure, and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence was divided, hath reference to the 40 Countrie of Eden, and not to the garden it selfe.

And for the word (river) for rivers, it is viuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written. Let the earth bud forth the bud of the hearbe, that seedeth seede, the fruitfull tree, &c. Heere the Hebrew vieth the Singular for the Plurall, bearbe and tree for hearbs and trees; and againe, we eat of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees:) And thirdly, The man and his wife hid themselues from the presence of God. In medio ligns Paradisi. In the middle of the tree of the garden, for (trees.) And of this opinion is David Kimbi, and Vatablus, who vpon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as illud, for vnumquodg, illorum, and he giveth an instance in this question it felfe, as A river (for rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answere out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the obiection, That Moses speaketh but of one river, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason we may expound the fower heads, to be fower notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (river) verse the tenth for one river (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradife to have beene, divides it felfe, and ere long yeeldeth fower notable paffages into feuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted. that following the river downeward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Allyria, were vp Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the River of Eden, to doth not fay it compaffeth or walketh the whole Region of Affyria, (as it had vied this phrase of Pison and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Assiria. The first branch Pi(on, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) Basilius, or flumen regium, which runneth into Tigris vnder Apamia, whence ariseth the name of Pasitigris, (as it were) Piso-tigris. This leadeth to the land of Hauila or Susiana. The second branch Gehon, is that which in Historians is Nabarsares, or Narragas, for Nabar-ragas: both which names signifie flumen derivatum (a river derived) also Acracanus, quasi Ranosus, by reason of the froggie fennes which it maketh; this Gehon leadeth to the first seate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldea and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of Chaldea. The third branch, Hiddekel, may be expounded the vpper streame of Pi-20 fon, or Basilius, which runneth into Hiddekel properly so called (that is, into Tigris) aboue Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage vp Tigris into Assyria: where, because at length it is called Hiddekel, or Tigris, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath or Euphrates, so called per excellentiam, being the Bodie of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Otris. But, be it ariuer, or rivers, that come out of Eden, feeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradife was not farre from these Rivers: for that Perath in Moses is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (faith Moses) Eastwards towards Affur, as we finde, that Tigris is the River of 30 Affriaproprie dicta, whose chiefe Cittie was Niniue, as in Genesis the tenth it is written: That out of that land (to wit) Babylonia, Numrod went into Affur, and builded Niniue, which was the chiefe Cittie of Affyria.

And as for the kinde of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of sourcheads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first streame. Caput aqua (faith VLPIANVS) illudeft, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur fons; siex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a fountaine, then is the fountaine taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a maine river any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first 40 bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the river, where the branch forfaketh the maine streame, called the head of the river.

#### d. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was fuch.



T may also be demanded, whether this region of Edan, by vs descri-bed, be of such fertilitie and beautie, as Edan the seate of Paradyse was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnesse to any part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had

3. 2.

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Gen.1.11.

before the floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no fuch flourishing Countrie, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde Harod. clis. H.t. written of it: First in Herodotio, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, for the Isle of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Ninine, and To from Mosal. Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbs Ninus sita crat, Hacregio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is seated, This Region, of all that we have feene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward. Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, vt nunquam non fere ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold : The leaves of Wheate and Barley being 10 almost foure fingers broade : As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to feakehereof well knowing, that those thinges which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrie of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Countrie Palme-trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meats, and wine, and honnie, ordering them as the Fig-trees. Thus farre Herodotus,

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, Strabo and Niger adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, o mel, o vinum, & acetum conficiunt, Of which these people make bread, wine, honnie, and vineger. But 20 Antonius the Eremite findeth a fift commoditie, not inferiour to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true Athanasius in the life of Antonius the Eremit confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those trees, which the East Indies fo highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any trees of the field. Sunt etiam (faith STRABO) passim per omnem regionem Palma sua sponte nascentes, There are of Palmes over all the whole Region, grow- 30 ing of their owne accord. Of this place Quintus Curtius maketh this report. Euntibus à parte laua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam obere & pingui solo, ot à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat, (that is) As you traualle on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentic of sweet odours) there lyeth a champaine Countrie placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to drive their cattell from the pasture, least they should perish by satietie. Bis in anno segetes Babylonij secant, The Babylonians cut their corne twice a yeare (faith Niger.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may judge the excellence of this by that report which Strabo maketh of the South part of Armenia, which is the North border 40 of Eden, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine, Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemas semper virentibus, This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees alwaies greene: which witnesseth a perpetual! Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetual lactivitie. In briefe so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their cornefields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first fortie yeares, could not make our kinde of Wheate beare feede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (faith Plinie) who addeth this singulari- 50 tie to that soile, That the second yeare the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeeldeth them a haruest of Corne without any further labour; his wordes are these: Vbertatis tanta funt, vt sequenti anno sponterestibilis siat seges.

418.c.17.

#### d. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the land of Havilah,



CHAP.3. S.13.

Fter the discouerie of Eden, and the tentholise of the returned of, it reflects to prove that Pijon and Gebon are branches of Tigris, and Euphrates. For that the knowledge and certainety of these two rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it though the province indeed them out: for Eu-Fter the discouerie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereselfe (Tigris and Euphrates being knowne) findeth them out : for Eu-

phrates or Tigris, or both be that river or rivers of Eden, which water Paradife, which riuer or riuers Mases witneffeth afterward; divided into soure heads, whereof the one is called Pifon, the other Gehon, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we find both these (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Assiria and Mesopotamia, to feeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two rivers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it fo plaine, that these rivers were divided into source branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not fome flipperie and bad foundation, or fome apparance of probabilitie refembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singu-20 lar) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds to finde some partakers or sectatours; the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weake babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this miltaking (and first for the river of Pifon) feemeth to have growne out of the not diffinguishing of that Region in India, called Hauilah, from Hauilah, which adioyneth to Babylonia, afterward knowne by the name of Susiana. For Hauilah vpon Tigris tooke name from Hauilah the sonne of Cush; and Hauilah in India from Hauilab the sonne of Ioctan, the one remembred by Moles in the description of Paradife, Gm. 10.7. the other where Moles letteth downe the generations of Noah and his sonnes after

30 the floud. For the sonnes of Cush were Seba, Hauilah, Sabtah, and Raamah; and the fonnes of Ioctan were Ophir, and Hauilah, &c. of which later (to wit) of Ophir and Hauilah the sonnes of Ioctan, that Iland of Ophir, (whence Salomon had gold) and Hauilah adioyning had their names. Now because Ganges is a great and a samous river of the East India, and Hauilah a Countrey of the same, and is situated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pilon, which river is faid by Moles to water 2.16 the land of Hauilah. Or perhaps it was supposed that those four rivers, named by Moles, must of necessitie befoure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that Ganges was the next great and famous river after Tigris and Euphrates, they chole out this river to make one of the foure. And yet certainely there is an other river, 40 whomein these respects they should rather have chosen then Ganges; for the river Indus on this fide India, for beautie, for nearneffe, and for abilitie, giveth no way place

to Ganges; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be one of the foure heads: feeing Indus commeth betweene it and Tigris; and betweene Tigris and Indus is all that large Empire of Persia, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond Indust, are all those ample Dominions of Indiaintra Gangem, which lie betweene those two proud rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the Kingdome of Mogor. So as if Indus bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from Tigris by all the breadth of Persia, then how much lesse Ganges, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then 50 fortie degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely whosoeuer readeth the Storie of A-

lexander shall finde, that there is no river in Asia, that can exceede Indus. For Hydaspis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of Indus, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered

his whole Fleete, which was readic to be swallowed up therein: Hydaspis (as aforefaid) being but one of many branches of Indus, comparable to it, and as great as it. having belides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Snastus, Acelines, Adris, (otherwise Hirotis) Hispalis, and Zaradrus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are swallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one streame, it crosseth athwart Asia, and then at Cambaia visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gcn.2.15.

But because Pilon, which compasseth Hanilah, as also Gehon, which watereth Cull, must somewhere be joyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Countrie of Eden, out of which the other two heads doe proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be Ganges, or Nilus: for 10 Wilus riscth in the verermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea; and the River Ganges rifeth out of the mountaine Imaus, or (as others will haue it) Caucasus, which divides the Northerne Seythia from India, and runneth from North to South into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and Hiddekel (that is, Euphrates and Tigris) the one of them is begotten in Armenia, necre Georgiana Or Iberia, the other not farre off in the same Armenia, by the Gordican mountaines, so as Ganges who onely trauaileth in her owne India, and Nilus through Athiopia and Agypt, neuer faw the land of Eden, or joyned themselves in one Channell, either with themselues, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into sower heads or branches, according to 20 Moses. Therefore the River Pifon, which enricheth Hauilah, is the same which by joy-

Gen. 2. v. 12.

ning it selfe with Tigris, was therefore called Pisi-tigris, or Piso-tigris, of Pison and Tioris, which river watereth that Hauilah, which Hauilah the fonne of CvsH gaue name vnto, and not Hauilah of India, so called of HAVILAH the sonne of I octan, who inhabited with his brother OPHIR in the East. And this Hauilah of the Cu-Ihites hath also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the bignesse of an Oliue, whereof Arabia hath great plentie, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. Beroaldus affirmeth, that Bdela in Hebrew signi- 30. fieth Pearle: so doth Eugubinus; and Hierome calls it Oleaster: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or pearle: Hauilah, or Sufiana hath plentie of both. Now this Countrie of Susiana or Hauilah stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of Hercules, and from thence embraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the Shebans (which traded with the Cittie of Tyre, according to Ezechiel) their great plentie of gold, which Straboalfo witneffeth, as was shewed before. The Greekes had a conceipt, that Pison was Danubius: the Rabbines take it for

Steuch.

But Nilus findeth the same impossibilitie that Ganges doth: and Danubius hath the 40 Sea of Hellespont and all Asia the leffe, betweene it and Tigris. Now Pison which runneth through Hauilah or Susiana, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and Tigris embrace each other vnder the Cittie of Apamia, there doe they agree of a joynet and compounded name, and are called Pifo-tigris. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remayning any resembling sound of the first name: for Babylon it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these rivers, is by some writers knowne by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus, by Castaldus, of Baldach: by Barius, of Bagdad; and of Boughedor, by Andrew Theuet; and yet all those that have lately seene it, call it Bagdet. To this river of Pison, Ptolomie indeed with many others give the name of Basilius, or Regius, and Gehon they terme 50 Mahar-fares and Marsias, and Baarsares. So is Euphrates, neere the Spring and foun-

Nilus. Aben-ezra (fayth Hopkins) out of Rabbi Saadia translateth Pison into Nilus:

Poft.Colmoz. Theuet Cofmog. Afie.tab.4.

Plin.lib.s.e.24. taine, by Strabo and Plinie called Pixirates: by Iunius, Puckperath, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of Euphrates: where it breaketh through the mountaine Taurus, it takes the name of Omyra. Plutarch calls it Medus and Zaran-

da: the Hebrewes Parath, (fayth Ar. Montanus: ) Pagninus, Perath: Iosephus, Phorah; Eusebius, Zozimus: Ammianus, Chalymicus: Gistilanus and Colinutius terme it Cobar: which Ezechiel calleth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Euphrates. The Affrians know it by the name of Armalchar or Nahor Malcha: but now commonly it is called Frai.

The fame confusion of names hath Tigris, as, Diglito, and Diglath, Seilax, and Sollax: of the Hebrewes it was called Hiddikel: now of the inhabitants Tegil.

But Mercer vpon Genesis conceineth rightly of these rivers: for Euphrates and Tigris (fayth he) streame into fower branches, two of which keepe their ancient to names, and the other two are called Pifon and Gehon. The reason, why these two riuers ioyned in one (below Apamia) loose their names, and are called Pisi-tigris, and the memorie of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, linketh into the Lakes of Chaldea, not farre from Vr. the Cittie of Abraham, and fall not intirely into the Persian Sea, as Tigris accompanied with Pison doth.

This errour that Pison was Ganges, was first broched by tosephus, (whose fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important confequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For 20 Epiphanius, Augustine, and Hierome, take this for currant; whereof it followed that as Pison was transported into the East India, to find out Hauilah: so was Gehon drawne into Africa, to compasse Athiopia. But if Hauilah, whereof Moses speaketh in the description of Paradise, be found to be a Region, adioyning to Babylon on the one side, and Culb (which is fallly interpreted Athiopia) fastened to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vies) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of Shinar, where Culb the fonne of Ham first fate downe with his fonnes, Sheba, Hauilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrod, coc. and of Hauilah, the sonnes of Cush, did that Region take name, which Pifon so compasseth; and the land (called Culh) which Gehon watereth, tooke name of Culh himselfe. For as the sonnes of loctan, Ophir, and Havilah, seated themselves as neare together as they could in India, so did the sonnes of Cush and Shinar or Babylonia, where Nimrod built Babel: for Hauilah or Chauilah was first Chusea of Cush; then

Chufa, Sufa, and Sufiana. From this Hauilah vnto the Defarts of Sur, did the Ifraelites and Amalechites pofsoffe all the interiacent Countries: for Saul smote the Amalechites from Hauilah to 1. Sam. 15.7%] Sur: which Sur the Chaldean Paraphrast converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the

redde Sea; but this was not meant from Sur vpon the redde Sea, to Hauilah in the East India, for Saul was no such trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore Hauilah must

40 be found nearer home, where the fonnes of Ismael inhabited, and which Countrie Saul wasted : for Amalek and the Amalechites posses that necke of Countrie, between the Persian Sea, and the redde Sea; Hauilah being the extreme of the one towards the East, and Sur of the other, towards Ægypt and the West, leaving that great body of Arabia fælix towards the South; and they spredde themselves with the Madianites and Edumaans, from the East part, or backe-fide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of Euphrates, comprising the best parts of Arabia Petraa, and Deserta.

20		

See more of

this point.

c.7. \$.10.



Ow, as Hauilah in the East India drew Pifon fo farre out of his way thicher, so I say did Cufh (being by the Scuentie translated Athiopia force Gehon into Africa. For Cufh being taken for Athiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latins followed. Gehon confequently was the confequently with the confequently was the confequently with whom the Latins followed, Gehon confequently was effected for 2/1-

CHAP.3. S.14.

lus. But Æthiopians are, as much, as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper 10 Countrie is called Thebaides, lying to the Southward of all Agypt. And although there be many other regions of Athiopians, and far South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Agyptian Stories, and out of which Na-

tion they had many times their Kings of Egypt: all which Ethiopians are very neare, or elfe directly under the Aguinoctiall line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the Chastes; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring Torrida Zona. But this Translation of the Septuagint. Pererius doth qualifie in this manner. There are (faith he) two Athiopia's, the East, and the West : and this division he findeth in Strabo, out of Homer. Now because there is no colour to make Chush Ethiopiain Africa, Pererius will make Chush and the land of the Chu- 20 fites (which is Arabia Petraa, and a part of Arabia the happic, with the Region of

Madian) to be the East Athiopia.

Now if it be graunted, that Cush and the land of the Chusites, be that Tract from Gen.25,18. Sur to Hauilah, according to the Scriptures: Habitauit Is MAELab Hauilah v (que Sur, qua respicit Agyptum introcuntibus Assprios, Is MAEL dwelt from Hauilah unto Sur. that is towards Agypt, as thou goest toward Affyria; The same sufficeth to proue that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a river which watereth Culh, and not Athiopia. But this place of Scripture Habitauit I s M A E L, &c. hath this sense. Ismael dwelt from Hauilah. which is the way of Affyria, or the Countrie bordering Affyria; and Sur, which ly-Verf. 16.

eth toward Agypt, which is as much to fay, as, The issues of Ismael (whereof there 30 were twelue Princes) whom God had promifed to make a great people, inhabited all those regions between the border of Agypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when Zearah the Chuste, which others call Tharantha, brought an Armic of ten hundred

thousand against As King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond £gypt; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of £gypt, betweene Palefina and Athiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalechites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Asa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armic, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Citties of King 40

Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Cittie of the Athiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it : And ABR A-HAM departed thence toward the South Countrie, and dwelt betweene Cadelh and Sur, and

foiourned in Gerar; Now Sur is that part, upon which Moses and the Israelites first set Exod.17.8. their feete after they passed the redde Sea, where the Amalechites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had beene weary, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the Sto-

Gen,26.1. rie of Isaac it is written. Wherefore Is a a c went to Abimilech, and the Philistims unto Gerar: and I am fure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Athiopians. And lastly, Moses himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then

the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou commest to Gerar: for Sydon was the Frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeede, howfoeuer Pererius doth with an honest excuse salue his Translation of Chus for Athiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint. and Iosephus did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Athiopia,

they are both found elsewhere. For Plinie in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Author, of the fe two Athiopia's. But the East Athiopia is that which compaffeth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abysines, under Prester lohn, And the West Ethiopie is that, which joyneth it felfe with the river Niger, which we call Senega and Gam-

bria : for thereabouts are these Athiopians, called Peror si, Daratites, with divers other names, which Plinie numbreth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Desarts Plinter. thereof, faith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede ( meane that of Niger, and that of Prester Iohn, and the Troglodytes) lie due East and

West. But as for Cush, and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Ethiopia, which is beyond Agypt. Now, that Io/ephus was exceeding groffe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of Moles when he ferued Pharas, in the warres against the Æthiopians: for in that ( to make Chus. Æthiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle ouer the Red Sca, and beyond all Expt, and fetteth it in Ethiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the worlds plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pe-

rerius confesseth, and laieth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet HIEREMIE. And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Agypt, to drinke the water c.z.v.18. 20 of Nilus ? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon? to this faith Pereriu.

profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon , sed Sicher , que significat nigrum & turbidum ; Truly (faith PERERIVS) the word Gebon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sicher, which signifieth black and troubleth water.

CHAP.3. S.14.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Athiopia. Moles maried the daughter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, Exod 2. 21. whom both the Greeke and Latin call a Madianite, and not Athiopiffan, as ( with 10- 3.1. (cohus ) the Geneus converts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Num. 12.1. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Countrie of Madian, which is that part of Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of 30 Exodus, that Moses fled from PHARAO into the land of Madian, and fate downe by a V.15:

Well, or and againe, in the third of Exodus, When Moses kept the sheepe of IETHRO V.I. his father in law, Priest of Madian, Ge. Indeed, these four nations are eucry where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites. the Ifmselites, the Amalekites, and the Chafites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. 28. that Is feph was fold to the Ismaelites; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Madianites fold Infeph to Putiphar , Pharae's steward. The Geneuians, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moles wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites

and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moles wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Ioseph: for their Cammells were loaden with spicerio, and Balme, & Myrrhe, which are the trades of Gen. 37.25. Arabia falix : from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the world is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they received from the East side

of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforefaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is faid : That Putiphar v.1. bought Tofeph of the Ifmaelites, which the Chaldaan Paraphrast in the same place cal-Reth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of Indges. That when Ifrael had fowen, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and V.s.

to they of the East, and came voon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Defart; To as where before in the buying of Isleph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites, are made one Nation. For in the profecution of the storie of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending c.r. both Nations, and in the eight Chapter, v. 2 4. thefe Nations are all called I/maelites.

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C.8. v.24. Gen.16.12.

Exod.2.

Plin l.s.c.1.

C.23.2 3.

C.z.v.18.

and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon defired, that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victoric against Zebah and Zalmanna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700 shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and cuer in action of warre. Manus eius contra omnes, o manus omn um contra eum ; His hand (faith Go D of I s M A E L) shallbe against alimen, and every mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenita. And these Ismaelites, which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan (faith Iofephus) vse poison vpon their arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east to are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is, among other places, made most chron.2.c.21.16 apparent, in the second of Chronicles, in these words: So the Lord sured up against I E H OR A M, the shirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Athiopian: so Hierome reads it : the Geneua translation hath it, which were besides the Athiepians. Now, how farre it is off betweene the Philiftines, and the Negro's, or the Athiopians, cuery manthat looketh in a Map, may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians, doe mixe and joyne with the land of the Chusites, and are distant from Æthiopis about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next 20 Neighbours; but all Agypt, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should have beene translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against I EHORAM, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chustes, who indeed are their next neigh-\* Steuch. Eu- bours \* Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in sacris liter is sit Arabia propinqua; There gub.in Gen. c.z. remaineth no doubt (laith STEVCHIVS) but Athiopia in the Scriptures, it taken for

that Countrie, which toyneth to Arabia. Now may we thinke is it probable, or possible, that Moses could be ignorant of Ni-146? No he knew it, no living man fo wel, and therfore would never have named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely if Moses had meant Nilus, when he named 30 Gehon he would have called the River (into which he was cast vpon reeds, and preferued by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharao) a River of Egypt,

wherein hee was borne and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides the riuer of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. And if Mojes had told the Israelites, that Nilus had beene a River of Paradife, they might justly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all daics of their lines, and found no fuch Paradife at all, nor any memorie, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the Paradise of Hesperides, where (faith Plinie) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Oliues in stead of golden apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in Esay, and once in the Prophet Hieremie; and yet in those places 40 it is not faid to be a river of Athiopia, but of Agypt. For in a word, the Ifraelites had

neuer any comunion or affaires with the Athiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade. beyond Agypt, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or Reguli, were diftinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generali name were all Arabians. On the North fide of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Calefyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselues, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) Tyre, Siden; Acon, Gaza, and many 50 others : yea, Hierufalem it felfe was with-held from Ifrael (from the daies of Moses euen vnto the time of David) by the Iebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of arabia the stonie, which the Chustes inhabi-

ted in the times of the Kings of Ifraell: and in this Defart it was that Matt. Beroaldus lost himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pifon; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Hauilah, for I finde none fuch in rerum natura, as he hath described: by which Rivers hee also includeth within Paradife, even Arabia the

And as he well proued that Pifon was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus: fo where to finde them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainely this river of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose springs he findeth farre to East in Arabia, is but imaginarie: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame. rifing betweene it and the red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more then twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chasites, as

they were planted when the state of Israell stood, and when it flourished, being then their necre neighbours, and neuer looked back to the first seates and plantation of CHVS. For after the floud, CHVS and his children neuer refted, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and necre which himfelfe with his fonnes first inhabited. HAVILAH tooke the river-fide of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called HAVILAH, (now Susiana:) Raamah and Sheba farther downe the 20 river, in the entrance of Arabia fælix. NIMR OD seated himselfe in the best of the

Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. CHVs himselfe and his brother MIZRAIM first kept vpon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldea, and in processe of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the red or Arabian Sea: from whence MIZRAIM past ouer into Agypt, in which Tract the Chustes remayned for many yeares after. Now because there could be no such river found in Arabia the stonic. which they might entitle Gehon, they translated Chus Aethiopia, and Gehon, Nilus. And if we doe examine this miltaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as

it was. For let vs suppose, that BRVTE, or whosoeuer else that first peopled this 30 Iland, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and calling the Iland after his name BRITANNIA, it might be fayd that Thames or Tems was a river, that watered Britannia: and when afterwards in processe of time, the same BRVTE had also discouered and conquered Scotland, which he also entituled by the same name of Britannia, after-ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the river of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that EVROPA, the daughter of the King of Tyre in Phanicia, gaue the name to Europe, according to Herodetus, and that Herod. I. & 1. the first discourrers thereofarrised in the mouth of some river in Grete, which then

watered as much of Europe, as he first discouered, shall we in like fort resolue, that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found 40 in them, or any of them? In like manner was it fayd by Mofes in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole land of Chus; but not the whole land which the Chustes should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in afterages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue beene Maisters in time, (as the Saracens which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in NINE OD the sonne of CHVs, consisted at the first but of fower Citties, (to wit) Babel, Erech, Acad, and Chalne, yet we finde, that his Succeffours within a few yeares after commaunded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of Babel confumed the memorie of Chusea. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that land take the name of Baby. lonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by NIMROD a yonger sonne, ob-50 scured the name and nation of his father Cvs H in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chastes retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and

Territoric by themselues afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

that CHVs or any of his could in halt creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 120 years after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted euery bush and briar, reede and tree to joyne themselues (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with judgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde, that every familie feated themselves as neere together as possible they could; and though necessitic enforced them, after they grew full of people, to fpread themselves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this adulfe, as that they might at a 1 times refort, and fuccour one another by river, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So N 1 M-ROD, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, sate downe in 19 the very confluence of all those rivers, which watered Paradife: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of NoAHs children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men ADAM, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankinde N o A H, began from thence his dispersion.

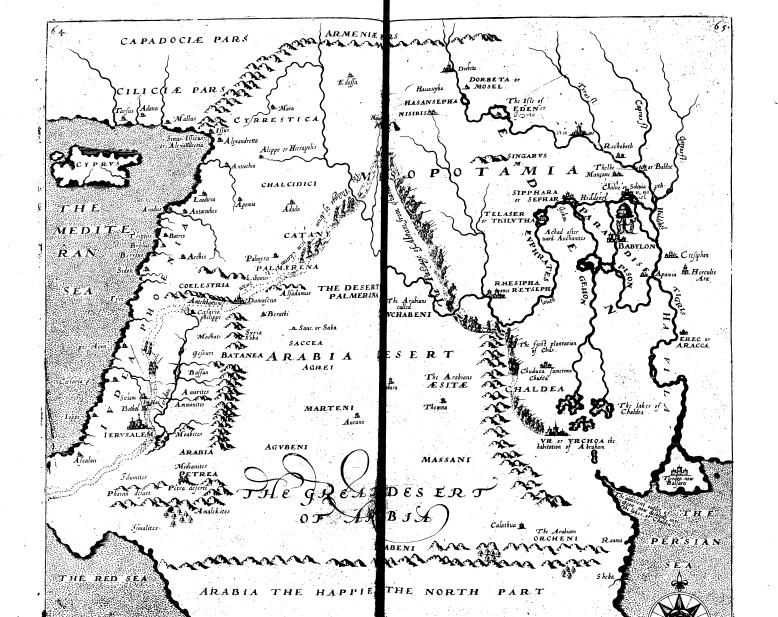
Now as NIMROD the yongest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as aforefaid) which both Tigris and Euphrates cleanfed and enriched; fo did HAVILAIT place himselfe vpon Pifo-tigris: R AAMAH and his sonne SHEBA farther downe vpon the fame river, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: CHVs himselfe vpon Gehon, the fairest branch of Euphrates. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, 22 yet they alwaics fastened themselues to the rivers sides: for Niniue, Charran, Reseph, Cannel, Vr in Chaldes, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded upon these nauigable rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give fuccour and affistance to the other, as is already often remembred.

# ). XV. A conclusion by way of repetition of somethings spoken of

Vt now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonics of the Scriptures, that Paradife was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, scated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called Aram fluniorum, or Mesopotamia, which taketh into it also a portion of Shinar and Armenia: this

Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 degrees from the Aequinoctiall, and 55 from the North pole: in which Climate the most excellent wines, fruites, oyle, graine of all forts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellencie of this fayd foile and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. 42 For wherein foeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giueth vnto man what socuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be fayd, that these trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Countries are also bleffed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous discases, the multitude of venimous beafts and wormes, with other inconucniences, and then there will be found no comparison betweene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this garden of Paradife had, before God, (for mans in-50 gratitude and crueltic, curfed the earth) we cannot judge; but I may fafely thinke, that by how much Adam exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceede all parts of the Vniuerfall world, in which God had planted (that is) made to



grow the trees, of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becomming the Paradife, and Garden of fo great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of meninthis Scripture haue

beene dimme-lighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our knowne world: some, aboue the middle Region of the aire: some, cleuated neare the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be fufficiently fatisfied, that these were but like Castles in the aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (faith Moses)

Eastward, inrespect of Indea, that God planted this garden, which Eden we finde 10 in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to thisday. A River went out of Eden to water this garden, and from thence divided it selfe into foure branches; and we finde that both Tiggis and Euphrates swimming through Eden doe ioyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart doe water Chus and Hauilah, according to Moses: the true seates of Chus and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which Nimrod built Babel. That Pifon was Ganges, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrarie: for that which was neuer iovned cannot be divided. Ganges, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden; That Gehon was Nilus, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this River is a greater stranger to Tigris and Euphrates, then Ganges

20 is: for although there are betweene Tigris and Ganges about four ethousand miles, yet they both rife in the same quarter of the world; but Nilus is begotten in the mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sca : and Euphrates distilleth out of the mountaines of Armenia. and falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, three score and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following I have added a Chorographicall description of this terrestriall Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labours may but receive an allowance suspended, untill fuch time as this description of mine

be reproued by a

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CHAP.

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# CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradife.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree : and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his cating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.



OR eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradife, in exilium vita temporalis, into the banishment of temporall life, faith Beda. That these trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious 20 and learned writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperic, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the world an imaginarie doctrine.

The tree of Life (fay the Hebrewes) hath a plurall construction, and is to be understood, Lignum vitarum, The tree of lines, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and rationall life of man; and not only (but for Adams transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also given a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a Bart. fept. 2. l.1.

bodie compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and ungricued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue beene translated, as Enoch was. And as before the floud, the daies of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and soone after the floud of two hundred yeares and vpwards even to five hundred : fo if Adam had not difobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the lines of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as manylearned men haue conceined. Chrysostome, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were 40 of beliefe, that (but for Adams fall and transgression) Adam and his posteritie had beene immortall. But fuch is the infinite wisedome of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained mankinde; or elfe, that Millions of foules must have beene vngenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for cuer: and therefore that of Chrysostome must be vnderstood of immortalitic of bodies, which should have been translated and

But of what kinde or Species this tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach; in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of Salomon, where Wisedome is compared 50 to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also Christ is called the Tree of Life, and out of the Spocalypsis, I will give to him that our commeth, to eate of the Tree of life, which is in the Paradife of God. But to this place St. Augustines answere may fuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

terrestrial Paradife, so there was a celestiall. For although Agar and Sara were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the maide and wife of Abraham, were meere foolilhnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth enery tree faire to light, and fiveet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden: which showeth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, Hefiodus, Homer, Ouid, and others steale the invention of the created world;

10 fo from the Garden of Paradife, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of Alcinous, and another of the Hesperides : and from the tree of Life, their Nectar and Ambrofia; for Nectar, according to Suidas, fignifieth making young, and Ambrofia, immortalitie; and therefore faid to be the meate and drinke of the Gods.

#### II.

Of BECANUS his opinion that the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica.



20 to the Tree of Knowledge of good and cuill, some men have prefumed farther, especially Goropius Becanus, who giveth himselfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gheffe at, whereat Goropius much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer lined any

man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he fettethit. For Moses Bar-cephas fastened on this coniecture aboue fixe hundred yeares before Becanes was borne; and Bar-cephas himfelfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Authour Philoxenus 30 Mahurgensis, and others, whose very wordes Garopius vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For Moses Bar-cephas in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 49.) faith, That

the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica, the Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (faith Becanus) are found vpon the bankes of Acesines, one of the Rivers which falleth into Indus, where Alexander built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neare the Kingdome of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneffe of agreat peaze, or (as Plinie reporteth) Plin.Lit. 46 fomewhat bigger, and that it is a tree fe femper ferens, alwaies planting it felfe; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroade, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselves

40 vnderit. Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaues no leffe Lib. x.cap. 3. then a shield. Aristobulus affirmeth that fiftie horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these trees. Onesieritus raiseth this number to soure hundred. This tree (faith Theophrastus) exceedethall other in bignesse, which also Plinie and Onesieritus confirme: to the truncke of which these Authours give such a magnitude as I shame to repeate. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not fo rare a Plant, as Becanus conceiveth, who because he found it no where elfe, would needes draw the garden of Paradife to the Tree, and fet it by the river Acesimes. But many parts of the world have them, and I my selfe have seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from Paria in America. They

50 grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first shot up some twentie or thirtie foote in length, (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large toppe, hauing no bough nor twigge in the truncke or stemme ; for from the vimost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummie inyce, which have geth downeward like a cord or finnew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the

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ground; which it no fooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the toppe boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this corde maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding haltily. From the vtmost boughes of these young trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeare and leffe (in that world of a perpetual) spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a launce, and as straight, as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may (indeede) shrowde foure hundred or foure thousand horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sca-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of Trinidado, 10 The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downeward to finde roote under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oisters breed. intangled in their beddes, fo as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene fine hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oysters grew on trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaves, or any fuch delicate fruit I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed adozen miles together under them: but to returne to Goropius Becanus. This tree (faith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the fight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this tree having so huge a truncke (as the former Authours report, and 20 Becamus beleeueth) it was in this tree that Adam and Eue hidde themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the wordes of Mojes translated in medioligni, are by all the interpreters understood in the plurall number, (that is) in the middest of the trees, But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moses Bar-cephas, word for word) is, that when Adam and Eue found themselues naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because Adam being possest with shamedid not runne vp and downe the garden to seeke out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it selfe; and the seleaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which Plinie anoweth in these wordes; Latitudo foliorum pelta efficiem Amazonia habet, The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also Theophrast confirmeth; the forme of which Targets Virgil toucheth:

Vrg. En.l.1.

Gen.3.7.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis Penthesilaa furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield Penthesilæa leades into the field.

Here Becamus desireth to be beleeved, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him. to giue creditto this his borrowed discouerie, vsing this confident (or rather cholericke) speech. Quiserit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosis narratione comparet, vt audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, qua cum illa magis quadret, Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these thinges which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to auow, that any other tree can be found, which doth 50 more properly answere, or agree therewith. But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, forting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of Philo: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne beleefe, for the matter is of

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God given to Adam, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleafed God to make triall of his obedience : Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pura ac August decinit. simplicis Obedientia bonum, Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to com- Dellas cao. mend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

Of BECANUS his not unwittie allegorizing of the Storie of his Ficus Indica.



Vt in this I must doe Becanus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (faith he) so did Man,

grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as hee had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creatour; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he beganne to bend downeward, and stouped toward the earth, which all the rest of Adams posteritie after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselues to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragious-20 nesse of this tree he compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iuftice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased Christ to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among fo many large leaves, may be compared (faith he) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding fweet, and delicate to the tafte and palate, fo are the delights and pleafures of the world, most pleasing while they dure. But as all those thinges which are most mellistuous, are soonest changed into choller and bitternesse: fo are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest forrowes and repen-30 tances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (faith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their follicitude, their outward shewes, and publike oftentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we feeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And fürthermore, as the leaves, bodie, and boughes of this tree, by fo much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpasse the meanest: so is the little fruit of fuch men, and fuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthieft shrubbe, and humblest bryar, or the poorest and basest man, then such a slouo rishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas Adam, after he had disobayed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaves to couer himfelfe withall, this may feruc to put vs in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which wee vie so many vncharitable and cruell practises in this world.

 IIII.
 Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with fome other notes touching the Storie of ADAMS sinne.



Ow, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, Moses Bar-cephas an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by Masius) giveth this judgement : That the fruit of this tree had no fuch vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there

CHAP.4.S.4.

was any fuch knowledge created in Adam, as if he had been ignorant before; but as Junius also noteth, Arbor (cientia boni & mali (idest) experientia boni & mali abenentu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and exill (that is) the experience of good and evill by the euent. For thus much we may conceiue, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workemanthip of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing received immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobaying of Gods commandement was the fearfullest cuill, and the obseruation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (not-10 withstanding) conceine, that sicknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the fuffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witnesse: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terrour then he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaffe of his owne guiltie foule, he beheld therein the horrour of Gods judgements, to as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased cuill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and minde; that is, deprined of Gods grace and former felicitie; and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had 29 any fuch operation, by any felfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and thinges done. In fuch fort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore called Efek, and the Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heardsmen of Isaac and Gerar

Num.20.12. Gen, 26,20. 21. C.31.43. C.28.19. C.16, 14.

contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the heape of witnesse, between Jacob and Laban, not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the couenant. So Iacob called the house of God Bethel: and Hagar, the Well in the Defart, Vinentis. But Adam being both betrayed and maistered by his affections, ambitious of a 20

farther knowledge then he had perceived in himfelfe, and looking but flightly (as all his iffues doe) into the miferies and forrowes incident, and greatly affecting the fupposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleafing perfwafions vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poylon mankinde in the very roote, which he moiltned with the liquor of the fame ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Gen.3.17.

tletie present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by ? euen the viiquiet vanitic of the woman; fo as by Adams hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrarie 40 to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the fubicat of labour, forrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counsellour. But because thou hast obayed the voice of thy wife, or. (faid God himselfe) Curfed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgley and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entred and perswaded.

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne sub-

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience: euen a defire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to 50 her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like confent, namely an vnwillingnesse to grieue her and make her sadde, least she should pine and be ouercome with forrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Satomon the sonne of Dauid Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.I.

greatest wisedome, did both of them disobay their Creatour, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not fo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in fucceeding ages have beene allured to fo many inconvenient and wicked practifes by the perswalions of their wives, or other beloued Darlings, who couer over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfait passion of dissimulate forrow and vnquietnesse.

# Снар. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, and the floud of NOAH.

ð. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS sinne : and of his going out



HE fame pride and ambition which beganne in Angels, and afterward possest Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (enuious of the acceptation of his brothers. prayer and facrifice) flew him, making himfelfe the first man-slaver, and his brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnaturall murther, although it. pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater then he could beare. For the fame offence chiefly (wherewith the fonnes of Adam, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he destroyed all mankinde, but Woah and his familie : for it is written.

The earth allo was corrupt before God: of which in the same place Moses giveth area- Gons.v. 13.13. son, for faith he, The earth was filled with crueltie: and anon after God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto Woah, saying; In end of all flesh is come before me, for the 40 earth is filled with crueltie through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or from the earth: Neither was this crueltic meant to have beene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all forts of iniuftice and oppression. After this murther of ABEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord; and dwelt in the land of No D. Gen.4. v.16. towards the East fide of Eden : in which wordes The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world. Totus in calo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, fed Aug. de Cuitat. vtrumg, simul, God (faith St. A VGVSTINE) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, Dellization not by enterchanged times, but all at once; and that this is true David witnesseth. If I Pfal.139.8, beinheauen (faith DAVID) thou art there, if in hell, thou art there also : but what is 50 meant thereby ? Exit à facie Dei (faith CHRYSOSTONE) CAIN went out from Ciryloft, in Gen.

the presence of the Lord, (that is) he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his Homil. 2. protection.

. A Maring of Alberta (States) A Marin Joseph Resident (Segreta)

Of CAINS dwelling in the land of NOD: and of his Cittie Enoch.

Hieren.rad. Hebr.

Fofep.l.z.c.3.

Gen.4, 16.

17.

V. 23.

His word Nod or Naid St. Hierome and many others understand to fignific wandring, or incertaine habitation : vexation or agitation, faith Iunius; but the Seuentic conuert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrie, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations. then any thing elfe, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in re- 10

gard of the murther committed, justly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: And who soeuer findeth me (faith CAIN) shall slay me. Now that 20 od or Naid was a Gen. 4. 14. Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwelt) for dwelling figni-

fieth an abiding: and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, Moses teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by Moses, that after Cain departed from the

presence or fauour of God, he built a Cittie, and called it by the name of his first borne, Enoch; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie tamfelfe against reuenge. Cyrillus faith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ 40 and of the Iewes; and that as Cain, after that he had flaine Abel vniustly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the world: fo the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the Iewes had never fince any certaine Estate, Commonweale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this land of Nod, Junior taketh to be in Arabia Deferta, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Defert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular people or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soeuer, which in old time lived by pastorage, and fedde (as we call it in Ireland) youn white meate without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes Nomades, and by the Latines Pastores vagi, as the Northern Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in 20 Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northern Irish: yea such were the inhabitants of Italie it selfe, till such time as Italies (who gave them that name) taught them the

hulbandrie of tillage vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by Ptolomic, Calena, which also might be derived of Carena, the Countrie of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is written Gen. 3. Therefore the Lord God fent him forth from the barden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he east out man, &c. and at the East side of the garden of Edenhe fet the Cherubins: which sheweth that the entrie into Paradife was from the East, by which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise 40 which was Eastward, according to the Text. Cain also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word Nodor Naid doe fignific profugus, that is, a fugitine, wee can give no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of Cain, then till hee built the Cittie of Enoch, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as Iolephus writeth) to oppreffe others thereby. So as for mine owne o-

pinion I am resolued with the Septuagint that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which can vieth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as trauaileth infeare of reuengement: for who foeuer findeth me (faith C A I N) fhall flay me; or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the sa- 50 nour of God.

And because these Henochians, so called of the Cittie Henoch, were the first societie and civill affemblie of all other, it is likely that the same of these people (either for crueltie, strength, or other actions) lived in the memorie of Noah and his sonnes; so

that after the floud (as there were of all forts of natures, some vertuously, some impioufly disposed, and every active minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in crueltie and oppression tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where Henoch stood before the floud, and whereof the monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of Ioppe did) gaue occasion to the planters of that place to call themselues by the same names: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, and Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, and Bactria, and of the fame name many mountaines, as those to which are otherwise called Coraxio. And seeing that it is hard to finde out the truth Quotidie aliquid

of these things, which the most aged time hath couered ouer or defaced, wee may in bee magno or-(according to the counfaile of Plate) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith fatisfic our volum finds selves, if of so great and almost worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names mentaininur,

and nations there remaine any print or footesteps to posteritie. In \* Plinie , P. Mela, Strabo , Valerius Flaccus, Lucan , Stephanus , we finde those the mon mibus Henochei described, though diverfly written, as in Plinie, sometimes Heniochi, in Mela primibus oriun. Emochi, in Flaceus Heniochi, in Lucan Enochii, all which inhabite vpon the Sea Euxinus, Albinum. but yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to Moses words) Fast- \* Plan. 1.64.94 ward from Eden. For Moles, in all places where he describeth any Region, was to Mel. Liz.vlt. 20 exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrow- Strabo. Lii. ing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of Genesis the eleventh he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plane in the v.s. land of Shinar, but in this of Cain he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of Nod towards the East fide of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South, of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of Henoch, the Cittie of Cain, or of the Region wherein it flood, when the fame was repeopled after the floud: fo it is probable that these Henochij of Colchis, and other parts adjoyning, were 30 not the first of that name, after the sonnes of Wood beganne to fill the world againe: because, had this Henbeh the Cittle of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then beene feated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as Plinie findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of Colchis (now Mengrelia) Plin 1.6.c.4.5. Sanni Heniothis Protomic Zani; beyond which an hundred and fiftie mile Eastward Ptol,tab. Afe. 3 he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these againe he discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountaines of Para-panisus, between them and the great river of oxus, which bordereth Battria on the North fide; and these 40 Henoshy are due East from the Region of Eden; and Eastward from the very garden it felfe.

And although we cannot be affired, that these Henothis tooke name from the memorie of the Cittle of Enoch directly, yet beenule they inhabited due East from Paradife, and afterwards fored themselves Westward (as all Noahs sonnes did that came into Shinar) the conjecture is farre more probable, then that of Annius the Fryar, who fets Henoch in Phanicia, quite contrarie to Mofes word : Phanicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And befides these severall Nations of the Henochy, Stephanus findeth a Region cal- steph. de Vib. led Henochia; and the same also in the East, with divers mountaines about Baltria and 50 Sogdiana of the lame name. Only the Gracians (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things elfe) our of the word (Heniochi) which fignifieth Carts or Coachmen; make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of Castor and Pollux Nat. comes cal-(to wit) Amphites and Telebius, who attended them in the enterprise of Ialon into leth them Rhe-

Colchis. And though I doe not derice, but thill rafon with other Greekes ranged the Nat. com. 18.09

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coastes of Asia the lesse, in an open Boate or kinde of small Galley, \* of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being source and sistie, there was no place and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

#### d. III.

of Moses his omitting fundry things concerning CAINS generation.

Vt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Cittie of Henoch in prophane storie, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some few objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and sifth Chapter of Genesis: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for Cairs shauing no other assistance then

his sonne Henoch) to performe such a worke as the building of a Cittie, seeing there is thereto required fo many hands, and fo great a masse of all forts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious race) Moses vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole storie of the first race, 20 which wasted by the least account 1656. yeares, in fine short Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to beltow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure, as 800, and 900. yeares, that in fuch a space Cain had not want of leasure and meanes to build many fuch Citties as Henoch, be the capacitic answering to what other of the world foeuer: for in what age of Cains life he built it, the Scriptures are filent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues Moses had the least care. And as it was said of Cain, that he built a Cittie: fo was it faid of Noah, that his three fonnes peopled all the world; but in both the processe of time required to be understood: which adulse feeing Moses wheth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writthe 10 Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of Abel, and oblation of Cain, he spake it in this fort, Fuit autem post dies multos or à fine dierum (that is) in processe of time it came to passe that CAIN brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to be understood of Cain, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the Cittie of Enoch or Henoch.

And where it is written, as of Caim, that he built Enoch, so of Salomon, that he built the Temple of Hierufalem; yet it is well knowne of Salomon, that he employed in that worke 150000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, The King inuaded; when he caused an inuation to be made: and he built, so when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we finde, that Mose, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passet to the our in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of Caim, Nose; writeth in this manner: Caim also knew his wife, who conceived and bare. Henoch, and he built a Cittie, and called the name of the Cittie after the name of his some Henoch. And to Henoch was borne Irad, and Irad begat Mehvirel, and Mehvirel begat Mehvirel.

Now of Seth, Moses writth sure otherwise, and in this manner. And Seth lived 103. seares, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807. 50 yeares, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the daies of Seth were 912. years, and he died: as for the yeares and times of the wicked they were not numbred in libro vinentium, suth Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and sherefore this way and worke Mo-

# CHAP.5.S.4. of the Historie of the World.

fes walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the reprobate generation (as a-forefaid) Of the line of Alam by Cain, Mose remembreth but eight generations, reckoming Alam for one, and of the line of Alam by Seth ten, counting Alam also therein, as followeth:

# TI. ADAM.

2. Cain.	2.	Seth.	
3. Henoch.	3.	Enosh.	
4. Irad.	4.	Caman.	
5. Mahuael.	5.	Mahaleel.	
6. Mathufael.		Iarad.	
7. Lamech, who by Ada had	7.	Henoch.	
8. Iubal and Tubal, and by Silla		Mathusalem.	
Tubalcain, and Noema.	9.	Lamech, and	
•	10	Mach	

These be the generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but 10 sphus giucth vnto Lamech three score and secunities of Lamech, Asofes ascribeth 20 the invention of Pattorage, of Musicke, and the working in mettall; for it seemeth that Inhal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into heards and droues: Tuhas muchted Musicke, Gailleand yron: the one being addicted to husbandrie, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to idlenesse and publication. In whom boganne these three meaner degrees of Sheep-heards, handy-craits-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of Seth beganne the services of God, Diamitie, Prophecie, and Astronomic: the children of the one beheld the Heaviens, theother the Earth.

### d. IIII.

Of the diversities in the ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.



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Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarch's begat their children at so divers ages, as Cainan or Cenasa at seven until yeares, Mahaleel and Enoch at three score and five yeares, Washaleel not any of his vntill he was 162. yeares old: Mathuslaten begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Neah at 500. yeares. Now this

difference hath beene the more enforced, because it cannot be coniectured, that either tared, Mathufalem, or Lamechabltained from marriage out of the religion of ab40 stimence, seeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before he was three score and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof arifeth in this, that Mofes did not number the generations before the floud precifely, according to the first begotten and eldest some of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors were they elder or younger as he sound them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Iarad, nor Lamech the first borne of Mathusalm, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contraric, but that Noah might haue had many sonnes before Shem, Ham, and Iaphet, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of mankinde after the sloud; and therefore when we finde Mashalees to be begotten by Keman at three Ecoreand ten yeares who was the first sonne of Kenam, and then reckon that Mathusalem begat Lamech in the 187, yeare of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldest. But Moses reiecteth all the other sonnes of Mathusalem but Lamech only, because he sather for Noah as a-

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forelaid,

75

2.Kings 6.

6en.4.17.

18.

E.6. U.5.

Matt.1.3,

1. Kings 2.

Pharfal I.4.

forefaid. Of this St. Augustine hath somewhat else in his 20, and 2 In Chapters,

De Cinitate Dei.

But as Moles counted the generations of the first age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him, so doth St. Matthew recite the Genealogie of Christ. not by the eldest fonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitorie only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though I/mael were first in time : so doth he take Iacob the younger, and not E/au the elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simcon, or Leus, but from Iuda a fourth brother, and so from David a younger sonne of leffai; 10 and lastly we finde, that the Kingdome it selfe of Inda was not given to the Heire in nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely Salomon.

# ¿. V.



of the long lines of the Patriarchs: and fome of late memorie.

He third objection is, that the great difference of yeares between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well neare seene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the 20 same measure as in after-ages, seeing that soone after the floud men liued not a third part of that time, and in fucceeding ages and to this

Solin. Poli. bist . . 6. 3. Macrob. Satur.

They that have hereon resolved that those yeares were but Lunarie yeares, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or £gyptian yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas Seth begat Enosh in the yeare of his life 105. if those yeares bee taken but for Moneths, then had Archanged but eight yeares and one Moneth when he begat Enolh; and if the time of Enolh have the same allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enoth at that time have beene but fixe yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and fo it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only Adam, who was created perfect in 30 his kinde, as were the trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feede. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of generation at 6. 7. or 8. yeares, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workemanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the world, had length of daies and abilitie of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which lived longest, and vowards of nine hundred yeares, had by that accompt but the time of foure score and ten and odde yeares, which were not only leffe by farre then the Patriarch's lined after the floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many 40 exceede foure score, and some hundred yeares. Further (if neede be) to disproue this reckoning, whereas it is written Gen. 25. That Abraham died in a good age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunaric yeares) makes but seuenteene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we feeke for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equals strength or little differing; for of the first and purest seede there must of necessitie spring up the fairest and fruitfullest Plants. Secondly, the earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and foode for man, without any fuch mixture of harmefull qualitie, as fince that time the curse of God for 50 the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and mankinde : Neither had the waters of the floud infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Hearbes, and fruits upon the earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and anof weakenesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie : so Time it felfe (woder the deathfull shade of whose winges all things decay and wither) hath walted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Bealts, and Plants; yea the Heauens themselves being of a most pure and cleansed matter shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who Table 2, 2, 26. by the ordinance of God receive operative vertue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the world, how farre doth our education and simplicia tie of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of children, first fedde and nourished with the milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnaturall curiositie having taught all women (but the begger) to finde out Nurses, which necessitie only ought commend vnto them: The hastie marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any roote sufficient to maintaine her owne toppe; and such halfe-ripe feedes (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the budde, and waxe old euen in their infancie. But aboue all things the exceeding luxuriousnesse of this gluttonous age, wherein we presse nature with our waightie burdens, and sinding her strength defective we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong waters, hot spices, and prouoking sawces; of which Lucan hath these elegant Verses:

> -0 prodigarerum Luxurics, nunquam paruo contenta paratu: Et quesitorum terra pelagog, ciborum Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloriamensa, Discite quam paruo liceat producere vitam: Et quantum Natura petat. Non auro myrrhâque bibunt : scd gurgite puro Vita redit : satis est populis fluniula, Cerefa.

O wallfull Riot, neuer vvell content With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of cates by land and fea farre fetcht and fent: Vaine glorie of a table sumptuous, Learne with how little life may be preferued. In Gold and Myrrhe they neede not to carroufe, But with the brooke the peoples thirst is serued: Who fedde with bread and water are not sterued.

The Agyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, be- Pier Hieroz 1,21 40 cause the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to strength fiftie yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decaieth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philofophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares and Berofus to a hundred and scuenteen yeares. These opinions Plinie repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrarie. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth Region of Italie, there were found in the roll (faith Plinie) Plini, 70,296 foureand fiftie persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen and fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fine and thirtie, or hundred and feuen and thirtie yeares old: and last of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this search was 50 made in the times of Velpalian the Father and the Sonne.

The simple diet and temperate life of the Essans gaue them long account of ma- tolep.antin.l.1. ny yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian ceremonies, to the Persians, Ma- cap.8. gicians and Indian Brachmans. The Greekes affirme out of Homer, that Nestor lived Plin.1.7.c.48. three ages, and Tirefias fixe, Sybilla three hundred yeares, Endymion of the leffe Afia

little leffe: Alfo Masinista of Numidia lived very long, and Dando of Illyria. Among the Kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeares (faith Ephorus ) Hellatities atfirmeth of the Epeians, that some of them live full two hundred yeares: and so doth Diodorus Siculus of the Agyptians; and that these reports are not fabulous; tosephus bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as, Marethon, Berofus, Mochus, Estius, Hieronymus Ægyptius, Hecataus, Ephorus, and others. And Inthonie Fume an Histoflan of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570, there was an Indian prefented to Solyman, Generall of the Turkes Armie, who had out-lived three hundred yeares. I my felfe knew the old Counteffe of Defmond of Inchiquin in Munfter, who lived in the yeare 1589, and many yeares fince, who was married in Edward the 10 fourths time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of Desmond fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witnesse. Strozzius Cigogna, out of Torquemada Maffaus, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not only farre exceeded the terme prescribed by Epigenes; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those daies wherein Galen the Philition lived, it may easily prove vnto vs what reedes we are in respect of those Cedars of the first age. For Galen did ordinarily let bloud fixe pound weight. whereas we (for the most part) stoppe at fixe ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three thinges (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes 20 of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ftrong Parents, a pure and thinne airc, and temperate vse of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on aire we feede alwaies and in euery instant, and on meates but at times : and yet the heauic loade of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure aire, and a temperate vse of those thinges which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH writ before the floud.



Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to Moses, seeing there was no Storic thereof written, and if any fuch had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiquitie perished in the vniuerfall floud.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered 40 and hid from the vulgar fort, as iewels of inestimable price, searing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as what socuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wife men to a posteritie equally zealous, Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo, From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by Efdras, Origen, and Hilarius, (as Mirandula conceineth) that Moses did not onely youn the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall secretiorem & veramlegis enarrationem, a more fecret and true explanation of the Law, which (faith he out of the fame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to Iosuah, and Iosuah to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, 50 which he called fecretiora to the rude multitude were no other quam dare fanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas, then to give holy things to Dogges, and to cast pearles before swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and letters bearing the forme of beaftes,

Fol.18.

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to fuch, as ferued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priefts. Of the first the Cabala of the Jewes was an imitation: the invention of the other is alcribed to Zoroafter, Mercurius, Cadmiss, and

others; but falfely. This Cabala importeth a Law received by tradition and vnwritten. Cabala in He- Cabala of fei-

brew is receptio in Latine, and a reciuing in English. And this custome was also held entia 1 heologia non renelata. by the Druids & Bards of our ancient Brittaines, and of latter times by the Irifh Chro- P. M. 83. niclers called Rymers. If then fuch as would feeme wifeft in the vie of reason wil not Mirand. 110 fet acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written

10 by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of Moses; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be delinered vnto him by a more certaine prefumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preserved and left to their successours: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazards. For, leauing to remember that Adam instructed Seth, and Seth his children and succesfours, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that Methusalem lived together with Adam himselfe two hundred fortie and three yeeres, and Noah with Methu-Salem no lesse then five hundred yeeres: and before Noah died Abraham was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way 20 might come to Ifrael, and fo to Mofes.

But belides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of ftone and Bricke by Enoch: of which Infephius affirmeth, that one of them remained euen in his time, (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to Seth. But of these prophecies of Enoch Saint Inde testifietth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in Arabia falix in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba: (faith Origen) of which Tertullian affirmeth that hee had feene and read some whole pages. It is not therfore strange, that Moses came to the know- arigen. Homil & 30 ledge of the Creation and storie of the first age, seeing hee might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did:

tures) make more manifest. Now for the Bookes of Enoch, how soener some men make question of them, sure I am that Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gazeus, (with others) cite Orig. Homilas. them in their writings: although Medina, for an argument to prooue them vnwritten traditions, alleageth that Pope Gelasius among other the spechryphall Scrip- Euang. Iohan. tures (which he rejecteth) named not these of Enoch; but that whatsoeuer was re-

which also his many and strange miracles (performed before hee wrote the Scrip-

membred out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the Iewes. But 40 Irather thinke with Pererius that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by heretikes, who tooke occasion upon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of Michael contending with the deuill about the body of Moses, to frame and adde thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is that neither Philo, nor Iosephus (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint A v-CVSTINE, Scripfisse quidem nonnulla diuina ENOCH ellum septimum ab ADAM negare non possumus: That ENOCH the sewenth from ADAM did write divers divine things we cannot denie. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, & of fables of Giants supposed to be begotten of Angels, and 50 others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those

Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Armario Indaico (faith Tertullian) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might bee preferued by Tertul de babit. Noah. Surely that Enoch wrote the prophecies remembred by Inde no man can mulierum,

Hebr. 11.5.

denie; how they were delinered to posteritie I know not, whether by the Ierres Cabala, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniccture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to Noah of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to Zoroaster. and then to Abraham, it is very probable that Noah had seene and might preserve this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was fuddenly invented and found, out, but left by Seth to Enoch, and by Enoch to Noah, as hath beene faid before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of Seth to Enoch, and that Noah lived with Methusalem, who lived with Adam, and Abraham lived with Noah, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how Moses 10. came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by Cabala and Tradition, had the vindoubted word of God neede of any other proofe then selfe-authoritie.

#### ð. VII.

of the men of renowme before the floud.

Ow let vs consider the relation of Moses, who nameth seuen descents of Cains children, and of Adam by Sethten: Seth being given by God in ftead of Abel; and of Seth was Enosh begotten, in whose time men be- 20 ganne to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although Adam instructed his children in the knowledge of God their

Creatour, as appeared by the facrifice offered by Cain and Abel; yet it feemeth that after the birth of Enosh men beganne publikely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ferued and praifed God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling ypon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of Enosh the sonne of Seth to the time of Henoch the sonne of Inred there is nothing remembred by Moses, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of Henoch it is written, that he walked with God, and he was no more feene : for God tooke him a- 30 way. By that, that he walked with God, was meant, that he was a just and vpright man, and that he feared loued and obayed God. For the same phrase Moles vieth of Noah. NOAH was a just and vpright man in his time, and NOAH walked with God. The Scuentie conuert it, ENOCH placuit Deo; HENOCH pleased God. And although Aben-Ezraand others understand this place, (tuliteum Deus:) scilicet, mortuus est, God tooke him away (that is ) he died, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tookehimaway, when he died, yet the difference which Moles maketh betweene the pietie of Henoch and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which heyfeth to all elfe, makes it manifest, that Henoch was not dissolved as the rest. For to all 40 the rest of the Patriarchs, Moses vseth these wordes, And he died; but of Henoch he spake otherwise, saying only, he was missing, or he was not seene. Et non inueniebatur (faith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) quia Deus eum transsulit, And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away. In the same place it is expresly added, that he saw not death.

But whether this taking away of Enoch were not with the same kinde of changing, which St. Paul promifeth when he faith, that when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Henoch, Moles passeth ouer to Methusalem and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that Lamech prophecied of his fonne Noah, faying, This same shall comfort us concerning our worke, and forrow of our 50 hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curfed, Of Noah, Moles writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of Adams children by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preserved, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and pollicie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in bodie and wit, there is no memorie remaining: whose Stories if they had beene preserved, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight have beene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisedome and vndertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatfocuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no fooner beginne to know, but we beginne to die; according to Hippocrates.

10 Vita breuis, ars longa, tempus praceps, (which is) Life is short, Art is long, and Time is Aphor.t. headlong. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses, These were mighty men, Gen, 44 which in old time were men of renowne. But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of bodie and crueltie of minde) trufled so much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the pietie of Seth, and the waies wherein Henoch walked : for all the imaginations of their hearts were enill, only V. 5. euill, and continually euill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of Cain, but it was then vniuerfall, when the children and somes of God, (or of the godly) were corrupted and mifted by their idolatrous wives, the Daughters of Cain, or 20 of those other men louing themselves and the world only.

That these fonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of wo- Gon, s. v. 24 men accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely Lactantius and Eusebius missed by Iosephus: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miftaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answeres and very needlesse: the question being vncapable of disputes, especially since St. Chrysoflome and St. Augustine have answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrarie, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ 30 witneffeth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements. should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer for sake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become Incubi, or Succubi, contrarie both to nature and grace, were more then madneffe to imagine.

#### d. VIII.

That the Giants by Moses so called were indeed emen of huge bodies: as also divers in latter times.



F these Giants which Moses calleth mightie men, Goropius Becanus an Antuerpian (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of Nimrod or Hercules) hath written a large discourse, intituled Gigantomachia, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any fuch men: his reasons (whosoeuer delires to loose time) he may

finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that Cyrillus reproues the Gracian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp mountaines vpon mountaines, but remoued Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up hils, 50 and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of Numrod, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God faw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceittaken of Orpheus and Hesiodus, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by

Gen.5.29.

Ges.5.24.

Gen.c.6.9.

CHAP.5. S.8.

Gen.14.5.

V.21.

Amos c. I.

the Earth the daughters ofmen: which verses of Orpheus are by Iohn Cassam (who hath written a wittie discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine.

> Nomine calestes illos dixère Gigantes Orti quòd terr à fuerint & sanguine cali.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came, Whome thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and felfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt 10 of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have beene in all times fince? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifeltly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to oppressours and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them oppressours because they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppresse, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because oppressours. For first Moses himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenturous action. And if the 20 fame stature of body, and abilitie had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of Mofes have more willingly hearkned to a

dispute, and yeelded to interpretation. But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will re-

Deut, 2, v, 21, 20 Emims, which dwelt anciently in the land of Moab: whom Moles (for stature) com-

ferue to accompanie the Giants of Albion in the Storie of Britanie) the Scriptures doe clearely and without all allegoricall confiruction anow, That, befides Nimrod, there were found of these Giants in the time of Abraham, of Moses, of Iosua, and of David; namely the Rephains in Afteroth, the Zuzai or Zanzummins in Ham, and the

pareth with the Anakims, which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants 30 as the Anakims: Likewise where Moses speaketh of the land of Ammon, he vseth these words. That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein aforetimes: and, whome the Ammonites call Zamzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as

the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Asteroth and Karnaim, and the Zuzei or Zanzummims, Chedorlaomer King of Elam ouerthrew, affifted by other Kings his affociates. Also the Prophet Amos found among the Ammonites men of Giantlike stature, whome he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oakes;

and the Prophet BARVCH, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were Bar.3.v.16. of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of og, King of Deut.3. v.11. Basan, that his bedde of yron was nine cubits long, and source cubits broad: for only 40 Og King of Basan remained of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the

Kingdome of Basan, source hundred yeares after the expedition of Chedorlaomer. Moreover those discoverers and searchers of the Land of promise (sent by Moses from Cadesbarre in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those

Numb.13.0.34. people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of Anak, in these wordes. All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of A N AK which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like grasse-hoppers, and so we were in their fight, (that is) the fearchers found in their owne judgements a meruallous difference betweene the Inakims and themselues: insomuch that the Israelites were fo stricken with feare, as they rather fought and defired to returne againe into 50 Ægypt, and were more willing to endure their former flauerie, then to fall by the

6.14.4 strokes of those searcfull Nations. Furthermore the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, z.Sam.17.4. that Goliah the Philistine of Gath was a Giant of fixe cubits and a spanne long : the armour which he wore waighed five thousand shickles of brasse: the shaft of his speare

was like a weaters beame, and his speare head waighed fixe hundred shickles of yron. Alfo in Samuel there is mention of another Goliah firnamed Getheus, because he was 3. Sam 31, 2. 19. of Gath; and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by Iehonathan, Da- 1. thron. 20, 21. uids Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by fixes, euen foure and twentie.

of the Historie of the World.

Also that Sampson was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a Lion Ind. 14.6. as it had beene a Kidde, and after flew thirtie of the Philistines, and (after that) a 14-19. thousand more of them with a jawbone of an Alle; And lastly he tookethegates 16.3. of Azzah, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them

ypon his shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approued by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens' waxe old, and that the great age of time hath ( with it felfe) infeebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautifull then it did in after-ages : so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature and ftrength of those Giants remembred by Moles of his owne time, and after him their

fucceffours, as the ordinarie proportion of all men ingenerall, foone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne 20 in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newneffe of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the floud gaue end to all flesh, but to the full Woah and his familie. And Godrepented him that he had made man, which St. Augustine thus expound Gen. 6.6. deth : Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui panitet , cuius est de omnibus om- De ciuit. Del &

ninò rebus tam fixa sententia, quàm certa prascientia. Sed si non vtatur Scriptura talibus 15.6.25. verbis, non se quodammedo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: vt & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes. & 30 alat intelligentes, God (faith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vee to doe) but if the Scripture did not vee those wordes or the like, it should

not (in a fort) insimuate it selfe familiarly to all forts of men, for whom it would prouide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and

nourish those that under-

## CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrons corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in fables and old

Legends.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.



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ERE before we proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, 20 and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue fought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those intermixt discourses of God and Nature for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne

out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of 30 the most healthfull hearbs and plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which sceke after God and Truth finde out everywhere, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely exprest.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient : as in the familie of NOAH, and in the old Agyptians.



Vt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other ener) as concerning mankinde it tooke fuch effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being withdrawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a

perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall floud could not fo wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of Noah there 30 were found ftrong effects of the former poylon. For as the children of Sem did inherit the vertues of Seth, Enoch, and Wosh; so the sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans beganne foone after the floud to ascribe divine power and honour to the creature, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Agyptians and Phanicians did not only learne to leave the true God, but created twelue feuerall Gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus faith, duodecim Deo- Herodin Enterrum nomina primos Ægyptios in v fu habitife, atque Gracos ab illis cepiffe mutuatos, cofa, Pc. prius aras, & imagines, & templa Dis sibs erexisse, The Agyptians (faith he) first deuifed the names of the twelve Gods, which the Greekes received from them, who first erected unto themselues Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.

#### d. 111.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater : as appeareth in the groffe superstitions of the

Vt as men once fallen away from vindoubted truth, doe then after wander for cuermore in vices vnknowne, and daylie traualle towards their eternall perdition: so did these grosse age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downewards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Eucning, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Paffions and Affections of the minde, to Paleneffe, Sickneffe, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie Rhodius Anaxandrides de- Harcom. Lacer rideth in this manner.

> Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem. Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego Obsoniorum credidi suauisimum. Carnes sullas tu caues, at gaudeo Hijs maxime: canem colis, quem verbero Edentem vbi deprehendo forte obsonium,

I facrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore. I broile the Ægyptian Eeles, which you (as God) implore: You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet. You worship Dogs, to beate them I thinke meete, When they my store denoure.

## And in this manner IVVENAL.

Porrum aut cape nef as violare aut frangere mor [u: O fanct as gentes, quibus hac na cuntur in hortis N umina!

Sat.15.2.9.

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to roote vp, or to bite Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ferue with holy rite: O happie Nations, which of their owne fowing Haue store of Gods in euery garden growing.

d. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Agyptians and others, the first Ido's and fables were invented : and that the first IVPITER was CAIN, VVLCAN, TVBALCAIN, &.

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Vt in fo great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselues there is no agreement or certaintie, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borowed or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not 10 certaine, that the Ægyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of

what focuer was done therein, partly from fome inscriptions upon stone or mettall remayning after the floud, and partly from Mizraim the fonne of Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah. For all that the Agyptians write of their ancient Kings and date of times cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Inpiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, and Aug. 1.19.2.22. Mercuries with the rest which St. Augustine out of Varro; Eusebius out of many prophane Historians; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more haue observed, Europe c.7. & L. to wit, the Pharicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greekes, and other Nations; yet was Cain the fonne of Adam (as fome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the 20 first and ancient Jupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Jupiter was said to have invented the founding of Cirties; and the first Cittie of the world was built by Cain. which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochy before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinus in his 275, chapter confirmeth. For belides that, many Citties were founded by divers men, Tamen primam latissimam à primo et antiquissimo Ioue adificatam yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient I v P I T ER, scated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses: And Cain dwelt towardes the East side of Eden &c. where also the Henochii were found after the floud. And therefore was Iupiter by the Athenians called Polieus, a Founder of Citties, and Herceios, an Incloser or strengthener of Citties; (fav 30) Phorn. I. de na- Phornutus and Paufanias) and that to Iupiter Herceios there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Citties built before the floud. Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Citties; which as his meaning he delivereth in plaine termes, in his third booke of lawes: for hee faith, that Citties were built an

10 in Protago.

Euleb Ls. Prev.

C:c.'.3.de nat.

Arnob.4. cont.

Gen.4.16.

2. 6.23.

Dearum.

who marrying his owne fifter (as also Jupiter is faid to have done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de vrbibus placeth the Cittie Henochia. And belides this Cittie of Henoch, Philo Iudeus conceineth that Cain built fixe others, as Maich, Iared, Tehe, 40 Gr.4.20.21.22 Iesca, Selet and Gebat: but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first *Inpiter*, and from whome also the Ethnickes had the invention of facrifice: fo were Jubal, Tubal and Tubalcain (inuentors of pastorage, smiths-craft, and musick) the same. which were called by the ancient prophane writers Mercurius, Vulcan and Apollo; and as there is a likelihood of name betweene Tubalcain and Vulcan: fo doth Augufline expound the name of Noema or Naamath, the fifter of Tubalcain, to fignific Venusta, or beautifull Voluptas, or pleafure; as the wife of Vulcan is faid to be Venus, the Lady of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne. Cain the eldest Iupiter, Eua Rhea, and Noema or Naamath the first Venus: so did the fable of the dividing of the world betweene the three brethren the sonnes of Saturne atile, to from the true flory of the dividing of the earth betweene the three brethren the fonnes of Noah: fo also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted Euah: fo was Paradyfe it felfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that

This first Iupiter, of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam.

exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great floud.

Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the fables of Hercules killing the Scrpent of Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and captinating Cerberus: so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God was borrowed the conversion of their Herees (the Inventors of Religion and such artes as the life of man had profit by ) into starres and heavenly signes, and (withall) that leaving of the world, and afcention of Aftraa; of which Ould,

> Vltima cæleslûm terras Astræa reliquit Aftræa last of heavenly wights the earth did leave.

Quid. Met .l. t.

For although thereby the Ethnickes would understand Iustice it selfe to have Nat. Com. I.s. failed, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is vfuall among the ancient Poets to describe vertues and vices by the persons of men and women as defire by Cupid, valour by Mars, beautie or luft by Venus, fo doe they also the persons of men by like vertues and vices; and therefore by Iustice and Afraa, Enoch: the Iustice and pietie of Enoch being in the same manner exprest, as that of Noah was by Moses for Noah was faid to bee a just man; And Gene, 5, 22,24 NOAH walked with God. And of Enoch it is written, that he walked with God, and he was no more feene: for God tooke him away,

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the fonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whome Mofes calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great actes of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel by the Giant Nimrod, as St. Augustine termeth him. Which warre of their Gi. L.de Cinis Dei,

ants Cornelius Seuerus thus describeth.

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о Снар.б.§.4.

Tentauère (nef as) olim detrudere mundo Sydera, captinig, I o v I s transferre Gigantes : Imperium, & victo leges imponere calo.

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe And robbing I ove of his Imperiall crowne On conquered Heauens to lay their proude command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the Starres, should burie them under the mousture of a second floud, but that by 40 this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen nations and Kings, confirmed by facrifice, whereof Virgit both in the eight and twelfth of his Æneides hath a touch, was as it feemeth borrowed from Mofes, Exod. 24. Who when he read the Booke of the couenant fprinkled the people with blood,

We finde also many remembrances of Seth, the paternall Ancester of Henoch and 10seph.l.1.com. Noah: for Amenophis, the same King of Agypt, which reigned at such time as Moses Applian. caried thence the children of Ifrael, (as of late some learned men mistaking his time supposed) called his sonne and successour setho, of seth, and of the same seth (as many men of good judgement have graunted) were the Princes of Thrace called 50 Senthes, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memoric of Plut in Ifide. Seth most manifestly preserved, that the Agyptians worshipped Seth, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Prouince Setheitica. We also find in Bithynia the Cittie of Sethia, and others of Strabol.17. the same name elsewhere. And sure from the Agyptians did the Gracians borrow,

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie præceding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gave the fame names to their owne Idoles which the Agyptians did to theirs.

Of the three chiefest IVPITERS; and the strange storie of the third.

Vt of all those Armies of Iupiters remembred by the Ancients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their 10

The first was Impiter, the sonne of Ather and Dies, so called because the one had reference to his calestiall conditions (for ether is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discouered his naturall vertues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to bee the sonne of Coelum or Heauen, for the same former

respect; and this Supiter was an Arcadian, and King of Athens.

The third of whom all the Græcian fables were deuised, was of Creete (now Candie) the sonne of Saturne and Ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of fauans Pater, from the Greeke word Zeus, it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. 20 Boccas in his genealogic of the Gods conceineth, that his name was borrowed from Jupiter the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was ginento men, I know not. Iupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions might be called there after Iupiter; but how soener they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and sirnames: great Princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howfoeuer deserued) as the worthiest, that cuer were, acquired by their well deseruings. Joues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kinges IVPITERS as 30 TZETZES in his Variahistoria confirmeth: Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes: Inold times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERS. But where this last and most remembred Jupiter was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of Creet: o-Nat. com. Li.c.7 thers, that he was but fent thither by his mother Ops or Opis, to be follered and hidden from the fury of Titan his vncle: because it was conditioned betweene Saturne and Titan, that Saturne being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his ownelife) by Titans permiffion, he should put to death all his male children, least the Titans might be interrupted by any of them in their fuccession, which agreement because Saturne performed in his first borne, it is fained that Saturne denoured his owne children.

> Hand fit pinguior, Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filijs.

SATVENE to be the fatter is not knowne By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

Hereof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine.

This composition betweene Titan and Saturne, Sybilla also witnesseth in these, Conceptis verbis : TITAN iurare coegit SATVRNUM, de se natum ne nutriat villum, Quo possintregnare senis post fata Nepotes.

> Things thus agreed: TITAN made SATVENE fweare No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might Viurpetheright of TITANS lawfull Heire.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 6. S.5.

But Opis, the mother of Jupiter, being delivered at once both of Jupiter and June. connected Impiter (first called Lyfanias) into Crete, as thee did afterwards his two brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where hee was brought vp in Gnoffus, the chiefe Citie of that Island, by Cresta the King, or by the Curetes, a people and nation thereof. Enfet, in Temps Others challenge him to be of Thebes, and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian:

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others make him of Meffena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by honie-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skinnes into yellow, a re-

ward well fitting fuch a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all thefe the idle Greekes have many prettie tales. But in the end when Titan had knowledge, that Saturne had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom Iupiter againe rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne aqually ambitious, the one doubted the other. Saturne being the leffe powerfull fled into Italie, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his fonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour. and for his many vertues the name of Iupiter was given him; yet, after he was once fetled and became potent, he gave himfelfe over wholly to palliardize and adulterie. without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as doe as cribe the actions of many to one Jupiter, that not therewith fatified, he was after-20 wardes knowne to offend in the sinne of Sodome with Ganimedes and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne fifter Iuno, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time. within the limits of his owne kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, Niobe, Laodemia, and Alemena the wife of Amphitryon, by whom he had Pelafgus, Sarpedon, Argus, and Hercules: by Taygete he had Taygetus, of whom the mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another sonne called Saon, of whom Sauona: by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: by Lada, Castor & Pollux, Helen & Clytemnestra: by Danae Perseus: by Iordana Deucalion: by Charme (the daughter of Eubulus) Britomartis, by Protogenia he had Athlius the fa-20 ther of Endymion; and by 10 (the daughter of Inachus) Epaphus, the Founder of Memphis in Agypt: which Epaphus married Lybia, of whom that Countrie tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called Africa. He ravished Agina, the daughter of Afopus, and carried her into the Island Oenopia or Oenotria, afterward called Ægina, on whom he begat Æacus: by Torrhebia he had Archesilaus and Carbius: by Ora Colaxes: he had also Dardanus by Electra, who built Dardanium, afterward Ilum and Troy. Hee begat the brothers Talici, on Thalia, and on Garamantis Hiarhas. Hee had befides these (if they belie not their chiefe God) Phileus and Pilummus, inuentors of Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not bee father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wines, daughters and fonnes, buying of virgins, and the like came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of gold, Eagles, Buls, birds, and beafts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Græcian forgeries. And yet did not the Greekes and Romanes feare to entitle this monster, Optimus Maximus, though Cisero in his second booke de natura Deorum affirme, that he descrued nothing leffe, and in his Oration pro domo fus reprocheth Clodius for his incest, by the Lucin factly. name of Iupiter. His buriall was in Crete (faith Lucian) Cretenfes non folum natum apud se & sepultum I O V E M testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius oftendunt. The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that I v P I T ER was borne and buried among them, but

machus in his hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat saith thus. The Cretians euer lyars were, they care not what they fay: For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'st alway.

50 they shew his grave and sepulcher: which Epiphanius also confirmeth, for in his time

there remained the monuments of his tombe in the mountaine Iasius. This Calli-

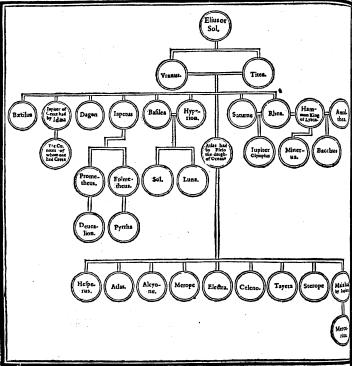
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Died 1.2.c.5.

Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the Lybian fables, confirmed (as he faith) by fome Greeke writers that the original of these Gods was from the westerne parts of Africk. For there among the Atlantida raigned one Vranus (which fignifieth heauen) called fo for his great skill in Aftrologie, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wines 45. fonnes; but by his principall wife Titea he had 17. fonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the Titanes. Of Titealikewife it is faid. that thee for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of Tites, her daughter Baliles (which name founding as Queene in English, shee is by the Latine tran-10 flator of Diodorus called Regina) excelling the rest as far in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall confent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother Hyperion, to whom thee bare a fonne and a daughter, called Sun and Moone. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children mooued her brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the river Eridanus, now called Poe. The loffe of this childe caused his lister to breake her owne neck; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad prankes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion. in fight of all the people, before whom shee is faid to have vanished away. Ere shee 10 died, her sonne (as the fable hath it) fignified vnto her in a dreame, that he and his fifter by the providence of God should become immortall, that also the Sun and Moone should be called by their names, and that their death should be reucaged vpon the murderers. According to which it is faid, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her felfe as a Goddesse, and tearmed her the great mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherithing her brethren whilest they were yong. Hyperion and his race being extinguished, the other sonnes of Vranus divided the kingdome. Of these Atlas and Sa. turne were chiefe. Atlas raigned over the Countries lying about the mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a just and wife Prince, deeply skilfull in Aftrologie, 30 and for invention of the Sphere faid to have supported Heaven. He had many fonnes; but the principall of them called Hefterus, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to have beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high hill in the midst of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of Atlas were also said to have beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying fuch as came to be deified, or registred among the Worthies, brought foorth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called Pleiades tooke name. Saturne the brother of Atlas raigned in Sicilia, part of Africk and Italie. Iupiter another of the sonnes of Vranus, raigned in Crete; who had tenne sonnes which he 40 called Curetes; he called that Iland after his wives name Idea; in which Ile he died, and was buried. But this Iupiter must not have beene that great one, but vncle to the great Jupiter, if these fables of the Lybians were true. Saturne (as these Lybians tell the tale (was a great tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in Subjection. His fifter Rhea was married to Hammon, who raigned in some part of Africk. Hammon louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called Minerua, neere to the river Triton, who thereupon was called Tritonia. Hee also begat on Amalthea a sonne called Bacchus, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought up at Nyla, an Iland in the river Triton, under the tuition of his daughter Minerua, and certaine Nymphes. To Amalthea he gaue in reward a goodly 50 Countrie, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of Amaltheas plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard these newes, she fled from her husband to her brother Saturne, who not onely entertained her as a lifter, but tooke her to wife, and at her infligation made warre vpon

Hammon, vanquilhed him by affiftance of the Titanes, and made him flie into Crete. The Curetes, Jupiters children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named Crete by Hammon, after the name of Creta the Kings daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may feeme being very gratious in those times) the kingdome. Bacchus was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things elfe commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that Saturne was comming against him with the Titanes; heleuied an Armie, to which the Amazons living not farre from 10 Nyla, added great forces, in lone of Minerua, who was entred into their profession. So Bacchus leading the men, and Minerua the women, they fet forward against Saturne, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the Titanes prisoners, returned to My/a; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he præpared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wanne the loue of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of Saturnes rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemie as much enfeebled by daily revoltes. Comming to the Cittie of Hammon, he wanne a battaile of Saturne, before the very wals. After which Saturne with his wife Rhea fled by night, fetting 20 the Towne on fire to despight Bacchus. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by Buchus, and kindly entreated. Saturne had a yong forme by Rhea, called Jupiter. This childe Bacches tooke with him in a great expedition that he made into the East countries; and comming into Egypt, he left this Iupiter, being then a boy, gouernour of the Countrie; but appointed vnto him as an Overseer, one Olympus, of whom Iupiter grew to be called Olympius. Whilest Bacchus travailed through all nations, as far as into India, dooing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his father Hammon in Crete, and began to warre vpon him. But Bacthus returned out of India; with whom Iupiter from Agypt, and his fifter Minerua, together with the rest that afterwards were held 30 as Gods, joining all their forces, went into Crete, ouerthrew the Titanes, chafed them. tooke, and flew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when Hammon and Bacchus were dead, they were deified; and the great Jupiter the sonne of Saturne fucceeding them, raigned Lord alone ouer all the world, having none of the Titanes left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the Lybian Gods, and the Egyptian fables of Oliris, there is a rude refemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of Ofiris, and of Bacehus; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the Titanes in the other; the kingdome of Agypt given by Hercules Lybicus to Orus, by Bacchus to Iupiter, the rattles of Isis, and the Cymbals of Basilea, with many pettie circumstan-40 ces, nearely enough refemble each other, howfoeuer not alike fitted to the right

persons. Sanchoniato (as Eusebius cites him) would have all these to be Phanicians, Euseb Elect and is earnest in saying, that it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giving to Vranus or Heaven for daughters, Fate and Beautie, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by Diodorus, though Diodorus haue enough. To the genealogie he addes Elius or the Sun, as father of Vranus; and among the children of Vranus, Iapetus, Batilus, and Dagon, (whom Diodorus doth not mention by their names) giving withall to Vranus the proper name of Terrenus or Indigena, and of Illus to Saturne, but omitting Iupiter of Crete, The Pedigree of them is this.



### VI.

Of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.



F Iupiter Belus, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod, it feemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred : for long after these times were the Greekes but Saluages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Agyptians, even after the floud, began (somewhat before this Chaldaan Jupiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Mizraim, Jupiter Chammon, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greekes deduce ab arenis, from the fandes, is ridiculous (faith Pencer); neither yet is his owne much

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.6.\$.7.

better, who brings it from Hammath, which fignifieth heate: because the faid Temple of Jupiter Hammon was feated in Lybia, where the ayre is exceeding hote and fcortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter Iupiter (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of Troy, as by many of his fonnes is made manifest; namely, Castor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, which lived in that age of Priamus, vnder whom, and with whom Troy was destroied.

Now feeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius, 10 Nero, Caligula, and others fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same Deitie be denied vnto Laurentia and Flora, which was given to Venus? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as the was.

### ٥. VII.

That the wifer of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

Vt that euer Pythagoras, or Plato, or Orpheus, with many other ancient and excellently learned, belieued in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer bussly) have mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did Pythagoras hang both Homer and Hesiodus in Hell, where

hee fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that Homer had read ouer all the bookes of Moses, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which Iustine Martyr remembreth many in that Treatife converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he difsembled in some things, for feare of the inquisition of the Areopagites, yet St Augu-30 stine hath already answered for him (as before remembred) Et mirifice ijs delect atus

est, qua de uno Deo tradita fuerant, And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, faith Infline Martyr. Now howfoeuer Lactantius pleafed to reprehend Plato, because (faith he) Plato sought knowledge from the Agyptians, and the Chaldeans, neglecting the Iewes, and the bookes of Moses: Eusebius, Cyrillus, and Origen, finde Euseb. Trap. ereasonto belecuethe contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of gril, tent, Juall by him written of God, or fauouring of Diuinitie; and the same opinion had St. lian.

Ambrose of Pythagoras.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possessall those learned Phi- Ambr. ad Iren. losophers and Poets, that Plate also published (not under the right Authors names) 19.6.4.2. 40 those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the securitie of the A- Arespagns, or reopagites, and the example of his Master Socrates, by them put to death by poylon, domai few mons I cannot judge. Justine Martyr (as it feemeth) afcribethit wholly to Platees feare, his hillia house whose wordes among many other of the same effect, are these; PLATO Mosis wherein capimentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum solumo, Deum docuerat, sihi apud Athenienses tutum were tried so non putanit, veritus Areopagum, PLATO fearing the Areopagites thought it not fafe called at first: for him among the Athenians to make mention of Moses, that he taught that there is but therein first one God. But for that Divinitie which he hath written in TIMAEO; id ip fum de Deo pleaded his disseruit quod & Moses he discoursed and taught the same of God (saith Iustine Martyr) cause for the which Moses did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere Moses, lirrothes. 50 Ego sum existens (which is) I am; and existens missi me advos. I am hath sent me wnto Paulaniu Attie. Jou, herein did Plato (faith Iustine Martyr) no otherwise differ then that Moses vied Nat. com. 11.2. the word (qui) and Plato the word quod: Moses enim qui existit (inquit) PLATO Just Mar, adm. quodexistit. For Moses saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Godsin-gent fal. 8. comprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, Exod.3.14.

Peucer de O. TACH!

In Timeo.

Laertius.

he giueth this testimonie: Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile digne profari, It is as hard to finde out the Creatour of the Vniver all, as it is imposible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily. And what can be more agreable De Legib.1.10. to the Maiestie of Gods nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged ? Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus caufa bonorum : malorum autem omnium non caufa, God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is enill he is no cause at all: and againc, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum, The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things. Apuleius the Platonist. Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione sed etiam natura dignitate: Et nihilest Deo similius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus, The 10 most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature : neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart. Thales affirmed that God comprehended all thinges, and that God was of all thinges the most ancient, quia nunquam esse capit, because hee neuer had any beginning: Zeno, that God beheld even the thoughts of men: Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to bee carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreable to Moses storie of the creation, then this opinion and description of the worldes beginning in Euripides, Scholler of Anaxagor as?

> Calum terrag, vnius forma fuit: Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo, Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita, Arbores, aues, fera, quafg, affert mare, Genufá, mortalium.

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare: But when disioyned once they were From mutuall embraces? All thinges to light appeared then, Of trees, birds, beafts, fishes, and men The still-remayning races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: fo we finde the same excellent understanding in Orpheus, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, though heevse the name of Iupiter, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those thinges to the Sonnes of men and mortall creatures, which he doth to this Iupiter, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (faith Mirandula) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium demo- 40 num, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarum q, sunt nomina, The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiving Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and divine vertues. Yea that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to Mulaus, and the Hymne following teach vs. Respiciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rect am autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt : Ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.

Then marking this my facred speech, but truly lend Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend, And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.6.\$.7. All elfe; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall

A mortall eye to fee him once, yet he fees all.

And againe the fame Authour.

IVII'ER omnipotent, & primus, & ultimus illim; 100 and 1 IVPITER est caput er medium: Iovis omnia munus. IVPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi. IVPITER & masest, & famina nesciamortis. Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis IVFITER ignis 31111 Et Pelagiradix, SOL, LVNA est TVFITER ipfe Rex, & origo simul rerum est; & terminus idem Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum Cor referens bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem, TIB

The first of all is God, and the same last is he, មក្សាស៊ីម៉ូន ។ God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be Sorte aboo God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie. He is the male and female too, shall never die. The spirit of all is God, the Sunne, the Moone, and what is higher,

The King, th'originall of all, of all the end. For close in holie breft he all did comprehend, Whence all to bleffed light, his wondrous power did fend.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Agyptians, Gracians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Justine Martyr, Clemens, Lattantius, Eusebius, Eugubinus, Peucer, Plesis, Danaus, and others. For Cleanthes the Stock, being demaunded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and 30 properties. Bonus, influs, fanctus, feipfum possidens, vtilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, seuere, free, alwaies doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and selfe-charitie. Epicharmus affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced cuery nature, was only and euery where powerfull; agreeing with Democritis. Rex omnium ipse solus, He is the only King of all Kings; and with Pindarus the Poet; Deus vnus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita prabet, One God, the Father, the most high creatour, and best artificer, who giueth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deferts. This God (faith Antis-THENES) cannot be refembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne, Nisiin 40 patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes, Saue only in that everlasting countrie, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS. Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among Gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potens quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat, God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightic, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none, saue only to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, Plato faith, Totius recum natura causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, aternus animantium sospitator, assi-50 duus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore villo comprensus, eog, paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis, God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall prescruer of living creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is.

Autozenes.

Hieron. in com. Therefore was it faid by St. HIEROME, Sienim cuntos Philosophorum reuoluas liin Dan, In pim- bros, necesse est wit in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, vi apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in PLATO, God the creatour of the world in ZEN O Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall foules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wifedome of all ages, wee shall finde that there never was man of folid understanding or excellent judgement: never any man whose minde the art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensiue inspection aduised; but 10 that he hath found by an wirefillable necessitie, one true God, and cuerlasting being, all for euer caufing, and all for cuer fullaining, which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, then that Agyptian Hermes, howfocuer it failed afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuilish pollicie of the Agyrian Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new Gods, and those innumerable, bell forting (asthe Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittell to keepe in awe and order their common people.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds were at length about the same time valer Iv LIAN miraculously consounded.



Vt all these are againe wansheed; for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldans worthipped for a God; is crept into every mans chimney, which the lacke of sevel stances, water quencheth; and want of aire suffocateth. Jupiter is no more every with sunoes selousies; Death hath per-

fwaded him to chaptitie, and her to parience; and that Time which hath denoured it selfe, hathalfo caten up both the bodies and images of him and his : yea, their 30 starely Temples of Rome and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings creeted to Baal, can no where bee found upon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple confecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phanicia, that lament the death of Adoris; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counfaile or helpe from *Impiter*. The great God Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apolloes Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuils telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfait Agyptians, and cousening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Denill gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and dishonours: for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chiefe Mansions) was to many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himfelfe it received the last and otter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and ornaments therein by the Eubwan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly fackt: Thirdly, by Pyrrhus the Sonne of Achilles: Fourthly, by the Armie of Xerxes: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the Phocenses: Sixtly, by Nero, who carried thence fine hundred brazen images : all which were new made, and therein againe fet vp at the common charge. But what soeuer was gathered betweene the time of Nero and Constantine, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such so time as Iulian the Apollata sent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprife, at which time it was veterly burnt and confumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of Apollo himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and loft in the earth.

CHAP.6. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

The like fuccesse had the Jewes in the same Julians time, when by his permission they affembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Hierusalem: for while they were bufied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the Iewes were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others flaine, and scattered by tempest and thurder: though Am. Marcellinus re- AmiMar [,2]; port it more fauourably for the lewes, ascribing this to the nature of that element. 6.1. For, faith he, Allypius and the Ruler of the Prouince of Iudaa, being by Iuijan bufied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming bals of fire iffuing neare the foundation, and oft confuming the workemen, made the enterprise frustrate.

### ð. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.



own the Deuill, because he cannot play you the open stage of this world (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effective that adoration of himfelfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught

20 them to facrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beasts, birds, and othermixt Natures; hee now fets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the all-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hee tels them that Truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions : that chastitie is the enemie of nature; and lastly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste : so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense : for true wisedome (saith he) is exercised in nothing eise, then in the obtaining of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this Arch-politician finde in his Pupils any remorfe; any feare or feeling of Gods future judgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens foules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: inter-30 rupting by his vigilant endenours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the minde of man hath two ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other defolate and ouergrowne with graffe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miferie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one we finde our fufferings and patience, to attend vs: (all which have gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible forrow) staying

for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemie was ever most dili gent : fo is he now more laborious then ever : the long day of mankinde drawing fast towards an euening, and the worlds Tragedie and

time neare at an

CHAP.

# CHAP. VII. Of NOAHS Floud.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAHS Floud.

Ben.6. 14.

V.13.

98



F this destruction it pleased God to give warning vnto Woah: who (faith Iolephus) fearing to perish among the rest, secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migrauit. He departed with his children, and travailed into another Region. And of these Giants from whom Noah withdrew himselfe, Berosus writeth in this manner, That they exceeded in all forts of inhumane and unnaturall wiskednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis & Deorum , contemners of religion and of the Gods : a- 23 mong which mightie men (faith Berofus) vnus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic

nomen erat NOAH, There was one more wife and reverencing the Gods then therest. whose name was No AH: who with his three sonnes Sem, Iaphetus, and Cham, and with their wines, and the wife of Noah, (namely Tites the great, Pandors, Noels, and Noegla) preserved themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to prepare: And God said unto No AH, make thee an Arke of pine trees: thou shalt make cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch. For God made 27 och to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell generations were already fashioned in the cloudes, which soone after 38 should swallow up and couer all living creatures, which breathed in the aire: Woah and his familie excepted.

by all for divine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to Latt. in Prafide which their owne reason cannot reach : dum obuoluta in obscuro veritas latet, whilest the truth lyeth wrapped up in obscuritie. Many there are who have disputed against the vniuerfalitie of this ouerflowing, and have judged that this floud of Woah fell but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there have beene many other floudes (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof Nicholaus Damascenus writeth in this manner, as his wordes are cited by I o sephvs. 49 Issepant Li.c.a. Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in que multos consugientes sermo est diluui tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuectum in huius vertice hasiffe, lignoruma, relliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam Moses Indeorum Legislator scribit : thus farre this Authour. There is (faith he) aboue Minyada (or the Countrie of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither were faued in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested upon the toppe of the mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine peeces thereof; and this might be the Same, of which Moses the Law-giver of the Iewes maketh mention. And of this

But this vniuerfall graue of waters, and generall deluge hath not beene received

But Berofus (who after Moses was one of the most ancient, howsocuer hee haue beene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with Moses as touching the generall floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Historic in

opinion were the Thalmudists (faith Annius) that many Giants faued themselues 56

rhese words. Inte aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus perit orbis &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World Vnuerfall perished : witnessing withall, that Noah with his wife Titea, and his three sonnes with their wines (in all eight persons) were onely faued.

### **∂.** I I

Of the floud in the time of OGYGES: and that this was not NOAHS floud.



Vt from the vanity of the Greekes, the corrupters of all truth (faith Lactantius) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselues also, sought to perswade the world, that there was no floud præceded the floud of Ogyges, King of the Thebans in Baotia, or rather of Attica; and therefore faith Rhodoginus Ogygiumid appellant Poeta, tanquam peruetus dixeris, Rhollis, c. 33

ab OGYGE vetuftisimo. The Poets gaue the name of OGYGIA to things exceeding ancient, as of OGYGES the most ancient.

But let ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he 20 lived but in Iacobs time (though Eufebius makes him later, and in Mofes time) and Eufebide pres. was borne 67. yeares after him. There is also an opinion, that ogyges was Cadmus cuang. li. to. (and then was he faire later) as Rhodoginus in the ninth booke of his antiquities remembreth : sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autument hunc : unde sit CADMVS qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, a boue ingulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (faith hee) who thinke that this OGYGES did

raigne in Ægypt, whereby he should be CADMVS, who traveling into Greece built Thebes, so named of a beefe slaine: because in the Syrian language a beefe is called Thebe. But this floud of Ogyges fell in the years of the world 3440, according to Eule-

bius, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the floud of Noah in the yeare 30 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. yeares betweene these flouds, wanting but two, though heerein Eufebius was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chronologie. Now although the very yeare and time of this ouerflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, be not practifely let downe, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet who foeuer makes it most ancient, findes aboue 500. yeares difference betweene that and the generall floud.

For Paulus Orofius affirmes, that this tempest fell vpon the Athenians but 1040. Eilsaz. yeares before Rome built. Bucholzerus faith it was 1043. elder then Rome; which

was founded (according to the same Bucholzerus) in the worlds yeare 2210: though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the storic of 40 Abraham) it was built in the worlds yeare 3280. Now the generall floud præceded the building of Rome (faith Bucholzerus) 1563. yeares: and the floud of Ogyges (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by casie calculation, that (if he place Ogrges in his true age) the difference betweene these two flouds must be 520, yeares, to which we (allowing 60.more) finde 580. And that this of ogyges was not the same of Noah (except we call Noah Ogyges prifcus, as some doe) it appeares by this, that Xenophon, Anthe floud of Ogyges then king of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any further mianus. then the bankes of Archi-pelago, or the Agwan Sea. For whereas Mela, Plinie, and Mela list. Solinus witnesse, that the Cittie of Joppe in Judea was founded before the floud; and Plindis.

that (notwithstanding the waight of waters) there remained on certaine Altars Solea 47. 50 of stone the title of the King, and of his brother Phineus, with many of the antiquissimum grounds of their religion: fure, it is no where found among prophane Historians or to ante inundanor in the scriptures, that ever the floud of ogyges spreadit selfe over any part of Sy-tionem terraria, much leffe ouer all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica rum conditum. about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it see-

vpon Mount Syon.

meth that at that time it was, when Helice and Bura were swallowed vp (Citties feated on the North part of Peloponne (us ) of which Ouid.

Ouid, Metam. li.15.303.

Si quaras Helican, & Buran, Achaidos orbes, Inuenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground Are fought in vaine, but vnder sea are found.

Nat.Com.li. 1.

Of this floud of Ogyges was invented the fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latona 10 the daughter of Caus, the fonne of Titan, being beloued and forced by Inpiter, and by him gotten with childe, Juno thereat enraged permitted her (as they fay) no part of the earth to be deliuered on; and withall caused the monstrons serpent Python to follow and affright her, wherefocuer the trauailed, till at length arriving at the Ile of Ortygio she was there received: in which she was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twinnes; whereof Barlaam makes this exposition: That at fuch time as the deluge (which happened in Ogyges his raigne) cealed, out of the abundant moisture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled fuch thicke mists and fogges, that in Attica, and along the coasts of the Egean fea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by 20 night could pierce the ayer, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the earth being dried, and these vapours diffipated) the aver began to be cleare, and the people of ortygia espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and Plin.li.4.ca.11. and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared : fabulously (because Diana repræsented the Moone, and Apollo the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ite of Ortygia thereof afterwardes called Delos : which fignifieth manife-

And furely it is not improbable, that the floud of ogyges, being fo great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre fensibly differenced in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the skies. Varro iff his bookes De 20 gente populi Romani (as he is cited by S. Augustine) reporteth out of Castor, that so Aug.de ciu.dei great a miracle happened in the starre of Venus, as neuer was seene before, nor in after times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as Adraftus Cy zicenus, and Dion Neapolites, famous Mathematicians af-

firmed in the time of ogyges.

Now concerning the course of that or any other planet, I doe not remember, that Thaue any where read, of so good Astrologers flourishing among the Greekes, or else where in those daies as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets so exact, that it should neede no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the starre of Venus should bee 40 held miraculous; confidering that leffer miftes and fogges, than those which couered Greece with folong darkneffe doe familiarly present our senses, with as great alterations in the Sunneand Moone. That the figure should vary, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of Venus which the Sunne beholdes, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet, would vnto our cies, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the Moone doth sceme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension

Galileus, Galileus, a worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective 50 glaffes hath found in the starres many things vnknown to the ancients, affirmeth fo much to have beene discouered in Fenus by his late observations. Whether some waterie disposition of the aire might present as much to them that lived with Ogyges as Galileus hath seene through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the dif-

couerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular floud of Ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of St. Augustine) accompanied with fuch vnufuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) fignes teftifving the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the floud of Nosh which was generall and altogether miraculous, may feeme to have had no other token, or forelhewing, then the long preaching of Noah himselfe, which was not regarded : for they were eating and drinking, when the floud came fodainely, and Luke 17.0.27. tooke them all away.

III.

of Devealions floud: and that this was not Noams floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniuer fall floud.

Second floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine. was that of Deucalion in Thessalia, of which S. Augustine out of Varro. His temporibus (vt V ARRO scribit) regnante Atheniensibus CRANAO, Juccessore Cecropis (vt autem nostri, Evsebivs & Hierony-

MVS) adhuceodem CECROPE permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatumest Deucalionis: (that is) In these times (as VARRO reporteth) CRANAVS the Successfour of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or (as our EVSEBIVS and HIE-

ROME Say) CECROPS yet living, that floud (called Deucalions) happened.

And in the beginning of the cleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth these wordes. Eduxit ergo Moses ex Agypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret ASCATADES, apud Sicyonios MARATHVS, apud Arginos TRIOPAS. MosEs led the people of God out of Agypt about the latter times of CECROPS King of the Athenians, ASCATADES raigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicyonians MARATHVS, and over the Argives 30 TRIOPAS: fo as leaving the curiofitic of a few yeares, more or leffe, it appeareth, that this floud of Deucalion was either at the egreffion of the children of Ifrael out of Agypt, or neare it: and then after Noah 753. yeares, according to Functions, who makes Cecrops to live in the yeare of the world 2409. or if we follow Mercator, then 739 yeares after Noah, and in the yeare of the world 2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the world 2356. according to Codoman; then giving vnto Deucalion fourtie yeares of age when this floud happened, it falleth within one yeare of Mercators account. But Deucation by all approved Historians is faid to have beene 82. yeares old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this floud of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaetons time, by the raigne of 40 Crosopus King of the Argines; but Crotopus lived King of the Argines fixe yeares after Ifrael departed Agypt, which makes twentie yeares difference according to Funelius, who will have this floud and burning to have fallen fourteene yeares before Moses left £gypt: for hee gaue of the worldes yeares to the floud and burning the yeare 2440 and to Mofes his egression the yeare 2454. And yet Cedrenes thinks that cedrond 134 Moses was more ancient, and lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true; for then had the floud of Deucation, and the burning of Phaeton, preceded the floud of Ogyges, which is denyed by all: for that of Theffalie (called Deucalions) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia) at least 250. yeares or thereabouts. Eitsebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. and so doth P. Orosius: Eusebius about the 50. yeare of Moses life, and 50 Cyrillus about the 67. and both after Woshs floud 770. yeares: for these bee Clemens Alexandrinus his wordes. Fuit autem in Gracia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui clem. Alexa. fuit post INACHVM, inundatio qua fuit tempore Ogygis, There happened in Greece in the Iroax cof.

time of PHORONEVS, who lived after INACHVS, the floud of Ogyges. Now if the

floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. yeares before the first Olympiad, ac-

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cording to Eulebius and Orofius; (as before) then is it manifelt, that taking 763.out of this number of 1020 it fals out that ogyges floud happened before the Hebrewes left Agypt 250. yeares, or 260. yeares, according to the difference between the opinions of Eufebius and Orofius. And for my felte (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60. yeares more to Abraham after the floud, then the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these flouds in this fort. The generall floud was in the yeare of the world 1656. Incob was borne in the yeare of the world 2169. fo as from the beginning of the floud to Iacobs birth there were confumed 513. yeares. Ogyges floud happened 100. yeares after Iacob was borne; and therefore after the generall floud 613, yeares. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeare of the 10 world 2356. and hadlined 82. yeares, when his Kingdome of Theffalie was ouerwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438) his floud was after Weshs floud ended 782. yeares. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700 yeares betweene the generall floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. yeares of his age(as before) and then the floud of Thessale followed the general 782. yeares. The wordes of that Xenophon are these. Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Devealionis. secundo anno Spheri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Thesfaliam vidit inundatam, From the drowning of the world to the birth of DEVCALION. in the second yeare of Spherus, are numbred 700. yeares, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeares old, he (aw Thessalia drowned. This floud happened in the winter time a- 23 bout Parnassius: witnesse Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom St. Augustine so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this floud of Deucalion to have happened in the time of Cranaus, who succeeded Ceerops: Orofus thinkes it somewhat later, Amphitryon raigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops. Onely this of Deucalion was very great, and reached not only ouer Theffalie it felfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it couered the greatest part of Italie: and either the same, or some other particular floud then happening opprest Agypt, saith Eusebius. And therefore did the Greekes either thinke it, or faine it to be vniuerfall; and Deucalion, then King, fauing himfelfe and fome others on the mountaines of Thessale (ot all other the highest, faith Solinus) was by reason 38 thereof (as Strabo witneffeth) faid to be the preserver of mankinde. That this floud couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting Italie were therefore called 548pm; quia ab imbribus diluuij fuperfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his second: which Vmbrithese

The first Booke of the first part CHAP.7. S.3.

Solin 1.14. Strabe.1.9. Plin 1.3.c.14. Sel.c 7. Plia, ibid.

C.14.

Mediterrane Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the inhabiters of Italie before the floud of Nosh, and so tooke name by sauing themselves upon the Appenine mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preserued, 40 which is fufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling vs that the first people Atheneus dinner which after the generall floud inhabited Italie, were the Came fenes; (So named from Josh 1.15. out of Camele, whom Cato in originibus, another of Annius his Authours names for a con-Draco concyreus faith that ca- fort of Ianus) which people liued altogether a fauage life; till fuch time as Saturne mele was the arriving on those coasts, denised lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whose wife and lafter acts in that Region Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cassius and Varroa mong the Latines have preserved; and of whom Vireil: Latt.1.1.c.13.

Authours make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to bee the Parents of the

Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Bruty, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the

Æn.1.8.319.

Primus ab athereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo. Arma I o vis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis, Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis Composuit, leges g, dedit; Latium g, vocari

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.7.\$.4.

SATVRNE descending from the heavenshigh, Fearing the Armes of I VPITER his Sonne, His Kingdome loft, and banish thence doth flie. Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne To live together, and by lawes: which done He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them of the Sicani: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient inhabiters:

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venere Sicani.

Virg. 1.8, Æa,

Then came th' Aufonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine and sate downein Italie) Thucydides and Pliniegiue Thucyd.1.6. testimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligit, saith Thucydides. After all these vind. 3.0.5. plantations and replantations came the Vmbri, descended of the Galles (saith Annius) Annius ex Sanot of those Galles of France, but of those of Seythia, who commanded a great part mucle Thaims; of Italie, even all Hetruria and Campania, as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionysius, have af- Herodota. 20 fured vs; and therefore this floud of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all Plin.l.3.c.5. those Nations were planted in Italie, and disposses of Italie againe, before the Vmbri were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose time Deucalions floud happened) possess the same, about 206, yeares before the war of Troy: Lycaon then governing Areadia; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrius inuaded Italie, who gaue it the name of Oe- Paulan. Aread. notria. This name it held vntill Italus of the fame Nation changed it into Italie. 46.8. after his owne name, about 250, yeares before the fall of Troy. After these came Arif politicate

they had possess and past ouer the Appenine Mountaines) they added divers others, whercof Telsina (afterward Bononia) was one. Now that there was not anciently fuch a Nation, as these Vmbri, in those parts, I doe not affirme: having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And Stephanus thinkes, that the name was derived from the Greeke word Ombros; but that these Vmbri of Italie were descended of the Nation of Scythians (called Galli) it shall bee

the Pelafgi, of whome Plinie in his third Booke and fift Chapter; and Strabo in his

from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Citties; to which (after

30 fift; Thucydides in his fixth speakes at large: and after them the Lydi vnder Tyrrhenus Herod. 1.2.

their Captaine, that gaue name to the Tyrrheni, who casting thence the Vmbri, tooke Plin.1.3.c.4.

**∂**. IIII.

Of some other records testifying the universall floud: and of two ancient deluges in Ægypt: and of some elsewhere.



flewed hereafter.

Aint Augustine out of Varro affirmeth that the Greekes and Latines made not any mention of the vniuerfall floud, because they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of ogyges; and therefore (according to Rhodoginus before remembred) were all thinges among the Greekes(which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called Ogygia,

which we in English commonly call (worme-caten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were successfuely planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every familie which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of di-

SA-

uine letters was not received, finde no parent of more antiquitie, then fuch as they had themselues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the Gracians, so did others vaunt themselues to be Indigene, and growing out of the earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the Chaldeans had certaine knowledge of Noahs floud, as Berofus witnesseth; and Nicolaus Damascenus maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforefaid) though healfo affirme by heare-fay, that some Giants faued themselues upon the mountains Baris in Armenia, but speaketh not there-

Diod.lin.

of as from any authoritie approued : vling the word fermo est, that fuch a speech there Euf. de prap. E. Was. And Eufebius remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian Abydenus: who writeth that Sissithrus to preserve himselfe from a floud foretold him by Saturnus, 10 fled to the hils of Armenia by ship, ad Armenian nauigio confugiebat: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) fent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birdes feete were couered with mudde and flime. To this effect are Eufebius wordes out of Abydenus, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of Noahs

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that Alex. Polyhistor maketh mention of this generall floud. And Plato in Times produceth an Agyptian Prieft, who recounted to Solon out of the holy Bookes of Agypt, the storie of the floud vniuerfall, which (saith he) happened long before the Gracian inundations. Fryer Annius his Xenophon remembreth 20 a third floud, which also Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of Ogyges in Attica. For he named the generall floud : for the first, which happened (faith he) under the old ogyges, sub prisco ogyge, which was Woah; he calleth the second Niliaca: Hercules and Prometheus then living, 44. yeares before that of Attica, in the 34. years of Belochus King of the Affyrians, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this floud couered a great part of the nether Agypt, especially all that Region subject to Prometheus; and hereof came the fable of the Diod. Siculus deliuereth in these wordes: Flunium propter cursus velocitatem, prosun-

Wat, comiliar of Vulture on Prometheus his liver, afterward flaine by Hercules of Egypt: which fiction ditatemá, aquarum Aquilam tune appellatum, HERCVLEM cum consilij magnitudine, 30 tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressife, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cur sum conuertisse . Vnde & Graci quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes , HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI jecur depascentem occidisse, This floud (meaning of Nilus) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but HERCVLES by his great indgement and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this River, so farre extended and overspred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of HERCVLES into a fable) denifed that HERCVLES flow the Eagle, which fed on PROMETHEVS liner; meaning that he deliuered Prometheus of that forrow and torment, which for the losse of his people and Countrie (by the waters destroyed and coucred ouer) hee 40 fuffered.

A fourth floud chanced about Pharus in Agypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexandria, as Annius conceineth out of his Xenophon, who in this briefe fort Kenop. de aquiu. Writeth of all these inundations. Inundationes plures fuere: prima noumestris inundacomm. per An- tio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge : secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many inundations (faith this same Xenophon) the first which was wniner sall of nine Moneths, and this happened under the first Ogyges: the second was Niliaca, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of Hercules and Prometheus Agyptians: a third of two Moneths under Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of three Moneths in Thessalia vnder Deucalion; and a fift of the like continuance (called Pharonica) under Proteus of Agypt, about the time of Helens 50 rape. Diodorus in his fift booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authours, remembreth a floud in Asia the lesse and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction then any of the other particular inundations, faying, that the same happened before that of Descalion: the Sea of Pontus and Hellespont breaking in ouer the land.

But there have been many flouds in divers times, and ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, Niliaca and Pharonica in Agypt: as in the yeare of our redemption 590. when in October of the same yeare, Gregorie then being Bishop of Rome, there happened a maruailous overflowing in Italie, and especially in the Venetian territorie, and in Lyguria, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at Rome, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeare 1446 there perished 10000 people, by the breaking Muniter, in of the Sea at Dordroch in Holland: of which kinde I take that floud to be of Achaia

or Attica. Before that and in the yeare 1238. Trithemius speaketh of an earthquake Echiplis, & terwhich swallowed many thousands: and after that of a floud in Friseland, in which remotes cottones which I wandwed many thousands and atter trace of a node in 111 jenures, in which multa hom num there perished 100000 persons. Strezius Sigog. in his Magia omnifaria, telleth of milita appellian inundation in Italie, in the time of Pope Damasus, in which also many Citties of runt. Friha quoq an inundation in traue, in the time of rope Damajno, in which are limited spear per maritimes. Sicile were swallowed: another in the Papacie of Alexander the sixth: also in the year per maritimes. 1515. Maximilian being Emperour. Hee also remembreth a perilous overflowing submerta suit of in Polonia, about Cracouia, by which many people perished. Likewise Viginier a perieruni plus-French Historian speaketh of a great floud in the South part of Languedoc, which fell quam 100000. in the yeare of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and judgement day; faying, that by the vio-20 lent descent of the waters from the mountaines, about Nismes there were removed divers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both coyne of filuer and gold, divers pecces of plate, and veffels of other mettall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the Goths inuaded that Prouince, in the yeare 1156.

Q. V.

That the floud of NOAH was supernatural, though some say it might have
beene foreseene by the Starres.

Ow howfocuer all these flouds and many other, which have coursed at several times several Regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in America alfo, (as I haue learned of fome ancient Southfayers among them) may be afcribed to naturall causes and accidents, yet that vniucrfall floud (in the time of Noah) was powred ouer the whole face of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitic of nature could effect, or any fecond causes by what soeuer vnion could performe, without receiving from the Fountaine of all power, 40 strength, and faculties supernaturall. Henricus Mecliniensis, a Scholler of Albertus Magnus, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of Albu Mafar obserueth, that before the floud of Woah, the like conjunction of Iupiter and Saturne, happened in the last degree of Cancer, against that constellation since called the ship of Argos; by which the floud of Noah might be foretold, because Cancer is both a waterie figne, and the house of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of Astronomie, and common experience. And this opinion Petrus de Aliaco vpon Genesis confirmeth, affirming that although Alia de concor-Woah did well know this floud by dinine reuelation, yet (this conjunction being no- dia 1 beolog. & torious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not 50 only signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further that by \* Catarraste earli (Englished the windores of \* The word

heaucn)

properly fignifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downewards, dasheth and breaketh; of aparos allide or frange. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (Windores) for barres or floud gates.

But

heauen) Moses meant this great and waterie conjunction; the word (Catarrasta) fignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now(faith P. de Aliaco ) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby for sake those wicked waies wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercie.

Of this judgement was Gul. Parifienfis, who vnderstood that the wordes Catarratta cali, or windores of heaven were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these wateriesignes, Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion, and of the Planets, Mars, Venus, and the Moone: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne words are thefe, Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraorum catarract as 10 cœlivocâsse, nisi partes illas cœli, qua generativa sunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum. quales (unt figna aquatica, ot Cancer &c. as aforefaid. As yet (faith he) I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meaneth by those words, (Catarralt a cali, or windores of Heauen) unlesse he thereby understand those calestial powers, by whose influences are engendred the raine, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie Signes of Can-

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisedome this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to every operation increase of vertues, violent cruptions to Springs and fountaines, commaunding them to cast out the whole treasure and 20 heape of their waters; taking retention from the Cloudes, and condenling ayer into water by the ministeric of his Angels, or howfocuer else best pleased his Al-powerfulnesse.

#### ð. V I.

That there was no neede of any new creation of matter to make the universall flored : and what are Catarract & Cali.

Gen. 7. verf. 11.



Ow if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new (pecies) which graunted, it may feeme that then all the earth & ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world fifteene cubites aboue the highest mountaines. Of this proposition whether

God hath so restrained himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouercouer the highest mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish; for it is written, that the fountaines of the great deepe were broken up (that is) the waters for fook the very bowels of the earth; 40 and all what focuer was difperst therein peirced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs confider that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle seuen thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand fine hundred miles: Take then the highest mountaine of the world, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas, the mountaines of Armenia or Scythia, or that (of all other the highest) in Tenuerif, and I doc not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand fine hundred miles deepe should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirty miles vpright being found in the 59 depths of the earth one hundred and fixteene times: for the fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp, and the waters drawen out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and aboue it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaCHAP.7. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

fed God to condense but so much of this ayre as every-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conversion of averinto water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was coursed ouer with waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of Gulielmus Paristensis, and Aliacensis, to which I may adde Berofus and others, That fuch a conjunction there was, foreshewing that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the word Catarracta cali, or Windores of heauen, was meant this conjunction; there needes no other answere then 10 that observation of Ludouicus Vines, who affirmeth that by the gravest Astrologians it was obserued, that in the yeare 1524 there should happen the like conjunction, as at Noahs floud, then which (faith he) there was never a more faire, drie, and feafonable yeare: the like destruction was prophecied of the yeare 1588. But Pieus Earle of Mirandula proueth that there could not bee any fuch conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word Catarracta cali, then that the clowdes were meant thereby: Moles vling the word Windores of Heauen (if that bee the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the raines, and powring downe of waters. For whofocuer hath feene those fallings of water, which sometimes hap-20 pen in the Indies, which are called the Spowts (where clowdes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a refiftleffe violence in one body) may properly vie that manner of speech which Moses did; That the windores or floud-gates of heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loofened the power retentiue in the vppermost aire, and the waters fell in abundance : Behold (faith I o B) he which heldeth the waters, and they drie 100 6,12,1,181 vp, or better in Latine, Et omnia siccantur, and all things are dried vp; but when hee sendeth them out, they destroy the earth: and in the 26. Chapter. Hee bindeth the waters in the dowdes; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the generall floud, and called up the waters which flept in the great deep: and these joyning together couered 30 the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, hee then com- Gon 8.1; maunded them to returne into their darke and vast caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into aire, formerly condensed into drops.

#### ٥. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of No AH among the Heathen.

O A H commaunded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne wife, and his fonnes, and his fonnes wiues, taking with them of euerie creature, which tooke life by generation, feuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. Woah, according to Philo, fignifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father Lamech, cellation; to whome after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitic, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, The first ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges there was also a great floud of Achaia: Saturne they called him, because hee was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of Prometheus, who was faid to steale away Iupiters fire; fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and forelight. Hee had also 50 the name of Janus, (idest) vinofus, because Jain, fignifieth wine in the Hebrew. And so Tertulian finds him written in libris ritualibus, in the bookes of ceremonies, preceding both Saturne, Vranus, and Ioue which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fained Gods. And this name Iain is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vie before there was any Latine Nation,

or any Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquitie of Ianus, Fabius Pictor giueth this testimonic. I A N I atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum haferat vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit I A N V S ad (acrificia : primus enim aras & Pomæria & (acra docuit, In the time of I A N V S (faith he) there was no Monarchie : for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. I ANVS first taught the people to facrifice Wine and Meale : he first fet up Altars, instituted gardens and solitarie groues, wherein they vsed to pray; with other holie rires and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth fo well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest Noah flourished, there was not any King or Monarch : Aim oc' being the first that 10 tooke on him soueraigne authoritie. Secondly, 20 oah after the floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a hulbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, hee was the first that raised an Altar, and offered facrifice to God, a thanks-giving for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. Noah was also fignified in the name of Bifrons ( which was given to Ianus) because he beheld the times both before and after the floud, quia praterita nouerit, & futura prospexerit, saith Arnobius. Because he knew what was past, and prouided for what was to come. He was also in the person of lanus shadowed by the name of Chaos, and femen orbis, the feede of the world; because as out of that confused heape was drawne all the kindes of beafts and plants: so from Woah came all mankinde: 20

Ouid defaftis la

3ex 9.20.

Gen. 8.20.

Arn.cont.cent.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam fum res prifca) vocabant, Aspice quam longi tempor is act a cano.

whereof Outd in the person of Janus:

2Voibrested after the floud.

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeares By those old times, of which I sing, appeares.

He was also intituled Calim and Sol, Heaven and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomic: Vertumnus, Bacchus, and Liber Pater, not that latter, which 20 Diod. Siculus, and Alex. Aphrodifeus fo call, because he was the restorer of the Greekes to their former libertie, but in respect of the floud. For the Greekes called Liber 24's, and his Nurses Hyades, of raine, because Noah entred the Arke, when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres Hyades, a constellation in the brow or necke of Taurus, and euer after a monument of Neahs floud. He was also by others furnamed Triton, a Marine God, the Sonne of Neptune: because hee lived in safetic on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of Diony [us, quali Jiaricow, mentem pungens, bite-braine, or wit-flinger, though Diodorus conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name à patre & loso, of his Father, and the place of his birth, (to wit) of Ioue, and Nisa a Towne of Arabia falix, faith Suidas out of Orpheus. He had also the by name of Taurus, or Tauro- 40 phagus; because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of Mofes And NOAH became an husbandman. Now howfocuer the Gracians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus (otherwise Dionysus) it is certaine that the name was borrowed, and the invention stollen from Noah. But this name of Bacchus, more anciently Boacus, was taken (faith Gul. Stuckius, and out of him Danaus) from Woachus, (N) being consumalibut, & changed into (B); and it is the more probable, because it cannot bee doubted but Danaus depri- that Noah was the first planter of the Vine after the floud: and of Noah (the first and

ma mundi atate.

"Nat Com. 1.5.

Cælius.

Ge#19.20.

those of Paropanis. And those other Easterne mountaines, on which the Arke of Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankinde

ancient Bacchus) were all those fables deuised, of which Diodorus complaineth in his

fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first Bacchus (to wit) Noah was surnamed

focuer themselves faine of his enterprises; and these mountaines of Nifa joyne with

Ny sius, of the mountaine Ny sain India, where the Gracian Bacchus neuer came, what- 10

might the better be preserued, there were founded by his issues many great Citties which bare his name; with many rivers and mountaines: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we finde the Cittie of Plin.1.6. Noah vpon the bankes of the red Sca and elsewhere: the River of Noas in Thrace, Herod. La. which Strabo calleth Noarus; Ptolome Danus; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus Strabol. 7. much for the name.

Снар.7.§.8.

### ). VIII.

Of sundrie particulars touching the Arke : as the place where it was made, the matter, fallion and name.

Ow in what part of the world Noah built the Arke, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approued Authour that hath written thereof: only Goropius Becanus in his Indo-Scythia conceineth, that Nosh built his Arke neare the mountaines of Caucalus, because on those hilsare found the goodliest Cedars: for when Alex.

Macedon made the warre among a people, called Ny/ai, inhabiting the other fide of 20 Caucasus, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (faith Becanus) Noah repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Arke; to which also hee addeth the conveniencie of rivers, to transport the Timber which hee vsed, without troubling any other car-

Only this wee are fure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne world; and to my understanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the floud. For Noah did not vie any mast or faile (as in other ships) and therefore did the Arkeno otherwise moue then the Hulke or body of a ship doth in a calme Sea. 20 Also because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: Godmade a winde to passe Gen. 8.12 upon the earth, and the waters ceased; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion beetrue, as it is very likely, that the Arke had fundum planum, a flat bottome, and not raised in forme of a ship with a sharpnesse forward, to cut the waves for the better speede.

This kind of Veffell the Hebrewes call Thebet, and the Greekes Larnax, for fo they 40 termed Deucalions (hip and some say, that the hill Parnassus, to which in eight dayes hearrised, was first called Larnassus, and by the change of (L) into (P) Parnassus; but stephide tribi Paufanias thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymphe Cleodora, called Par- foliage. nassus, the inventour of Auguration.

Peucerus findes the word ( Parnaffis ) to have no affinitie with the Greeke, but De Oracul fat thinks it deriued from the Hebrew word Nahas, which fignifieth Auguration and 94. Distination : or from Har or Parai, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the leafe before cited.

lofephus cals the Arke Machina, by the generall name of a huge Frame : and Epi- Epiph, in Ancore phanius out of the Hebrew Aron; but herein lieth the difference betweene Aron 50 and Thebet, That Aron fignificth properly the Arke of the Sanctuarie, but Thebet fuch a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the waters.

Laftly, this Arke of Noah differed from the falhion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and roofe, with a crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the roofe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder Noah

Gen.6.4.

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what wood the Arke was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word Gopher once and in this place only vsed is diversly vnderstood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneua Translation cals it Pinetree, the Rabbine Gedar, the Seventie square timber, the Latine smooth tim-Plin. L. 16.c.40. Plinie affirmeth that in £gypt it was the vie to build thips of Cedar, which the

17.18.

ber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at funerals. But out of doubt if the word Gopher fignific any special! kinde of timber, Noah obayed the voice of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace to and mercie for his defence. For with Noah God promifed to establish his covenant, worme eates not; and he auoweth that he faw in Vica, in the Temple of Apollo Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Cittie, and that they were still found in his time, which was aboue 1 188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet sauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neare the place where the Arke rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, befides those of Libanus, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: 20 which bath befides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therfore fittest to build ships withall. Pererius conceineth that the Arke had divers forts of timber, and that the bottome had of one fort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or falle, if Gopher may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, aswell for the body, as for masts and yards. But Nosh had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and heighth, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their severall forts of foode; and that it might be capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when 30 Woah had gathered together, hee cast his considence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compasse or the North starre. The pitch which Noah vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kinde of Bitumen, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of Sodome and Gomorra, now the dead Sea or Asphaltes : and in the Region of Babylon, and in the West India, and herein it exceedeth other pitch that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard waxe.

Pererius.

That the Arke was of Sufficient capacitie.



He Arke according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubites, fiftic of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had fixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which St. AVGVSTINE. Procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc faculo Ciuitatis Dei,(hoc est) Ecclesia, qua sit

salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus : nam & menfuraipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinis go eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines pranunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (faith he) it 50 is a figure of the Cittie of God, trauailing in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, faued by the tree whereupon the Mediatour betweene God and Man, the man Iefus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth, and breadth, answereth the shape of mains body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was foretald and performed.

of the Historie of the World.

By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these. The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle singer. The second (the palmecubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called Regins Cubitus, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the facred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laftly there is a fift cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth fix common cubits. But of all these sortes, 10 which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies: so is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leffe length then it was in elder times.

St Augustine considering the many sortes of beastes and birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometricall cubit, which containeth almost six of the Common. For measuring the Arke by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Athen. dipnofes. veffell built by Hiero of Syracuse, or the ship of Prolomie Philo-pater. But St Augu- lib 4. fine (who at the first wasled by Origen) changed his judgement as touching the Demetry.

20 Geometricall cubit; and found vpon better consideration, that there needed not fo huge a bodie to præserue all sortes of creatures by God appointed to be reserued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of fillnes into the Arke, because they were kept lining (faith St Augustine) in their owne element. Won fuit necesse conservarein S caiqua possent imaquis viuere; non solum mersa sicut pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa alites. It was not needfull to conferue those creatures in the Arke, which could line in the waters ; and not onely fifthes which can line under water, but also those fowles which sit and swimme on them : and againe, Terranon aqua, maledita, quià Adam non huius, sed Augde ciuit. illius fructum vetitum comedit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God curfed: for Deilis, ca. 57 of the forbidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did Adameat; fo as St Augustine

20 gathereth hereupon, (asaforefaid) that so huge a Frame needed not. And if wee looke with the eies of judgement hecreunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischiefe and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reason finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now feeme differing and of feuerall kindes, were not then in rerum natura. For those beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to præserue them: seeing they might bee generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyæna's and the like: the one begotten by Asses and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by dis-40 couering of strange landes, wherein there are found divers beastes and birdes differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts, it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed skinnes, or fea-

thers, are differing from those that are leffe painted, and were plaine ruffet or black: they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Ounce of India; and cuen those dogges which are become wilde in Hispagniola, with which the Spamards vsed to deuoure the naked Indians, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the Acoff. biff. India: 50 drown'd and low Islands of Caribana; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation: in the North parts of Virginia. The dogfish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made adifference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Black-mores non animalia rationalia not men, but some kinde of strange beastes: and so

the Giants of the South America should bee of an other kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a yeare or two to common Cowcummers by being fet in a barren foile: Therefore taking the kindes præcifely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the carth by his ordinance produced: The Arke, after the meafure of the common Cubit was fufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For it we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantlic stature (and lesse al- 10 lowance we cannot give to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot deepe. But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometricall Cubit is not vsed in the

Deut 3.11. 1.Sam17.4

Exed. 20.26.

Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of Of King of Basan had been nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 74. Cubites of the common, which make 80 foot : and Goliah, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull, a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54. foot in heighth and vpwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of Goliah beene nine foot long, and farre waightier and big- 20 ger then all Dauids bodie, who carried it away.

Againe if the Geometricall Cubit had been vsed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, fine of breadth and three of heighth) have reached the I mgth of 27. foot vpright, and so must their Priestes have ascended by steps or ladders to have performed their facrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in these wordes: Thou shalt not goe up with steppes unto mine altar, that thy shame bee not discovered thereon; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was 30 not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might give much the more capacitie to the Arke, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose lives cannot bee præserved in the waters, might according to their præsent quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the Arke, had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vfuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodies which were in the daies of 200ah 40 might have roome fufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be faued (that is) feuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might have place in the Arke, But ao hath very learnedly declared: the briefe fumme of whose discourse to that purpose is this. The length of the Arke was three hundred cubits, which multiplyed by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the heighth of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole concauitie to have beene 150000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may feeme to have taken vp a great part of the hollow: the heighth of the roofe which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a 50 fufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke roome for 89. diffinct Species of beafts, or (leaft any should be omitted) for 100. seuerall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three

forts of beafts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to Aristotle) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and fo of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtic kinds of the greater fort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of Moles, whereof feuen of a kinde entred into the Arke, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for facrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, fo that in all there were in the Arke one and twentic great beafts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vncleane, estimable 10 for largenesse as 91. Beeues; yet for a supplement (least perhaps any Species becomitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the leffer fort, feeding on vegetables were in the Arke fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supplie, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which deuour flesh were two and thirtie kinds. answerable to three score and soure Wolues. All these 280, beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the Arke in their severall Cabbines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his familie, and all their necessaries.

CHAP.7. \$.10. +.1.2. of the Historie of the World.

That the Arkerested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucasus) betweene the East Indies, and Scythia.

A praterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the wse of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

Hat time Noah tooke to build the Arke, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the Commandement from God 100. yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leifure fufficient. As for the number of decks & partitions, which *Origen* deuides into foure. St. Augustine into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the con-

trougifie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called Alegartos) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horses, were kept in the Arke, or no, I thinke it a needleffe curiofitie; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a fish-poole might bee made as well within the Arke, as in Hiero his ship of Syracuse. Lastly, to consider or labour to disproue the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the Arke was lightened by a Carbuncle, 4º or had windores of Cristall to receive in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I feeke most to satisfie my felfe and others in, is in what part of the world the Arke rested after the floud : because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the seate of the terrestrials Paradise, and the resting of the Arke) doe only and truly teach the worlds plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the floud; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

t. II

A proposall of the common opinion, that the Arkerested upon some of the hils of Armenia.

Nd first, for the true place where the Arker cfted after the floud, and from What part of the world the children of Noah travailed to their first settlement \* L 3

and plantation, I am resoluted (without any presumption) that therein the most

writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinkeout of my humour or

newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the origi-

nall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the

Gen. 8.4.

'Sec 6.7.6.1.

most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the Arke stayed upon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath converted Kardu, meaning the hils Gordai or Gordiai in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes Gordai and Kardu seeme to bee one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any fuch thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater to Armenia. Nicolaus Damascenus cals this mountaine of Ararat, Baris, being the same which the Chaldean nameth Kardu, to which mountaine the Fryer Annius (citing this place out of Iosephus) makes him finde another adjoyning, called Ocila, and to fay that the Arke (of which Moles the Lawginer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first · take ground on this Ocila. But I doe not finde any fuch mountaine in being, as this Ocila; neither is there any mention of it in the place of losephus. Strabo remembreth a Promontorie in Arabia falix, of that name, and Plinie findes a Mart-towne fo called in the same, which Piolomie cals Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger Zidon. But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Annius, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian mountaines. Berofus calleth those mountaines of Armenia Cordiai, and Cur- 20 tius Cordai: Ptolomie Gordai and Gordiai: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this Nicolaus Damascenus called Ninyada, perhaps (as Becanus coniectures) for Hierem 51.27. Milyada or rather Minni : which word is vsed for Armenia Minor. And the very word of Armenia seemes to be compounded of this word Minni, and Aram: as if

Nat. bifl.1.5.c.12 we should say Minni of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Syria, Plinic witnesseth. Epiphanius placeth the Cardyes about these mountaines, whom others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The mountaines are seated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called Taurus, or Niphates in the plaines of Armenia the great, neare the Lake Thospitis: whence the River of Tigris floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines 20 Gordiei (that which surmounteth the rest) Epiphanius cals Lubar, which in the Ar-Total, de Antia, menian fignifieth a place of descent : but this out of Iosephus; which name (faith Iunius) was of the euent, because of Noahs comming downe with his children. But this alfo I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side wee must descend, may thus be called : as Iunius corrects the place in Iosephus Aout Rapis (Kubaris.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because Ioseph.l. 1. c.4. faies, the place is called ano Batiffier (as it were the descent or comming downe) and Epiphan.l. I. cont. Heref. cals it Adoap: which word in the Armenian and Agyptian tongue signifieth descent, of Lubar, which is to descend; whence also Lubra is a Sy-

†. III.

was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so neare a place as Armenia.

nagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place : whereof also the La- 40

tine Delubrum may seeme to be derived; and Act. 6.9. they that belonged to the

Synagogue of the Agyptians are called Libertini, for Lubratenu. Yet this opinion

hath beene embraced from age to age : receiving a habit of strength by time, and al-

lowance without any farther examination; although the name of Lubar might o-

therwife rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage

B Vt there are many arguments to personade me, that the Arke of Noah did not rest it selfe in any part of Armenia, and that the mountaine Ararat was not Baris, nor any one of the Gordiaan mountaines.

For first, it is agreed by all which follow Berofus, that it was in the 130. yeare, or Berofil. in the yeare 131 after the floud, when Wimrod came into the valley of Shinar, which Valley was atterward called Babylonia, Chush, and Chaldea. If then the Arke had first found land in Armenia, it is very unprobable, that the children of Noah which came into that valley could have spent so many yeares in so short a passage: seeing the Region of Mejopotamia was onely interiacent, which might by easie journeies haue been past ouer in 20.daies; and to hastenand help which passage the nauigable riuer of Tigris offered it selfe, which is euerie where transpassable by boats of great burden: fo as where the Defart on the one fide relifted their expedition, the river on to the contrarie fide ferued to advance it; the river rifing out of the fame Ledge of mountaines, or at the foot of them, where the Arke of Noah was first supposed to fettle it selfe; Then, if the Nations which followed Nimrod still doubted the surprise of a second floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it soundethill to the eare of reason, that they would have spent many yeares in that low and ouerflowen Valley of Mesopotamia, so called of the many Rivers which imbroider or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes, which they vndertooke, their vnbeliefe; being no fooner arrived in Shinar, but they beganne to prouide themselves of a defence (by erecting Babel) against any future or feared inundation. Now at Babelit was that Wimrod beganne his Kingdome, the 20 first knowne Cittie of the world founded after the floud, about 131. yeares, or (as

t. IIII.

name (faith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

others suppose) ten yeares later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vn-

dertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, Toget vsa Gen.to.to.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie and in all humane glorie.

30 FOr a second Argument : The civilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath beene, or can be faid for Armenia, and for Noahs taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other thinges which the East had) may casilic perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East Indians (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordinance of batteric, confirmed by the Portugals and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of Philostratus in vita Apollonij Tianei, l. 2.c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous wordes: when he faith, that the wife men, which dwell betweene Hyphasis and Ganges, vie not themselves to goe 40 forth into battaile . but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning fent from Iupiter. By which meanes there it is faid, that Hercules Agyptius and Bacchus, joyning their forces were defeated there; and that this Hercules there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, because he brought them first into Greece of which the people (then rude and fauage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leffe ancient then Sethor Henoch were: for they are faid to have written on pillers of stone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Easterne world it was that Iohn Cuthenberg a Germane, brought the deuise of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed, brought the practise thereof 50 to Rome: and after that Nicholaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to bee but newiy borne, the Chinaos had letters long before either the Agyptians or Phanicians; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any civill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the Portugals and Spaniards have witneffed, who about an hundred yeares fince discouered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the Chinass account all other Nations but Saluages, in respect of themselues.

And to adde firength to this argument, the conquest and storie of Alex. Macedon may justly bee called to witnesse, who found more Citties and sumptuositie in that little kingdome of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the East India, then in all his other trauailes and undertakings. For in Alexanders time learning and greatneffe had not transiled to farre to the West as Rome: Alexander esteeming of Italie but as a barbarous Countrie, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his 10 eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sunrifing, and heare Paulus Venetus what he reporteth of the vttermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall finde that those Nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civill, the farther West the more salvage. And of the 1ste of Iapan (now Zipingari) Venetus maketh this report. Incolareligioni, literis, & sapientia sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent : vnum cognoscunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they ve in their 20 Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, civilitie, riches, fumptuous buildings, and pollicie in gouernement, is reported to be fuch by those who have beene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

**B** Vt for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of Semiramis before the indifferent and adulted Reader: who may consider in what age sheeliued, and how soone after the worlds new birth sheegathered her Armie (as Diodorus Siculus out of Ctesias reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade India, to which he adiovneth also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that India was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein Thee lived: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of Ninus; and the most approued Writers agree, that Winus was the Sonne of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, 40 that Nimrod was the Sonne of Culb, Culb of Cham, and Cham of Noah. And at fuch time as Nimrod came into Shinar, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Cittie and Tower of Babel may appeare, and being then so multiplyed and increased, the two descents cast betweene Nimrod and Semiramis, brought foorth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whome shee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by Staurobates King of India beyond Indus; of whole multitudes this is the witnesse of Died. Siculus. STAVROBATES, auitis maioribus quam que erant SEMIRAMIDIS copiis. .STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups then those of SEMIRAMIS. If then so these numbers of Indians had been encreased but by a Colonie sent out from Shinar, (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of Staurobates must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered

might eafily grow vp in that time, from to great a troupe as Nimrod brought with him into Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the storie of Ifrael) so could not any fuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce fo many bodies of men, as were in the Indian armie victorious over Semiramis, if the Colonies fent thither had beene so late as Babel ouerturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 65 yeares time after the floud, before 2 imred was borne : of which, 30 yeares to Culls ere he begat Seba, after whom hee had Hamilah, Sahrah, Ruamah, and Sabtecha: Gen 10.7 and then 30. yeares to Raamah, ere hee begat Sheba and Dedan, both which were borne before Nimtrod: and fine yeares to his fine elder brothers, which make 65 and to then twice 30. yeares for two generations more, as for Nimod , Sheba and Dedan with others, to beget their formes; and that a third generation might growe vp. which makes in all 125, yeares, there will then remaine fixe yeares to have beene form intrauailing from the East; ere they arrived in Shinar in the yeare after the floud 121. And so the followers of Aximod might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at Shinaar in the yeare 101 : and the confusion to have beene at Pelegs birth, these men doe all by miracle : they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build Nimrods Tower in the aver; and not on those low and marish groundes (which require found foundations) in the Plaines of Shinaar. For except that huge Tower were built in a daie, there could 20 be no confusion in that years to r. or at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that Nimrod viurped regall authority in the 131, yeare after the floud. (according to Beroliu) and that the worke of Babel lasted fourtie yeares (according to Glycas )hominibusin ea perficienda totis 45. annis incassum laborantibus : Men labou- Glycan Gen. er ring in vaine 40. yeares to finish it. By which account it fals out, that it was 170. de Turis ex. yeares after the floud, ere a Colonie was fent into East India; which graunted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee belieued, that staurobates could have exceeded Semiramis in numbers : who being then Empresse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one

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bodie.

The fourth Argum from divers considerations in the person of No AH.

Courthly, it is no way probable, that Noah, who knew the world before the floud. and had lived therein the long time of 600 yeares, was all that space 130, yeares after the floud without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conducter of those people, by Nosh destined 40 and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the westerne world; (which trauailes Nach put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that Noch himfelfe then couered with many yeares planted himfelfe in the same place which God had affigned him : which was where he first came downe out of the Arke from the waters : For it is written, that after Weah came downe out of the Arke he planted a vineyeard, and became a husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth, and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia falix, where hee should (if the tradition be found) have left certaine Colonies: thence into Africa towards Triton; then into Spaine, where they fay he fetled other companies, & built Citties after the names of Noela and Noegla his fons wives : from 50 thence into Italie, where they say hee found his sonne Cham the Saturne of Agypt, who had corrupted the people and subjects of Gomer in his absence : with whom Noah (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeares; but then finding no amendment they say hee banisht him out of Italie. These be but the fancies of Bero-Jus Annianus, a plaine imitation of the Gracian fables. For let euery reasonable man

conceine, what it was to transite farre in such a forrest as the World was, when after fo great a rotting of the earth by the floud the same lay wast and our-growne for 130. or 140. yeares, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which mon-were able to except for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeares were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that Weak neuer came into the valley of Shinaar, as we need not suspect his passage into Italie or Spaine: For Neah, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would never have permitted his children and iffues to have wndertaken that vnbeleeuing presumptuous worke of Babel. Rather by his presence 10 and prevalent perswasions he would base bound their hands from so vaine labours. and by the authoritie which he received even from God himselfe, hee would have held them in that awfull subjection, as what socienthey had vainely conceived or feared, yet they durft not have disobayed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regal authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainely, Noah knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themschies purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raife up building against his Almightie power, was as much as in them lay, a proposation of God to lay on them the same if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that ouer he came to farre West as Babylonia; but ra- 20 ther, that he fent those numbers which came into Shinaar (being the greatest troupe. because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under Nimrod, or those vppon whom he viginged. Nauterus and Colestinus take the testimonic of Methodius Bishop of Twe for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encreule:(to,wis), Nimeral, Suphene, and Jostan: of which Nimed commaunded theiffues of Cham, latter of Sem, and Suphere of Laphet .. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that fo great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without arder and conduction.

""" Of the Sonnes of Sem: 10ttan Haidah, and Ophir, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East India. The rest of Sem: issues had also the Regions of Persia and 30 the other adiopning to India; and held also a part of Chaldac for a time: for Aira-ham inhabited Vr, till hee was thence-called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of Iottan, or of all the rest a certaine number (Cham and his issue only excepted) that Noah kept with him self-it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall foeake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another teason which moues me to beleeue, that Wosh stayed in the East far away from alk those that came into Shime, is that Mose dont not in any word make mention of Mosh in all the storie of the telebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Mosh, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosen fernant of God, was two principalls a person, to be either forgotten or negles acted, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) with drawne himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloned, giving himselfe to the service and contemplation of God and heauenly thinges, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and service lost, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth, after which, and his thank-guing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which Moss wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

UPARMA COMPANIO SE PER CO ではなることがある。 t. VII.

CHAP.7. S.10. †.7. of the Historie of the World.

Of the senselesse opinion of Annivs the Commentor upon Beros us: that the Arkerested upon Montes Caspy in Armenia, and yet upon Gordisi, which are three hundred miles distant also in Armenia, and yet in Scytha.

T remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier An-Inius, who in his Commentaries vpon Berofus and others, laboureth maruailoully 10 to proue, that the Arke of Noah rested upon the Armenian mountaines called Caspy; which mountaines separate Armenia from the vpper Media, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines Gordiei, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, then to charge those men with errour which haue carefully ouerfeene, printed, and published Ptolomies Ptol.tab.Asia.3. Geographic, in which they are altogether diffeuered: for that last edition of Mercators, sets these hils flue degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) afunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of Villanouanus and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe Annius withall: for in those the mountaines 20 Capi stand seuen degrees to the East of the Gordini, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie Annius strengtheneth himselfe, Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giueth this judgement vpon them in the like dispute. Aberrarunt vero emnes, non negligentia, sedregnorum situs ignorantia, They have allerred Diod.Le.3. (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes, But for an induction, to proue that the Arke of Noah flood on the mountaines of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the Scythians: and to proue the same hee citeth Marcus Portius Cato, who answeth that 2 50. yeares before Ninus, the earth cato de original was ouerflowne with waters, & in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus, and that in Scy- Pars prima. thia Saga the stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that 30 the Vmbri before remembred (who were so called, because faued from Deucalions floud) were the Sonnes of the Galli, a Nation of the Scythians. Ex hijs venisse I ANV M cum DYRIM & Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum, From these Scythians, he faith, that IANVS came with DYRIM and with the Galli the progenitours of the Vmbri; And againe, Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway given to the Scythians. And herein truly I agree with Annius, that those Regions called Scythia, and now Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia Asiatica, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of Asia vnder tribute till Ninus time. Also Plinie calleth the Vmbri which long fince inhabited Plin.13.e.14. Italie, Gens antiquisima, a most ancient Nation, who descended of these Scythians. Now 40 that which Annius laboureth, is to proue that these ancient Scythians (meaning the Nephewes of 2(oah) did first inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the Arkerested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in Armenia, he faineth a nation of Scythians called Araxea, taking name of the mountaine Ararat, neare the River of Araxes. And because his Authour Cato helpeth him in part (to wit, That in Scythia mankinde was restored after the great floud, 250. yeares before Nimus) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding the word \$1921, as in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, in Scythia Saga mankinde was restored, hee therefore in the Proame of his Commentarie vpon Berofus, leaueth out the addition Berofus, of Saga altogether in the repetition of Cato his wordes, and writes homines in Scythia 50 Saluatos. For Scythia Saga or Sace, is vindoubtedly vinder the mountaines of Paropa- Pro. Afa. tab. 7.

t. VII.

cted the Tower of Babel in Shinaar or Babylonia.
But now the best authoritie which Annius hath is out of Diodorus: where he hath

nifus, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to Moses) came all those companies which ere-

read,

read, that the Seythians were originally Armenians, taking name à Seytha Rege eorum, from Scythatheir King. But (in a word) we may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For Diodorus a most approved and diligent Authour beginneth in that place with these wordes. Fabulantur Scytha, The Scythians fable; and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giveth this title to that very Chapter. Soytharum origo & Successions, fabula, The original and Successe of the Soythians, a fable. And (indeede) there needes no great disproofe hereof, since Ptolomie doth directly delineate Scythia Saga, or Saca, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the Persians (faith Herodotus ) call all the Scythians, Saca, which Plinie confirmeth: for in respect that these Save (faith Plinie) are the next Scythians to the Persians, there- 10 fore they give all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man beleeueth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenial yeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the Saca; and the Countrie about Araxes Ptolomie calleth Colthene and Soducene and Sasapene, without any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed Scythians, either within Imaus or without, to the number of 100. feuerall Na-Tab. Alia 7. 6 8 tions are by Ptolomie precisely set downe.

L.6.c.17.

But to come to those later Authours, whereof some haue written, others haue feene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, Marius Niger boundeth Scythia within Imaus, in this manner: 20 (for Seythia without these mountaines is also beyond our purpose.) Seythia intra Imaum montem ea est, qua proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur : ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridia Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, v (q, ostia Oxa amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & part ipfius maris hinc v(q, ad Rha fluminis oftia terminatur, Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the world, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaan mountaines: on the North by unknowne lands: on the South by the Sacca (which are the Saca) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a Rha now Welga. Part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.

Gem. 2 Afie.

Now if Niger sets all Sarmatia Asiatica, to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (que magna fanè regio est , & qua innumeras nationes complectitur , Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (faith Niger, much of it being betweene Scythia and Armenia, doth sufficiently warrant vs. that Armenia can be no part of Scrthia; and to make it more plaine, he diffeuereth Sarmatia it selfe from any part of Armenia, by the Regions of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, which hee leaueth on the right hand of Sarmatia, and yet makes Sarmatia but the West bound of Scythia.

Ad meridiem ficxo Belphoro pars (eptentrio nalis ponte Euzini v(q, in c(till Coracis fluny: unde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, 1beris, Albanila, in litmaris prouenit. Spec bift.1.30.

And for Paulus Venetus, he hath not a word of Armenia among the Tartarian, or Scythian Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier John Plancarpio (cited by Vincentius in his description of Scythia) make any mention of Armenia; neither doth Haytonus 40 an Armenian borne, of the bloud of those Kings, (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a Tartarian, or of the Seythian races descended : though he write that storie at large, gathered by Nicholaus Salcuni, and (by the commandement of Pope Clement the fifth) in the yeare 1307. published.

Neither doth Mathias a Michou (a Canon of Cracouia in Polonia) a Sarmatian borne, and that trauailed agreat part of Sarmatia Asiatica, finde Armenia any way within the compasse of Tartaria, Scythia, or Sarmatia; and yet no man (whose trauailes are extant) hathobserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disprouing many thinges, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others hee burieth that ancient and received opinion. That out of the mountaines Riphai, and 50 Hyperborei in Scythia, spring the Rivers of Tanais or Don, Volga or Edel; proving by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such mountaines in rerum natura; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Rivers, are now by the trade of Muscouia knowne to enery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes low, wooddie,

and marish grounds. The River of Tanois or Don, ariseth to the South of the Cittie Tulla, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called Imanonesero in the great wood Okenitzkilies or Iepiphanolies. Volga, which Ptolomie cals Rhz, and the Tartars call E- 1 del, rifeth out of a Lake called Fronow, in the great wood Vodkonzki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Borysthenes (now Nyeper) and Defina or Sig. Herberstein, Dividna. And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia Europiana, &c. are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscouians, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the River of Visia (the name perchance Grazens calleth misprinted Vissa for Vistula, a River which parts Germanie and Sarmatia) and for the this River Wi-10 East border he nameth Tanais or Don. Sarmatia Asiatica he cutteth from Europe by haut, Niger Drathe same River of Tanais and the Caspian Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther Fom. Mela, Vi-East: this Asian Sarmatia being part of that Seythia which Ptolomie calleth Seythia Jula, & Plin. intra Imaum montem, Scythia within the mountaine Imaus. And the fame Mathias Michon farther affirmeth, that the Seythians (which Frier Annius would make Armenians) came not into Sarmatia Asiatica it selfe about three hundred and a few odde yeares before his owne time : thefe be his wordes. Conflat e.m effe gentem nouam, 6 aduentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhine trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam ingressam, It is manifest (faith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entreainto 1-20 sia, and gat new seates a little more then three hundred yeares since : For (indeede) before that time the Gothes or Pouloci inhabited Sarmatia Asiatica. And this Mathias lived in the yeare 1511 and this his discourse of Sarmatia was printed at Augusta in the year 1506. as Bucholzerus in his Chronologie witnesseth. Now these Soythians (faith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the Arke of Noah rested; and the Seythe Sace were those people which lived at the North foote of those mountaines of Taurus or Ararat, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great Imaus. And were there no other testimonie then the generall description of the earth now extant, and the witnesse of Ptolomie, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of Armenia and Scythia, there are not only those three Regions of Colchis, Ibe-

#### t. VIII.

30 ria, and Albania, but the Caspian Sea on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the

West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeede) a Nati-

on of Scythians (called Ariaca) betweene Iaxartus and Iactus; but what are these Sey-

thians to any Ariaca, or Scythia Araxea which Annius placeth in Armenia, more then

the Scythians of Europe?

The fift argument, The Vine must grow naturally neare the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the confideration of this part of the Text, That No A H plan- Geng. 20, ted a Vineyard, we shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in Italie and France, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in Armenia, being a farre colder Countrie. For Tyrrhenus first brought Vines into France, and Saturnus into Latium : yea Seraius Eneid, at fuch time as Brennus and the Gaules inuaded Italie, there were few or no Vines in Europius. France. For (faith Plutarch in the life of Camillus) the Gaules remained between the Pyrenei and the Alpes, neare vnto the Senones, where they continued a long time, vn-50 till they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of Italie; and after they talted thereof they halted to inhabite that Countrie, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in France, but from Italie brought thither; as by Saturne from elsewhere into

Now it is manifest that Noah transiled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counfaile how to dispose of the world among his children; and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his facrifice and thanks-giving to God; and wherefocuer the Arke rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that he trauailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Hulbandman, and not a Wanderer.

#### t. IX.

Answere to an objection out of the wordes of the Text. The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

No that all the children of Work came together into Shinar, it doth not ap-A peare, fauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written : So the Lord Coattered them from thence voon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these wordes of Sybilla (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into Shinaar, for they have this limitation. 20 Quidam corum turrem adificarunt altissimam, quasi per cam cœlum effent ascensuri, Certaine of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the heavens.

An answere to the objection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the hilles there.

B Vt before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that 30 the Arke of Nozh was forfaken by the waters on the mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath only these wordes. The Arke rested on (or vpon) the mountaines of Ararat or A menia, faith the marginall note of Geneua, the Chaldaan Paraphrast cals it Kardu; of which the highest bath the name of Lubar, saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which the Septuagint doe not convert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a mountaine of Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name: fo as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Arke first sate thereon.

Gen. 8.14. Epiph.l.1.cont.

> But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is Ararat of Armenia allone, neither is any part, or any of those mountaines of equal stature to many other 40 mountaines of the world; yet indeede it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest mountaine of all other to rest on : for the Plaines were also vincouered, before Noah came out of the Arke. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might give more credit to the conceit. For in the bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, vpon which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these mountaines, and to proue them in Phrygia, and not Armenia, they are placed where the Cittie of Calenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same description thee maketh mention of Marsyas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia, 50 and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the River Mander, which is farre from the Gordiaan mountaines in Armenia. Wee may also finde a great mistaking in Iosephus, (though out of Berofus, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Iosephus sets Ararat betweene Armenia and Parthia toward Idiabene, and affirmeth

affirmeth withall, that in the Province of Caron by others Kairos and Arnos, fo called byreason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor iffue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes reserved some peeces of Woahs Arke. But Parthia toucheth no where vpon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Pro-

uince of Affyria: fo that all Media and a part of Affyria is betweene Farthia and Armenia. Now whereas the discouerie of the mountaines Cordiei was first borrowed out of Berofus by Iolephus; yet the Text which Iolephus citeth out of Berofus, differs farre from the wordes of that Berofus, which wandereth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by Amius. For Berofus cited by Tosephus hath these wordes.

10 Fertur & nauigy huius pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordinorum superesse, & quos dam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci mius homines vii solent, (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia opon the Cordiain mountaines; and that divers doe scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they we it in steade of an amulet. But Amin his Edition of the fragment of Berofus vieth these wordes. Nam elevata ab aguis in Obrdiai montis vertice quienit , chins adhuc dicitur aliqua pars effe , & homines ex illa bitamen tollere quo maxime vtuntur ad expiationem, For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters; rested on the top of the Gordican mountaines, of which it is reported that fome parts remaine, and that men doc carry thence of the bitumen to purge by facrifice therewith : foasin theferwo Texts

20 (belides the difference of wordes) the name is diverfly written The ancient Berofus writes Cordiei with a (C) and the Fragment Gordiei with a FG ) the one that the Bitumen is vied for a preferuative against poylon or inchantiment; the other in facrifice; And if it be faid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Authour for one of them yfeth the word (fertur) the other (dicitur) the one, that To it is reported, the other, that foit is faid; and both but by hearefay, and therefore of no authoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report af-

ter it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these mountaines which Ptolomie cals Gordisi, are not those moun-20 taines which himselfe giueth to Armenia, but he calleth the mountaines of Armenia Moschici. These be his owne words: Montes Armenia nominantur ij, qui Moschici ap- Pio Afia tab. pellantur, qui protenduntur v (g, ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur, The mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians : also the hill which is called Paryardes; which mountaines Plinie calleth Pariedri, and both which lye to the Plinie calleth North of Gordiai or Baris, in 43, and 44, and a halfe; and the Gordiaan mountaines in 29. and a halfe : from the Northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning 40 the other suppositions, that the mountaines of Gordiai, otherwise Baris Kardu or Lubar, (which Ptolomie calleth Togordiaion) are the highest of the world, the same is ab-

folutely false.

### t. X I.

Of Caucasus, and divers farre higher hils then the Armenian.

F Or the best Cosmographers with other, that have seene the mountaines of Armema, finde them farre inferiour, and vnder-fet to divers other mountaines even in 50 that part of the world, and elsewhere : as the mountaine Athor betweene Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolomie cals Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith Castaldus) is farre furmounting any mountaine that euer hath beene seene in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which Plutarch. Athos adumbrat latera Lemnia houis, Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lem-Cosm.

nos. Also the mount of Olympus in The salie, is said to be of that heighth, as neither the windes, cloudes, or raine ouertop it. Againe, the mountaine of Antendrus in

Mysia, not farre from Ida, whence the River Scamandrus floweth, which runneth

through Troy, is also of a farre more admiration then any in Armenia, and may bee

feene from Constantinople. There are also in Mauritania neare the Sea, the famous

mountaines of Atlas, of which Herodotus. Extat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen Atlas. ita sablimis esse dicitur, vt ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenirenon posint, Vpon

this coast there is a mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is said to be such, as the eye of no

and heighth. Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui astiuum ad ortum sunt, acumine ata,

latitudine cuius iuga à Sole radiantur v (q, ad conticinium ab ortu : & iterum ab occasu, Cau-

casus (faith Aristotle) is the greatest mountaine both for breadth and heighth of all those in

the North-east, whose tops are lightned by the Sunne beames, vs and conticinium (which is

faith Macrobius) betweene the first crowing after midnight and the breake of day : Others

affirme that the top of this mountaine holds the Sunne beames when it is darke in

the Valley; but I cannot believe either: for the highest mountaine of the world

knowne is that of Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the

Westward of it for 1000. leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy

ristotle calleth Cancasi, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucasus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, from Sarmatia: for he acknow-

ledgeth that the River of Phasis riseth in the same mountaine, which himselfe cal-

leth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those hilles which funder Colchis from

Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) veeldeth it selfe to

the Sea two degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trabelunda) howfocuer Merca-

sor bring it from Peryardes.

the Sunnes companie at any fuch late houres. Belides, these mountaines which A- 20

these inferiour to Caucalus, which hee maketh the most notorious both for breadth 10

t. XIII.

Of the contrarie situation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same ledge of hils running from Armenia to India should keepe the same name all along : and euen in India be called Ararat.

Aftly, we must blow up this mountaine Ararat it selfe, or else wee must digge it L downe, and carrie it out of Armenia; or finde it elsewhere, and in a warmer coun-10 trie, and (withall) set it East from Shinaar: or else wee shall wound the truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, wee must understand, that Ararat (named by Moses) is not any one hill, so called, no more then any one hill among those mountaines which divide Italie from France is called the Alpes : or any one among those which part France from Spaine is the Pyrenian; but as these being continuations of many hils keepe one name in divers Countries : so all that long ledge of mountaines, which Plinie calleth by one name Taurus, and Ptolomie both Plinie in his Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, untill they encounter and croffe the description of mountaines of the great Imaus, are of one generall name, and are called the moun-Lycialis, car.

20 taines of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these mountaines of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspy, Moschici, Amazonici, Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diverfly called by Plinie and others) Ptolomie cals by one name Caucasus, lying between the Scas Caspium and Euxinus: as all those mountaines which cut a funder America, euen from the new Kingdome of Granado, to the streight of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these mountaines of Ararat runne East and West: so doe those maruailous mountaines of Imaus stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well neare are called by the name of Imaus, euen as Plinie calleth these former hils Taurus, and Moses the hils of Ararat. The reason of seuerall names given by Ptolomie was thereby the better to distinguish the 30 great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and diffeuer ; as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persia, Parthia, Caramania, Aria, Margiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paraponifus: having all these Kingdomes either on the North or South lide of them. For all the mountaines of Asia (both the leffe and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) Taurus, Imaus, and Caucasus: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the lesse on the North fide, are called Taurus; and those mountaines which part it from Comagena (a Prouince of Syria) are called Amanus: the mountaines called Taurus running East and West, as Imaus doth North and South. Through Taurus the River of Euphrates forand on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of Taurus, (as in Ptolomies three tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates: (as in the fourth) retaining that vnccrtaine appellation fo long as they bound Armenia from Mesopota-

40 ceth her passage, leaving the name of Amanus to the mountaines on her West banke; mia: and after the River of Tygris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, vntill they separate Assyria and Media; but then they call themselues Coatras, though betweene the vpper and nether Media, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but runne through the Easterne Media by peeces: in the middle of which Region they call themselues Orontes, and towards the East part Coronus; out of the Southerne 50 part whereof the River of Bagradus rifeth, which divideth the ancient Persia from Caramania: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they

giue to the Parthians and Hyrcanians their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of Sariphi, out of which riseth the River Margus, afterward yeelding her felfe to Oxus: (now Abia) and drawing now neare their waies

Ariffor Met. cor. mortall man can difcerne the top thereof. And if we may beleeue Ariffotle, then are all

# t XII.

Of diners incongruities, if in this storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

CO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certainetie what mountaine Ararat was : for the bookes of the Sybils set it in Phrygia : and Berosus in Armenia : and as for Berofus authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that Baris was the highest hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and supposition have equall credit: for there are many hils which exceede all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not 40 follow (as is before written) that the Arke should fit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any fuch Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris: for Baris (faith Hierome) fignifieth high Towers: and fo may all high hils be called indifferently; and therefore wee may better give the name of Baristo the hils of Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) then to any hils of Armenia. For those of Caucasus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the mountaines Gordiei stand: for Ptolomie distinguisheth the mountaines of Armenia from the Gordiean, and calleth those of Armenia Moschiei and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is seated neare the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West sideri- 50 feth Euphrates, and out of the East side Araxis: and the mountaines Moschici are those hils which distoyne Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Countrie of the Georgians) from Armenia.

t. XIII.

end, they first make themselues the South border of Bastria, and are then honoured with the title of Paropanifus 3 and lastly of Caucasi, euen where the samous Riner of Indus with his principal companions Ityslassis and Zaradrus spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these mountaines build themselues exceeding high, to equal the strong hils called Indus of Seythia, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of latitude, and in 140. of longitude: of the which the West parts are now called Delanguer, and the rest Nagracot; and these mountaines in this place onely are properly called Caucasi (saith Ptolomic) that is, betweene Paroponisus and Indus: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of Caspium and Pontus.

Ptol.tab. Asia.

#### t. XIIII.

Of the best vine naturally growing on the South side of the mountaines Сансаві and toward the East Indies : and of other excellencies of the soil—.

Now in this part of the world it is, where the mountaine and Riuer Lanus, and the mountaine Nofeus (Io called of Bacchus Nifeus or Nos) are found: and on these highest mountaines of that part of the world did Goropius Becanus conceiue 20 that the Arbo of Nosh grounded after the floud: of all his conicetures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his Indosophines hee hath many good arguments, though mixt with other santasticall opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth; that as in this part of the world are sound the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 3.4.35. and 3.6. degrees of Septentrionall latitude are the most delicate Wines of the world, namely, in Indoso, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana, and under these mountaines, Strabo affirmed that the most excellent Vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of Palestina, where the searchers of 30 the land by Most direction found bunches of equall bigness at Ecol.

, .,

The fruitfulnesse of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these hils, Curtius witnesseth. For in Margina neare the mountaine of Meros did Alexander Seath himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

#### t. X V.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of divers chiefe points.

E.\$.c.27.

A Nd therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those mountaines doe also trauerse Armenia; yea, and Armenia; stelle sometime is knowne by the name of Ararat. But as Plinie glueth to this ledge of high hilles, cuen from Cilicas to Paroponis and Caucasus, the name of Taurus: and as the hils of France and Germanie are called the Alpes: and all betweene France and Spaine the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of hils for 3000. miles together, the Andes: so was Ararat the generall name which Moses gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, then by their diuiding and bordering diuers R egions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the 50 Mediterran and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the coasts of Carthage, and ouer against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: betweene Italie and Greece, Ionium: from Venice to Durazzo Abriatium: betweene Athens and Asia Asigum: betweene Sessius and Anydus Hellesson: and after ward Pontus, Propontis, and Bosshorus. And as in

these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland called Deucaledonycum: and on this side, the Brittan Sea: to the East, the Germane and Baltick; and then the Frozen.

For a finall end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, euen to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense; seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction then the wordes beare literally, because they are vied to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plaine, (and being so vinderstood, it bringeth with it no subse

10 quent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our felues any new or strange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our selues; that euerie word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore ween must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such fort as St. Augustine hath taught vs touching the Gospell of Christ selus (which is) Nequis aliter accipiat, quod narrantibus discipalis Christi) in Enangelio legerit, quam si phomomomo Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspectivit. That no man otherwise takeer vindersland that which hee readeth in the Gospell, (the Disciples of Christ hausing written it) then if he had seen the worse band of the Lord, which hee bare in his owne bodie, setting it downe.

The wordes then of Moses which end this dispute are these. And as they went Great. V. 2. from the East they found a Plaine in the land of Shintar, and there they abode, which prove the without controuers it, that Nimord and all with him came from the East time Shintar; and therefore the Ask of Noah rested and tooke land to the Eastward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places where so court. Moses maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated; as where he teacheth the plantation of Locatan, he nameth Sephar; a mount in the East; where he eremembreth Caims departure from the presence of God, he addeth. And Cain dwell in the land of Noal towards the East. Gento, 30; side of Eden: And when he described the Tents and Habitations of Mostabams as Gento, 16.

Jide of E.M.: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of Abraham af Gon. 1-16.

30 ter he departed from Seebem, he weld these wordes. Afterwardes removing theme Gen. 1-2.

vinto amountaine Eassing of momental principal his Tentes: having Bethel on the Welffide, and Hai on the East: and afterwarde in the ninth verse of the same chapter it is written. And Abraham went forth iournying towardes the South: also when Exechel Eight, 38.6. \

prophecied of Gog and Magog, hee sheweth that these nations of Togoma were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of Sabait is written, that shee came from the Mat. 12.41. Southows of the Sal to Mon. And the Magis (or wissens) came out of the East to offer pre-Mat. 1.41. Southows of the Compasse and these trausalles were precisely set downe you the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest:

for Eden was due East from Indea, Saba South from Hierufalem: the way from 40 Bethelto & gypt directly South, and the Coleftrians, the Tubalines and Acquagians inhabited the Regions directly North from Palestina; and foof the Irest. But Armenia, and to arrive in that valley of Babylonia, is not a journying from the East, nor so neare vnto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the North is selfe; and we must not say of Moses (whose handes the holy Ghost directed) that hee erred to so calo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie sine; and those Gordizem mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the Arke rested, stand in in sortie one. But Babylonia, and the valley of Shinzar are situated in thirtie sine, 50 and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the

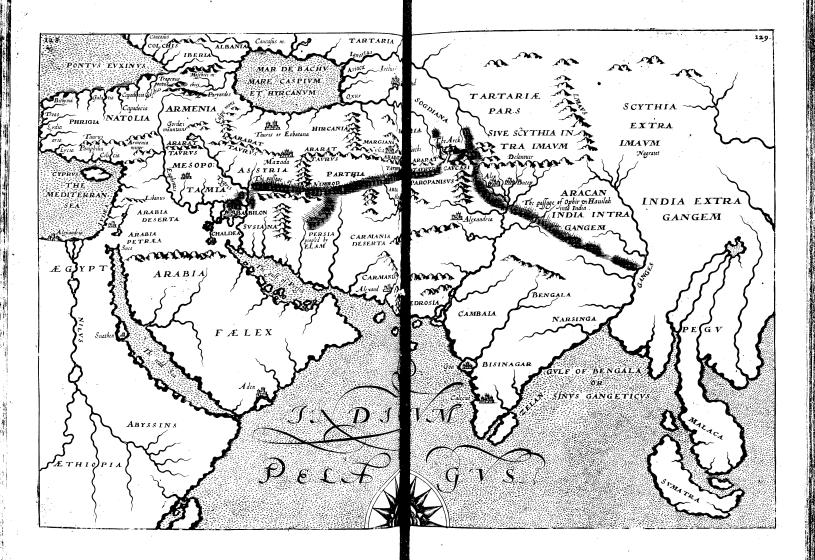
Gordson mountaines shand in 75 degrees, and the valley of Shinaar in 79 and 80. And therefore Armenia lieth from Shinaar Northwest, ninetic sine degrees from the East; and if Armenia had beene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the compasse. But Gregoric and Hierome warne vs, In scripturis he

minima

minima differentia omitti debet : nam finguli fermones , (yllaba , apices, et puncta in diuina scriptura plena sunt sensibus, In the scriptures the least difference may not bee omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore feeing Moles teacheth vs that the children of Noah came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by hearefay and by report, vt fertur, & vt dicitur, as Berofus and Nicolaus Damafcenus, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that Shinaar lyeth West from the place where the Arkeof Noah rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all thinges. The East parts were first civill, to which had Noah himselfe for an instructor : and directly East from Shinaar in the fame degree of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies alfo, which ouertopped in number those Millions of Semiramis, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor reafon fufficient: for my felfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs. that the Sonnes of Noah came out of the East into Shinsar, and there they abode. And therefore did the Arkerest on those Easterne mountaines, called by one generall name Taurus, and by Moses the mountaines of Ararat, and not on those mountaines of the North-west, as Berosus first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I fay, in the plentifull warme East where Noah rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground and liued thereon. Placuit vero No Acho agricultura sludium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur : ob camq, rem suaipsius lingua I s H-A D A M A T H (hoc est ) telluris vir appellatur celebratufg, est, The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANUS) in the knowledge and order of which it is faid, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that hee was no wanderer: and that hee troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first delinered out of the prison of the Arke,

hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the 2
whereinto God had committed him to
preserve him and mankinde.

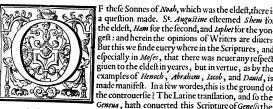
CHAP.



# CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IA-PHET, by whom the earth was repeopled.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



F these Sonnes of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St. Augustine esteemed Shem for August de civit. the eldest, Ham for the second, and laphet for the yon- Deilis.c.3. gest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was neuerany respect giuen to the eldest in yeares, but in vertue, as by the examples of Henoch , Abraham , Iacob , and David , is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie? The Latine translation, and so the

10.2.21. in these wordes. Vnto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER. and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne. But Iunius agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same wordes in this manner. To SHEM also the Father of all the 30 Sonnes of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne: So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after laphet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for Taphet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods bleffings are not tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for Japhet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainely understood without any danger or inconuenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the fiue hundreth yeare of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: 40 and in the fixe hundreth yeare (to wit) the hundreth yeare following, came the ge-

nerall floud; two yeares after which Shem begat Arphaxad, which was in the yeare Gont 1.10 602. of Woahs life, and in the yeare of Shems life one hundred : so as Shem was but 100. yeares old, two yeares after the floud: and Noah begat his first borne being 500. yeares old; and therefore, were shem the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeares old at the floud, and in the fixe hundreth yeare of Noahs life, and not two yeares after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written. Then NOAH anoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had Gonillo. 24; done unto him (to wit) HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to laphet. This younger sonne so converted by the vulgar and Geneua, Junius turnes it filius minimus, 50 his youngest some; but St. Chrysostome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or second brother, and taphet the youngest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakednesse hee derided) was difinherited, and lost the preheminencie of his birth, as Esau and Reuben did. Pere- In Gen, rus conceineth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but

anoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and roungelt, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Shem himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth chapter of Genefis, Shem is accounted before Imphet : in the second Verse Moses leaveth to beginne with the iffue by Shem, and reciteth the children of Iaphet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this waightie respect, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Saniour were descended of him. And therefore, whether wee shall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneua, who agree in this conversion, SHEM frater I APHET major: or with the Septuagint, Junius, and Tremelius, SHEM fratri I APHET majoris; 10 or with Pererius, SHEM frater I APHET ille magnus: inferring that Shem was the great and famous brother of Laphet, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have feene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that Iaphet was the eldest. For where Perevius qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That Shems age at the time of the floud did not agree with his eldership ( with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM was an hundred yeares old, and begat AR-PHAXAD two yeares after the floud; and againe in the 12. Verse. So SHELA lived after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeares, &c. so as the number of two yeares, of three yeares, of fine yeares, and afterward of two yeares were alwaies 20 precifely accounted.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all Histories must yeeld to Moses: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the knowne great Lordes of the first ages were of the issue

Vt let vs goe vnto the worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly understood, we shall finde that many Nations have supposed or fained themseliues those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures howe

the Sonnes and iffues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Authour may receiue allowance herein, the fame must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, wee must know that both the truth and an- 40 tiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie what soeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all carefull observers of time have noted; among which thus writeth Eusebius in the Proceme of his Chronologie. Moses is found more ancient then all those whom the Gracians make most ancient, as Homer, Hestod, and the Troian warre; and farre before Hercyles, Mysaevs, Linys, Chiron, Orpheys, Castor, Pollyx, ESCYLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCURIUS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the Gods of the Notions, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or Prophets: and before all the deedes of IVPITER, whom the Greekes have feated in the toppe and highest Turret of their Divinitie.

Cizero de nat. Deorum.l.3.

120

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of Æther, whose three sonnes begotten on Proserpina, were borne at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first King; and in the end of Cecrops time did Moses bring the children of Ifrael out of Agypt. Eduxit Moses populum Deiex Agypto nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Athenicafis Regis, Moses brought the children of Ifrael out of Agypt, in the last dayes of CECROPS King of the Athenians (faith St. Augustine) and yet De Civit. Dei. was not Cecrops the Founder of the Cittie it felfe, but Thefeus long after him. But 418.6.11. because the truth hereof is diverly proved, and by many learned Authours, I will not cut a funder the purpose in hand by alleadging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

C Askena. The Sonnes of Gomer were, Riphath LTogorma. Iauan. The Sonnes of Japhet were. Tubal. Tarshis. The Sonnes of Jauan were, Kittim, and Dodanim.

First, we are to consider that the world after the floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of Noah wings, to flie from Shinaar to the vttermost border of Europe, Africa, and Asia in haste, but that these children were directed by a 20 wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the floud, to which he dispofed his children after it, and fent them not as discouerers, or at all-aduenture, but affigned and allotted to every Sonne and their iffues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end then to flatter Princes (as Vingil did Augustus in the fiction of Aneas) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselues, and after them vpon reason and nature. First, therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth enery where had in the 130. yeare after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest valleys with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our felues thereby, what wonderfull defarts, what inpaffable fastnesse of woods, reedes, 20 bryars, and rotten graffe, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what marishes, Fens and bogges, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountaines) was peftered withall. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter depressed all vegetatiue and growing nature, for one halfe of the yeare in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeares these our grounds would all ouergrow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offensive thickets and bushments: much more did all forts of plants, reedes, and trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the climate of a long and warme Sommer, and having withall the start of 130. yeares, to raise themselves without controlement.

This being considered it will appeare, that all these people which came into Shi-40 naar, and ouer whome Nimrod (either by order or strength tooke the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to bee a mightie people disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said vally of Shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Chaldea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: fome of them towards the South, others towardes the West and North. And although there were allotted to Shem many Regions, both East and West from Shinast, with the Dominion of Palestina, which the Canaanites first possest; yet could hee not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the fuddaine, but by time and degrees. For we find, that Abraham the true fucceffor of Shem dwelt in Chalden at Vr; and from thence (called by God) he rested 50 at Charran in Mesopotamia: from whence after the death of Thare he trauailed to Sichem in Palestina; and yet there had passed betweene Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldea: where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded inhabited for many yeares, and whence Nimrod went out into Assyria, and founded Nininie. In-

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can know ewere, in that age of the iffues of Ham; the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shem and Iaphet taking leffe effect, vntill divers yeeres were confumed; and vntill the time arrived, which by the wisedome of God was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan came the people and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of Babylonia, Syria, and Æzypt for many descents together.

#### ð. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in I APHETS portion: of BEROSVS his too speedic seating GOMER the sonne of IAPHET in Italy; and an other of IA-PHETS Sonnes TVBAL in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longingue Nauigation.

O beginne therefore (where Moses beginneth) with the sonnes of Intheth, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were divided: which divided; which divided, as well to Laphets sonnes as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phalegs birth) in the yeare of the world 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeare after the

floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere. Now the habitations proper to the sonnes of taphet were the Iles of the Gentiles,

which include all Europe with all the Ilands adioyning, and compassing it about: Europe being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Ageum, Boshborus and Euxinus cut it off from the great continent of Asia, as also because Europe it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to Asia by the North, for it hath those seas before named to the East, the Mediterranto the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and Brittish, Germane and Baltisk Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North Northeast, and Northwest. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or Iles lying betweene Greece and the leffer Asia, and the Illes of Rhodes, Cyprus, Creet or Candia, Sicilia, Corfica, Sardinia, Malta, the Illes of 30 Brittanie and Zealand, with their yong ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of Lapheth, with the part which he held in Asia, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that bleffing of God by North. Dilatet Deus IAPHETH, Let God spread abroad (orincrease the posteritie of) IAPHETH, and let him dwell in the tents of SHEM. For though Junius here vieth the word (alliciat) and not dilatet and the Geneua persuadeat; yet the Septuagint have dilatet or amplificet; and fuch was the bleffing given to our Fathers, which God promifed to Abraham and his feed for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of Shem was a bleffing by God to the posteritie of Iapheth: noting not onely an enlargement of territories; but that thereby they should bee made participant of Gods Church. 40 But to come to Laphets sonnes, of whome Gomer is the eldest. This Gomer (if wee may beleeue Berofus and Annius, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late writers have followed ) did in the tenth yeare of Nimrods raigne depart from Babylonia, and planted Italie: which also Functius confirmeth in these words. Anno decimo NIMRODI, &c. In the tenth yeare of NIMRODS raigne, COMERUS GALLYS planted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeare of the same NIMRODS raigne TVBAL feated himfelfe in Asturia in Spaine (now called Bifcay) which was in the 140, and in the 142, yeares after the floud, according to BEROSVS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimrodin- 50 to Shinzar. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Cittie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readic meanes to performe such a worke as Nimrod had creeded (and as Functius himselfe out of his Authour Berofus witnesseth,) ad altitudinem of magnitudinem montium, to

Gen.9.2.27.

the heighth and magnitude of the mountaines. Sure that both this Cittie and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witnesse. But the Lord came downe to see the Cittie General and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time fufficient for the making of bricke to such a worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuerfall floud couered the highest mountaines fifteene cubits; Let vs build vs a Cittie and a Tower (faith Nimrod) whose top may reach unto the heaven : meaning, that they would raise their worke aboue fifteene cubits higher then the highest mountaine, otherwise they could not affure themselues from the seare of a second inundation: a great part 10 whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the worke. They also beganne this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forceably ouerbearing and ouerstowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet Hieremie, speaking of Babylon in these wordes. Thou that dwellest woon many waters. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground : and to which Glycas vpon Genesis giueth fortie yeares. For it feemeth, that the Tower was neare finished when God ouerthrew it : it being afterward written, So the Lord feattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the Cittie. Out of which place it may bee gathered 20 (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neare had performed the worke of their supposed desence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Cittie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to bee noted that till fuch time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was throwne downe) these nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered Gents. them upon all the earth, (that was) when they perceived not one an others speech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newneffe of the world ( wanting all inftruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that Tubal and Gomer in the same yeare could creepe through 3000 miles of Desart, with women, children, and cattle : let those light beleeuers, that neither tye themselues to the Srip-30 ture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of Noah was 100. yeares in building, or but neare such a time, (and then) when the world had stood 1556. yeares, it were more then foolishnes and madnes it selfe, to thinke that such a worke as this could be performed inten; when the world (from the floud to the arrivall at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had spent some part in trauailing from the East. Againe, if all Asia set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of Diana, and yet they con- Pin. fumed in that worke 400. yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in fuch an age as when the world flourished in all forts of Artificers, and with abundant plentic of materials and carriages: This worke of the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all 40 the former wants supposed) bee creeted in those few yeares remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgement waigh with themselues how impossible it was for a Nation or familie of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travaile 3000 miles through woods, bogges, and defarts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall finde it rather a worke of 100, yeares then of 100, dayes. For in the West Indies of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrie ten miles in ten yeares. And if Nimrods people spent many yeares by the account before remembred in paffing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. degrees of longitude, vntill they came into Shinaar which lyeth in 79. degrees (the di-50 stance betweene those places containing 36. degrees, which make 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the mountaines and hardground: then the difference betweene Babylon and Bifeay is much more: for the bodie of Bifcay lyethin ten degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, (as aforefaid) in 79. fo the length of way from Shinaar to Asturia or Bifeay is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or

CHAP. 8. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod tooke divers yeares to find Shinaar, which was but 2160. miles : or (supposing that the Arke rested in Armenia) little aboue 400 miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeares to Gomer and Tuball to trauaile 3000 miles to countries leffe knowne vnto them by farre; then the land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Paradyse was knowne to Noah before the floud: and fo was the Region of Eden by Mofes afterward remembred; but what heeynderstood of most part of the world else it is vnknowne. And therefore did Annius ill aduise himselfe to plant Gomer in Italie, and Tubal in Spaine, in the tenth and twelfth of Wimrods raigne: Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall anation be borne at once? But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of Impheth might 10 come by Sea, and so saue this great trauaile through Desarts by land. But we neuer read of any nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a people as we may justly suppose those conducters carried with them, will not eafily believe, that there were any veffels in those daies to transport Armies, and (withall) their cattle, by whose milke they lived and fed their children: for milke and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of nations valued themselues by the heards and numbers of their Cattle: who had flocks of sheepe, and great droues and heards of their owne, and their owne sheep-heards and heardsmen. Now if Tubal had past by Sea from any part of Palastina, Syria, or Cilicia, hee might have made good choice 20 within the Streights, and not have overgone Granado, Valentia, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of Gibralter, disdained all Andalusia and Portugall, with all those goodly Ports and countries; and have fought out the yron, wooddie, and barren Countrie of the world (called Bifeay) by a long and dangerous nauigation. But before the journey of the Argonauta there were scarce any vessels that durst croffe the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which Iason had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in Ireland: which although it carryed but foure and fiftie passengers, yet Died. Sieul. 1.4. was it farregreater then any of the former times: Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum vsus, For in former times they vsed very small Vessels. I denie not but that the Ty-30 rians gaue themselues of old to farre-off nauigations, whence Tibullus ascribed the

Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

inuention of ships vnto them.

Tibull, Eleg. 7. Strabo. 1.16.

Thucyd.

Died, Situl-LI, And for those boates called long a naues or Gallies, Plinie faith that Agefias ascribeth the deuise to Paralus: and Philostephanus to Iason: Ctesias to Samyras; and Saphanus 40 to Semiramis: Archimachus to Azeon: to which invention the Erythrai are faid to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then Aminocles the Corinthian to haue increased them: the Carthaginians afterwards to have brought them to foure banks: the Quing, Remi first to have beene vsed by Nesichthon the Salaminian, with which Veffels in those parts of the world, the Romans served themselves in the Punick war. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuising of these Gallies on Sesostris, though Semiramis vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer Indus in Abrahams time. So it is said, that Danaus was the first that brought a ship into Greece: and yet the Samothracians Euleb, de prep. challenge the invention; and yet Tertullian (on the contrarie) gives it to Minerua: 50 others to Neptune; Thucydides to the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the Agyptians vsed to coast the shores of the red Sea voon raffes, deuised by King Erythrus: and in the time of the Romans, the Brittans had a kinde of Boat (with which they croft the Seas) made of finall twigs, and covered over with

Tyrus knew first how ships might vse the winde.

Енапу с.1. Tert. de Ceron. leather; of which kinde I have seene at the Dingle in Ireland, and elsewhere. Naues ex corio circum futa in Oceano Britannico (faith Textor) : of which Lucan the Poet:

Снар.8. \$.4.

Primim cana falix, madefacto vimine, paruam Texitur in puppim, cefog, induta innenco, Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem. Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusog, Britannus Nauigat Oceano.

The moistned Ofyer of the hoarie Willow Is wouen first into a little boat: Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, vpon the billow Of a proude River, lightly doth it float Vnder the Waterman: So on the Lakes of ouerswelling Poe Sailes the Venetian: and the Brittan fo On th'out-spred Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when Noah by Gods inspiration was instructed 20 in fo many particulars concerning the Arke, that then many things concerning nauigation were first reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the Arke of Noah, and fuch thips as were for any long nauigation. Yeaancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as also common reason can tell vs. that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that age of Nimred any ship, or vie of ships, fit for any long pauligation. For if Gomer and Tubal had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of naugation would not have beene dead for so many hundred 30 yeares after. Leaning therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of Moles and the Prophets: to which truth there is joyned both nature, reason, pollicie, and necessitie; and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

## ð. IIII. of Gog and MAGOG, TVBAL and MESECH, feated first about Asia the lesse, out of EZECHIEL. Cap. 38.39.

Ow although many learned and reuerend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath beene and is received: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainely, that great learned man of this latter age, Arias Montanus was also in some thinges much mistaken: and for Tofephus, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errours withall, so was he in this plantation of the world very groffe and fabulous, whereby both Eusebius, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his testimonies for 30 currant, haue beene by him farre milled. But the better to conceine what Regions of the world Gomer the first sonne of Iaphet possess, as also Tubal, it is needfull to beginne with Magag: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magag, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, faith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I finde

€.37. v.19.

C.38. v.z.

most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians : of all which Gog was Prince or chiefe Conducter in their attempts against Ifrael. For belides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of the greater Asia, which Tapheths iffues possest, all Asia the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of lapheth (whom Ezechiel speakes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, Ezechiel prophecieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of Ifrael and Iuda, after their deliueric from 19

By which prophecie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; And DAVID my servant shall bee King over them, and they shall have one sheepe-heard, (that is) they shall bee vnited as they were in Davids time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter Ezeshiel prophecieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of Ifrael, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the Israelites after their returne, and fought to subject them : all which were the subjects or Allies of Gog, 20 Prince of the Magogians, or Calefyrians, next bordering Palastina or the holy Land. followed also by the rest of the Nations of Asia the lesse, which lay North from Indaa. The wordes of Ezechiel are these: Sonne of manset thy face against Goc, and a gainst the land of MAGOC, the chiefe Princes of MESECH (or MOSOCH) and Tv-BAL: and afterward. Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and Tv-BAL: and in the fixth Verse; Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorma of the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel having first delivered the purpose of his prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vaine assaile Ifrael. He joyneth them together vnder their Prince Gog, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Iuda, and how feated and ioyned together. Gog fignifieth 30 in the Hebrew (faith St. Hierome) teetum or covering of ahoufe: and Pintus vpon Ezechiel affirmeth, that by Gog is meant Antichrist : for (faith hee) Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana, That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devill under humane form. Hee addeth that Magog is as much to say as Gog: the letter (-M) being an Hebrew Præpolition, and importeth as much as of or from: To he taketh Magog for those people which follow Antichrist. So farre Pintus; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth Mageg not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this observation of Beroaldus. Magog (faith he) in Hebrewis written Ham-Magog, which sheweth Magog to bee a Region or Nation: for the letter ( He) which is vied but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call Heliaiedia) is neuer ad-10 ded to proper names of men, but often to place. So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called either Magog, or according to others the people of Gog) also Prince of Meshech, (or Mosoch) and of Tubal: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest. Behold, I come against thee Goo the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and Tv-BAL. This must needes be meant by the successions of Seleucus Nicanor, who did not (as other conquering Nations) sceke to make the Jewes their Tributaries onely, but endeuoured by all meanes, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the religion it selfe (which the Hebrewes profest) and the acknowledging of one true God : and to force them to worship and scrue the mortall and rotten Gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. St. Ambrofe and Ifi- 50 dore take Gog for the Nation of the Goths: belike because they inuaded Europe, and facked Rome, and many other places and Citties thereabout. Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela deriues the Turkes from the Scythians, effected Magogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation

In Ezecb.

2. 2.de Fide.

nated from him whom the Greeke stories call Gyges: who in former time having flaine Candaules the Lydian, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called Gygades: and thereof also the Gygean Lake; which Lake Strabo also findeth in Lydia, (of which Gyges was King) fortic furlongs from Sardis. Plinic calleth strabolib 12; it Greeum stagnum. Herodotus and Nicander set it about the Rivers of Hyllus. and Meander; but the difference is not great. Marius Niger maketh mention of this Gyges King of Lydia: who after hee had fubdued the Countrie about the River

Rhodius which runneth into the Hellesponte, called the Promontory Trapele after his Suid col. 20% 10 owne name Gyges. These opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of Junius. For Magog faith he, is that part of Asia the leffe, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his some Crasus; who (as Iunius further notes) having maistred all those Regions Iunin, Exect. as farre South as Libanus in that border built the Cittie Gigarta or Gogkarta ( which 38.

inhabiting a Region, as Iunius, who faies that Gog is the name of a Nation, denomi-

in the Syrian fignifieth the Cittie of Gog) scated in Calefyria, whose people were the ancient enemies of the Iewes.

CHAP.8. \$.4.

Now that Magog is found in Colefyria, Plinie affirmeth faying; Colefyria habet Bambycen, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Calefyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog. He further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll Atergatis, called by the Greekes Derceto, was 20 here worshipped, Lucian makes mention hereof, saying that the Cittie had anciently another name, which yet he expresses not; forbearing perhaps the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if wee may believe Strabo, strab. lib. 16; then was Edeffa in Mefopotamia the same Bambyce or Hierapolis, where the same Idoll was worshipped. Ortelius is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not miltake the place of this Bambyce or Hierapolis. It may well enough bee that the fame name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from Palestina, and were both subject vnto the Kings of the race of Seleucus. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus following Iosephus, but grant that perhaps Magog might also bee the Father of the 30 Scythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the Prince of Magog, the nations of Calefyria and the North partes adioyning bee meant by Magog: for by a latter plantation from these partes they might bee propagated into Scythia. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the Scythians in olde times comming out of the Northeast wasted the better part of Asa the lesse, and possest Calesyria, where they built both Scythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog. And that to this Magog Ezechiel had reference, it is very plaine : for this Cittie Hierapolis or Magog standeth due North from Indea, according to the wordes of Ezechiel, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the Ifraelites were the Ptolomies Kings of Agypt: so those of the North were the Kings of Asia and Syria, the successions of Selencus, the succession of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius thinkes that this Hierapolis is that Rages, men- Lib. 4.cap. de tioned in the storic of Tobias. Plinie takes it not onely to have been called Bambyce, belle Sacro. as we have faid, but also Edessa: not that by Euphrates; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is Allepo: for so Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This Cittie had the title of facred as the facred Cittie, ( for fo the word Hierapolis fignifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie; and wherein was worthipped the Idoll of the Mermaide Atergatis, or Atirgitis, according to Plinie, which the Greekes call Derceto.

If then we conferre the wordes of Ezechiel in the third verse of the thirty eight 50 chapter, wherein he ioyneth together Gog Mefech, and Tubal: and withall remember that Hierapolis was the Cittie of Magog, which also is seated directly North from Iudea: with whome also Exechiel coupleth Gomer, and all his bandes of the North quarters; we may (as I concciue) fafely conclude, that these followers and vasfals of Gog (which were Northerne Nations in respect of Indea) were not the Gomeri-

ans of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the leffer Afia, and Calefy ria; and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, Tofephus, and who foeuer else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if Iosephus referre himselse to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia passe into Spaine (to wit from that peece of land betweene Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania: (most part possess by the Georgians) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neare the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after Ages into Spaine.

Infephius makes mention of the Iberi, faying, that they were anciently called Thobe- 10 los, as of Tuball; from whence ( fayth Iustine ) they passed into Spaine to Search out the mines of that Region: having belike vnderstood that it was a Southerlie Countrie and mountainous. For it seemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other mettals, as Apollonius witneffeth in these following verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them.

> Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro, Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis: Mercibus hac mutat, qua vita alimenta ministrant:

The Calvbes plough not their barren foile, But vndermine high hilles for iron Veines: Changing the purchase of their endlesse toile For merchandize, which their poore liues fustaines.

But it is more probable, that Spaine was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were casily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the Moores who held Granado, and the South parts eight hundred yeares, till the time of Ferdinand and Ifabel. And either of these opinions are 30 more probable, then that in the twelfth yeare of Nimrods raigne, Tubal past into Spaine, and therein built St. Vual: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde Mosoch or Mesech, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togorma not farre off, or elfe we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mefech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorma their affiftants. And that Mclech inhabited Alia, Functius (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, for these be his wordes. MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, priscos Messos de dula monte v [q, ad Ponticam regionem posuit : hec regio posteà Cappadocia dicta est, in qua wrbs Mazica, &c. hac est terra M AGOG principalis. MESACVS, whom MOSES calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adulas, unto the coast of Pontus. 40 This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrie of MAGOG. And this doth Annius also auow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mefech and Tubal : and therefore, that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Iudea. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesech and Tubal ioyntlie. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, even a great multitude and a mighti. Then if any man believe that these troupes came out of Spaine over the Pyrenes, and 50 first passed over a part of France, Italie, Hungarie and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againg about the Hellesport, or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the lesser A-(it, which is halfethelength or compasse of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleeuer, but he shall neuer be justified thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that Seleucis was a Prouince neighbouring Palestina or Iudea, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Alia the leffe, (namely the Seleucida) and held it, till Scipio Aliaticus ouerthrew Antiochus the great : after which they yet possest till the time of Tigranes : and whether Meshech be in Cappadocia, or under Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First hee seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward hee proceeded further into Asia the leffe; and in long tract of time his valiant iffue filled all 10 Germanie, rested long in France and Brittaine, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melancton well notes) the fignification of their parents name, which is Vimolt bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherinto they might exonerate their fwelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paffed, oppreffing first their neighbours, afterwardes the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, M. William Cambden hath noted) that they were called Cimbri, which in their old language doth fignifie robbers; necessitic inforcing them to spoile their neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neare ioyned, as afterwardes in 20 the seates which they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of Germanie werein elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the Galles, the authoritie of Casar affirming it is proofe fufficient. But in times following they purfued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asia the leffe, and occupied those partes, which had formerly beene held by their progenitours. I say not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old feated in Asia, because in late ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre partes have invaded and conquered 30 the land of shinaar, may by that argument bee prooued not to have iffued from thence at the first.

Now concerning Samothes for his excellent wisedome sirnamed Dis, whome Annius makes the brother of Gomer and Tubal ( which brother Moses neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japhets sonnes) they must finde him in some old Poet : for Functius a great Berosan confesseth. Quis hic Samothes fuerit In Chronimeertum est, Who this Samothes was it is uncertaine; neither is there any proofe that he was that same Dis, whome C. efar fayth the Gaules suppose to be their Ancestour; cefar comment, yea and Vignier confesset with Functius. Mais on ne scayt quilestoit, no man knowes Vigin, pars 1 who hewas.

Against the fabulous BEROSVS his fiction. That the Italian IANVS Was NOAH.



CHAP. 8. \$.5.

Vt before I goe on with Noah his fonnes, I thinke it necessarieto disproue the fiction which Annius hath of Noah himselfe : an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authours of whom himselfe hath commented:
as the fragment of Berofus, Fabius Pictor, Cato, Lauinius and others. Ann. de Richards.

For Annius seekes to perswade vs, that Noah (sirnamed Janus) was the same which Pill. de aw. Jefounded Genos, with other Citties in Italie, wherein he lived 92. yeares. This to difprooue, by Moses silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else Lavinitus de to disprooue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Erec, Achad, Gall.

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Tofeph.l.1.

ð. VI.

CHAP. 8. S. 6. of the Historic of the World.

That Gomer also and his Sonne Togorma of the posteritie of lapheth were first seated about Asiathelesse: and that from thence they spread Westwardinto Europe: and Northwardinto

O turne now to the Sonnes of Woah, and the worlds plantation after the floud: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themsclues into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner

as that they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: because the land was yet Defart and ouerprest with woods, reedes, bogges, and rotten marilhes. As when Nimrod scated in Babylonia, Chus tooke the South part of Chaldaa, downe the River of Gehon, by which he might passe too and fro from Babylon to his owne plantation: those also, which were of the race of shem, inhabiting at Fron Orchoancare the Lakes of Chaldea, might by the fame Riverget vp to Babylon, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of land vpon Gehon Southward, 20 Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the land of Chush: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the bands of Wimrod a Culhite, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while opprest, till God afterward by the seede of Abraham made them his owne nation and victorious. Hauilah, the brother of Nimrod, and sonne of Cush, tooke both barkes of Tigris, especially on the East side of the River: by which river his people might alfo paffe too and fro to Babel.

The Imperiall scate of which Region of Hauilah or Susian, was anciently called Chusian, or Chusian, afterward Susa. Cush himselfe tooke the bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-westward towards Arabia the sto-30 nie, and the Defart, where Ptolomie placeth the Cittie of Chusidia, first Chusia.

Ptel Afie tab.4.

The

Seba, and Sheba with the rest that planted Arabia falix, had Tigris to conuey them into the Persian Gulfe, which washeth the bankes of Arabia fælix on the East side: fo as those sonnes of Cush might take land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Cittie of Niniue was by Nimrod founded on the faid River of Tigris; and from thence a Colonie past to Charran, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did lapheths fonnes fettle themselves together, and tooke their scates in Asia the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselues Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, sate 40 downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palastina and Phanicia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines fored themselues into Iberia: and the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatia. The first Gomerians, and first planters in Asia the leffe, held the Countrie of the Cymmerians (witnesse Herodotus) the same Re- L 4. gion which was afterward by the Gallo-greekes called Galatia; to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians (whom the invincible Seythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gaue names to diners places; as to the mountaines aboue Albania (called Cymmerini) and to the Cittie of Cymmeris in Phrygia: alfo Bosphorus Cymmerius tooke appellation from this o nation, in the outlet whereof was also a Cittie of that name called Cymmerian : which Plinie faith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Cerberion; but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, fo called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of brimstone: which Augustus caused to bee cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake Lucrinus.

Chalne and Niniuie by Nimrod, Noah was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the actes he did in 62, yeares. But it were a needleffe labour for me to difprooue the authoritic of that Berofus, on whom Annius groundeth, feeing fo manie learned men haue so demonstratiuely produed that fragment to be counterfeit. Belides that, Tatianus the Affyrian in his oration against the Greekes auoweth, that the ancient and true Berofus wrote onely 3. Bookes, dedicated to Antiochus the fucceffour of Seleucus Nicanor: but Annius hath deuised 5. Bookes, wherewith hee honoureth Berofus. And whereas Berofus handled onely the effate of the Chald.eans and Affgrians, Annius hath filled this fragment with the businesse of all the world. And if we may believe Eulebius better then Annius, then all the Kinges of the La- 12 tines (before £neas) confumed but 150. yeares: whereas no man bath doubted, but that from Noah to Aneas arrivall into Italie there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrewe account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For lanus (who was the first of their Kinges) lived at once with Ruth, who married Booz, in the worldes yeare (as some reckon) 2717. after the floud 1064. and Noah died 350. yeares after the floud : and so there past betweene Ianus of Italie and Noah sirnamed Ianus 704. yeares. For Saturnus lucceeded Ianus, Picus after Saturnus, Faunus after Picus. and Latinus followed Faunus: which Latinus lived at once with Tautanes the 27. King of Assyria: with Pelasgus of Peloponnesus: with Demophoon of Athens; and Samplon Judge of Ifrael. Now all these fine Kinges of the Latines having consu-20 med but one hundred and fifty yeares; and the last of them in the time of Sampson: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fifty yeare, and it reacheth Ruth, with whome lanus lived.

Trucit is, that the Greekes had their Innus; but this was not Nonh: fo had they In the sonne of Xuthus, the sonne of Deucalion, from whom they drawe the Iones, Exech. 27.19.13 who were indeed the children of Janan, the fourth some of Japheth. For the vul-& fo the place gar Translation (where the Hebrew word is Iauan) writes Greece, and the Septua-(for Jauan) Hel. gint Hellas; which is the fante. So had they Medus the sonne of Medea, whom they lada: and (for make the parent of the Medes, though they were descended of a farre more ancient the Plurall fa-uamin) Hellens. Father (towit) Madaithe third sonne of Iapheth.

Lastly we see by a true experience, that the Brittish language hath remained among vs aboue 2000. yeares, and the English speech ever fince the invasion of the Angles: and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either Noah (by them called Ianus ) had left in Italie his grandchild Gomer fter him, or Tubal in Spaine, that no plaine refemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have beene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal plantations of Ianus, Gomer, Tubal, &c. in Italie, Spaine, or France, are meerely fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the same Gracian Janus, which commaun- 40 ded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of Troy but 150. yeares, (faith Eufebius) which was in the time of Latinus the fift King: which also St. Auquistine and Iustine confirme; and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this bee not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make Vesta (others Camasena) the wife of this Ianus, who instituted the holic Fire of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from Innus all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies) there is no man fo impious, as to believe that Noah himselfe, (who is said by Moses to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankinde made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, to 50 fet vp or deuise any Heathen saluage, or idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

ð. V I.

Снар.8.§.7.

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Note.

The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moselmei were neighbours, which others write Meshech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meschech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Piolomie calleth Moschi) inhabite Syracena a Prouince of Armenia, directly South from the mountaines Moschici, in the Valley betweene the mountaines Moschici, and the mountaines Paryardes: out of whose North part springeth the River Phases; from the East part Araxis; and from the West Euphrates: and of this Melchech are defcended also the Mosconians (saith Melanchton,) and it may bee, that in processe of time some of them inhabited those R egions also: For Meshech (faith Melanchton) fignifieth extendens, enlarging or freething forth. Togorma also at first did inhabite a- 10 mongst his parents and kindred. The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phanicia, the same which Plinie 1. King 1. v. 18. calleth Gahen: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierufalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the lesse Jun, in Gen. to. Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Citties Tigranokarta: of which Citties Tigranes subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hierosolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbarie: forgetting the Prophecie of Ezechiel against the Tyrians. They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faires horses, and horsemen, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Iofephus takes them for 20 the parents of the Phryeians; which I doe not denic, but they might bee in the enfuing ages: and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred yeares after the twelfth of Nimrods raigne. The Iewes conceine that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperour is called Togar. The Chaldeans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscouia. But forthese subderivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud is the matter which I labour to discouer: and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this wee must Note, that those grand-children of Noah which were 30 of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of lesse vinderstanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies fent out, their proper habitations can bee hardly knowne: only reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered

with the fame of others, who tooke on them the conduction and dominion ouer From Madai the third Sonne of Tapheth, were the Medes. The Gracians bring them (as before) from Medus the Sonne of Medea.

#### ð: V I I.

Of I AVAN the fourth Sonne of I APHETH: and of MESCH, of ARAM, and Meshech of IAPHETH.



F Jauan the fourth Sonne of Japheth came the Jones, which were afterwards called the Greekes and fo the Latine and Greeke Interpreters for lauan write Greece, as in Esai; Et mittam ex ijs qui saluati suerint ad gentes, inmare, in Italiam, & Graciam, And I will fend those that e-Cape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece. The Geneva

here yieth the word (Tarshich) for Tarsus, a Cittie in Cilicia, though Tarsis in many places bee taken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Geneua vie the names Tubal and s Jauan, and not Italie and Greece : keeping the same Hebrew wordes. Of these Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Ancestours, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe; who abounding in people sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those

parts. Others derive the Athenians from Ion the sonne of Xuthus, the sonne of Deu-Thusyd. calion: but the antiquitie of Jauan marres the falhion of that supposition, who so many yeares preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Paufanias tels vs that Xuthus ftole out of Thessale with all his Fathers treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was gratiously received by Erictheus, who gave him his daughter in marriage; of whom he received two fonnes, Ion, and Acheus, the supposed Anceflours of the Athenians. For Attica was called Ionia (faith Plutarch in the life of Thefew) who, when he had joyned Megara to Attica, creeted a piller in that Islimos or Strait, which fasteneth Peioponnessis to the other part of Greece: writing on that part 10 which looketh towards the East, these wordes. Hee non funt Peloponne fus ast lonia. These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia; and on the other side which looked towards the South and into Peloponnesus, this. These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.

of the Historie of the World.

Strabo out of Hecateus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Aliainto Greece, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certaine companies into Afia the leffe, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof then he learned of the Greekes themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of Hecateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet fure I am that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any : and 20 that Iauan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Asia the leffe in his pasfage, and from thence past ouer the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritimate Prouince on that fide, as he did to that part of Greece so called. But yet Strabo himselfe beleeved, that Ionia tooke the name from Ion the sonne of Xuthus: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of Paufanias. True it is, that the Greekes in after-times cast themselues into that part of Asa the leffe, opposite vnto them, which they held for divers yeares. And how soeuer the Greekes vaunt themselues to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquitie (among prophaned Writers) rested 30 betweene the Scythians and the Egyptians, as Iustine out of Trogus, in the warre betweene Vexor is of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, witneffeth: which preceded far the raigne of Ninus, and was long before the name of Greece was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in Cecrops time the Greekes were all saluages without law or religion, living like brute beafts in all respects: and Cecrops (faith St. Augustine) lived to- L.18 de civit. gether with Moles. The fixth sonne of Japheth was Meshech, whom the Septuagint call Mosoch: (a part

of those Nations commanded by Gog the chiefe Prince of Meshech and Tubal.) But this we must remember, that betweene Melech the sonne of Aram, and Melhech (or Mo(och) the sonne of Inpheth, there is little difference in name, and both by divers in-40 terpreters dinerfly written. Montanus with the Vulgar writeth Melch, the sonne of Aram Mes , the Geneua Mash ; Iunius Mesch. But it may be gathered out of the 120 Pfalme, that either Mefhech the sonne of Japheth, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein David hid himselfe: or else (which may rather feeme) that it tooke name from Mesch the sonne of Aram. For David bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious people) vseth these wordes. We is me that I remaine in Mefech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Iunius con-Pfal 120, v.s. uerteth thus. Hermihi quià peregrinor tam diù : habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni : The Septuagint giues it this sense. Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar; with which this of the Latine agreeth. Heu 50 mihi, quià incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitaui cum habitantibus Kedar : The Chaldæan otherwise, and in these wordes. O memiserum, quià peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitaui cum tabernaculis Arabum, O wretch, that Iam, for I haue trauailed among those of Asia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacle of the Arabians. But how societ or which societ conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of Kedar: which is a Province

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of Arabia petraa; and the Chaldean putteth Ajain fleud of Mefech; but the Hebrew it selfe hath Melech. And if it bee to bee taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answeres to Kedar, the name of a Nation) seeing Mest the sonne of aram, 1. Chron. 17. is called Melbec, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from Melbech or Melb, both bordering Indea, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for fo Ezechiel makes Mefech and Tubal. But as for those that take Mefech out of the word Mosoch (given by the Septuagint,) to be the Muscouian: sure they prefume much ypon the affinitie of names, as aforefaid. And fure I am that Danid neuer transiled fo farre North; (for to him Musconia was vtterly vnknowne) but about the border of Kedar (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perfecution: the same being a Cittie on the mountaines of Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias Montanus makes Mosoch the Father of the Musconians : and herein also Melanchton runnes with the tide of common opinion, and Icts Melech in Muscouia, though with Some better aduise of judgement; as, first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence trauailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Plaime, (Hei mihi quod exulo in Mesech) to signifie, gentis eius feritatem insignem esse; that the feritie of that nation exceeded: which fierceneffe or brutalitie of the Museonians, David neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of .But the same feritie or crueltie which those Northerne Muscouians had, may aswell bee ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this Countrie tooke name of Kedar the second some of Ismael, of whom a people of e- a quall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long aster, even to this day, (if the Arabians, I/maelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to Hagar, Gen. 16. v.12. And he shall be a wild man : his hand shall be against cuery man, and eucry mans hand against him. Now Arabia the Desart (saith Plinie) confronteth the Arabians Cochlei on the East, and the Cedrei Southward, both which iowne together you the Nabathai. So it appeareth (as before) that Mefech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and Magon, neighboured Canaan and Ifrael, and that Kedar also did io yne to Mesech: all which were Regions of Syria, or of Asia the lesse, commanded by the successions of Selencus. enemies of the reeftablishment of Ifrael and Iuda. But (as I have already faid) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the iffue of Mesech (or Mosoch) might passe into Cappadocia, and thence into Hyrcania, and give names, both to Mazega in the one, and to the mountaines Moschiei in the other, and from thence might fend people more Northerly into Muscouia: and so all opinions faued. But all saluage Nations ouergrowne and vncultiuated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as civilitie, letters, and magnificent buildings, witneffe anti-

Tiras, the feuenth sonne of Iapheth, which Montanus reckons among the sonnes of Gomer, was the Father of the Thracians, as all Authours (worthie the examination) affirme. Iosephus was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether filent, what part of the world Tiras peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the Sonnes of Gamer, which were three:

e. VIII.

### VIII.

of ASCANEZ and RIPHATH, the two elder Sonnes of GOMER.

SCANEZ was the Father of those which the Greekes call Regim, (faith Iosephus) but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes Ascanez the Father of the Goths. The lewes in their Thergum make him the roote of the Germane Nation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. Plinie findeth Ascania in Phrygia, neare the Rivers of Hylas and Cios: Melanchton being of the same opinion, that the Tuifsones were descended of the Ascanez, (for Tuiscones, faith he, is as much to for, as of the Ascanez, praposito articulo die Ascanez) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as af-Melanch.in car. terwards at the tombs of Martyrs. Not farre from Phrygia was the Lake Alcania. 1.1. knowne by that name in the Romanes time. And among the Kings which came to the fuccour of Troy, was Afcanius (Deo similis, faith Homer) like unto God : because Homslinda. he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth Virgil grace Aneas, Os humerofq. Deo similis, in face and body like one of the Gods. Virgil also remembreth such

20 a River together with the hilles Gargara: as, Illus ducit amor trans Gargara, tranfq, fo- Ving Georg. 13. nantem A Canium, Appetite leades them both over the mountaines Gargara, and the roring Ascanius. But this Plinie maketh more plaine in the description of Phrygia. For he placeth the Cittie of Brillion vpon the River Afcanius, which is adioyning to Milia, and is neare the border of the Troian Empire : and the Lake Ascanez he directs ys to finde by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which lyeth farre within the Countries of Bithynia; and then from Prusia to Nicea are accounted fine and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, even betweene Prusia and Nices, And fo Junius (as I conceine him) takes them of Ascanez, to be the inhabitants of Pontus, and Bithynia, and those North parts of Asia. Stephanus de Vrbibus 30 makes it a Cittie of Troas, built by Afcanius the sonne of Aneas: faying, that there was another of that name in Mylia. Of Ascania a Lake of Bithynia, Ptolomie witnesfeth: and Strabo giueth Ascania both a Lake, a River, and a Towne in Mysa, neare vnto Cio; which also agreeth with Plinie. For Plinie findeth Prusia (before spoken

of) neare Cio, and calleth the Islands before Troy Ascanes. Now, whether these places tooke name of Asanez the sonne of Gomer, or of Ascanius the sonne of Ances, it might be questioned : sure it is, that Asanius which brought succour to the Troians, could not take his name from Aneas sonne, who was then either exceeding young, or rather viborne: and it feemeth that the countries whence those succours came were not out of any part of Phrygia or Mysia, but 40 farther off, and from the North parts of all Ajia the leffe, which by Hieremie is called Afcanez, by the figure Syncehdoche, as Junius thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet Hieremie we shall learne of what Nation the Ascenez were, whose wordes are these. Set up a Standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the Nations against her, call 6.51.0.27. up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against her, Go. meaning, against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountaines of Ararat which runne through it: Minni the leffer Armenia : Armenia being compounded of Aram and Minni. For Minni was the ancient name: (faith Iunius and others beforehim) and Aramanciently, taken for Syria, which con-30 tained all that Tract from Euphrates to the Sca-coasts of Phanicia and Palastina; and therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times butta Province of Syria, the Scriptures difference it in the storie of Iscob and Elau, and call it Arem-padam. Then if these two Nations were of the Armenians and Alexes joyned with them (who altogether vni, ted under Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoile of the Barylonian Empire) we shall erre

Melanch, in

much to call Askenaz Germanie or Amaine, for we heare of no Swart Ruttiers at that fiege. But the Askenaz were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the Medes: of which, if any of them came afterward into Phrygia, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of Eusebins, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Iosephus, who cals them Rhegins, or of the Iewes, who will have them to be Almainer; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of Riphath the second some of Gomer there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius thinke that hee wandered farre off from the rest of his brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I fee nothing to the contra- 10 rie, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his familie: for there wanted no roome or foile in those dayes for all the sonnes and grand-children of Noah. Therefore I take it to bee well vnderstood, that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greekes afterwards (according to to fephus) called the Paphlagones: and Riphei (faith Melanchton) fignifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them, Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti; who fpake the ancient Polac: which being first called Riphei (for the loue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became Heneti, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witnesseth, and so doth Apollo- 20 nius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphei (afterward Heneti) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of Euxinus, and filled the North part of Europe, contayning Rusia, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, delirous (faith Melanchton) of a warmer foileof fruit and Wine. These Heneti or Veneti, whom Melanchton taketh to be one people, filled all that land betweene the Baltick and Adriatick Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe Venedicus is found in Russia. This Nation, after they were possest of Lituania and Polonia, diffurbed the plantation of the Boij and Hermondurij. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of Riphath came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and so thinketh Arias Montanus, first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time Lordes of Sarmatia, and those other 10 parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of Vistula and Albis. The name (faith Melanchton) fignificth wandering or wanderers, or Nomades: a people which lived by white meates and fruits, as (indeede) all Nations did in the first

Of the third Sonne of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already; now therefore

of Janans children, which were foure:

Elifa, Tharfis, Cethim, Dodanim,

ð. I X.

of the foure Sonnes of IAVAN: and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name or for the Sea.

F Elifa or Elipha, came the £oles: and of this Elifa all the Greekes were called Hellenes, faith Montanus. Melanchion makes Elifa the Father of of the £oles in Affa tide: others of Elis in Pelopome [us, or of both And seeing the Greekes were descended in general of Iausan, it is probable that the £oles and the Elie, tooke name of Elifa, his eldes Sonne. Ezechiel in the 27. Speaking of Tyre, nameth the Isles of Elifa. Hyacynthus

E-purpura de insulis Elisa facta sum operimentum tuum, Blew silke and purple, brought from the siles of Elisa, was thy concerning: The Chaldasas for Elisa write tasta: but the Vulgar, the Tigarime, the Geneus, and Jumus, keepe the word Elisa: and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such purple Dye in Italie in those dayes, nor lince, that I can reade of: but those siles of Elisa, were by a better coniecture the siles of Greece; and the best purple was sound afterward at Tyre it selte: and before that, among the Cyclades, and on the coast of Gestules.

Tharlis, the second Sonne of Janan inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharlis is the Metropolis. Montanus for Tharsis in Cilicia, vnderstands Carthage in Africa; but (reserving to the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that coniecture. The Chaldean Paraphrast puts Carthage for Tharsis, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the ships of Salomon went euery three yeares to Tharsis, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the Chaldean Paraphrast translates Tharfis (Africa.) But Salomons ships were prepared in the Red Sea at Eston Gaber, in the Bay of Elana, neare vnto Madian, where Iethro (Moses Father in law) inhabited; a Prouince of Arabia Petraa, Idumaa, or of the Chustes; and they failed to the higher part of the East India. For it had beene a strange naugation to have spent three yeares in the passage betweene Indea and Canthage, or any other part of Africa, which might have beene failed in fixe or ten daics. 20 And if fogreat riches might have beene found within the bounds of the Mediterran Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would foone haue entertayned that trade also. But this enterprise of Salomon is in this fort written of in the first of Kings. مااه King SALOMON made a Nauie of Ships in Esion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Seain the land of Edom: and Hyram sent with the Nauie his servants, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the feruants of SALOMON: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. talents of gold, &c. But as the Nations about Pontus thought no Sca in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only : (whereof it came, that Pontus was a word vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the Israelites and the Phanicians knew no o-30 ther Sea then that of the Mediterran in the beginning; and that the people of Thars had the greatest ships, and were the first nauigators in those parts with such vesfels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word Tharsis vsed often for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the ships of Salomon went every three yeares to Thar sis, that phrase is not strange at all: for we vie it ordinarily where soeuer we nauigate, (namely) that the Kings ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeare, or euery three yeare to the Sea, and therefore Tharsis was not therein named, either for Carthage, Mica, or India, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place Tharsis is truly taken for Tharsis, the chiefe Cittie in Cilicia, founded by Tharsis the second sonne of Iauan, or by his successours in memorie of their first parent. To o this Cittie arrived Alex Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and

The third sonne of Iauan was Cethim, of whom were the Romans and Italians, yo saith Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melanchtons opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the Macedonians. Cethim is a voice plurall (shith he) and signifieth percussores though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of Efür 23. (according to Melanchton) had relation to Alexander and the Macedonians. Hae calamitas ab Es Al pradictaest, qui capite vicessimo tertio inquit,

cafting himselfeinto the River to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme fever, and great danger of death: and in this Cittie of Thassis was St. Paul borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For (Gomer and his other sonnes inhabiting Asia the leffe, and that part of Syria adjoyning,) Jacam who was to passe ouer the Sea into Greece, tooke the edge of the same coast, and first

planted the Iones on that shore : gaue the Islands betweene Asia the lesse and Greece,

to Elisa, and lest Tharsis upon the Sca-side in Cilicia; of whom that Cittie tooke

name.

O 2

venturas

wenturos effe euerfores Tyriex terra Cittim, This calamitie (faith MELANCHTON) was foreshewed by Es At the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men Islanders, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cittim might be taken for Italie, saith Beroaldus) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophecie, which tooke effect with the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander: who after seven Moneths siege entred that proude Cittie, and cut in peeces 7000. principall Cittizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000. others into bondage and flauerie. Now, that Macedon was taken for Cethim, it appeareth plainely in the first of the Maccabees, in these 10 wordes. After that ALEXANDER the Macedonian, the Sonne of PHILIP, went forth of the land of Cethim, and flue DARIVS King of the Persians and Medes. IOSEPHVS fets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (faith he) there remaineth the Cittie Citium, the Countrie of Zeno the Philosopher (witnesse Laertius) which Cittie Pintus vpon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it flood in St. Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islandes in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islandes of Cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus bee so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Thar sis: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the coasts, both on Asia side and Grecce, 20 were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he fent Colonies ouer the Agaan sea, and

inhabited Macedonia. Dodanim the fourth fonne of Iauan, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at Rhodes, as neare Cethim, Tharfis, and Elifa, as he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many translators: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may casily bee taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in Epirus the Cittie of Dodona, in the Pronince of Molosia. And as Cethim, when he wanted foile in Cyprus : fo Dodanim (scated in a farre leffe Island) did of necessitie send his people farther off; and keepingalongst the coast, and finding Peloponnesiss in the possession of Elisa, he passed a little farther on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the Cittie of Dodona was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his posteritie might give it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it hapned all the world ouer. For names were given to Citties, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of Noahs children, and grand-children; not in all places by themfelues, but by their fucceffours many yeares after: energy of their families being defi-rous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themse us were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Citties often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne a names, or the names of their Ancesters, to Mountaines and Riucrs, as to things (after their judgements) freeft from any alteration.

Thus then did Jauan fettle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of i Affatheleffe, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands, and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Japheth their Father had done in the body of the leffer Asia, together with Iauans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Melech, and the restround about him. And in like fort did Chush (the sonne of cham) people Pabylonia, Chaldea, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the fonnes of chulb (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia it felfe) trauailed Southward in Arabia falix, and Southwestward into Arabia petraa: the rest of his children holding so the Regions adjoyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chush in like manner tooke the way of Agypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palastina adioyning. The Sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the enemies both to the Hebrewes, and to those of the

CHAP. 8. S. 10. † . 1. of the Historie of the World.

fonnes of shem, which spred themselues towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Cham or Ham, which were foure:

> Mizraim Phut, and Canaan.

d. X.

That the feate of CHVSH the eldest sonne of HAM was in Arabia, not in Athiopia: and of strange fables, and ill translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

Of IOSEPHUS his tale of an Athiopesse wife to Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the feate of CvsH.

Hat Ham was the Father of the Agyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Plalme v.51. Then Isr AEL came to Ægypt, and IACOB was a stranger in the land of HAM: and in the 78. Pfalme. He flue all the first-borne in Agypt, even the beginning of their

ftrength, in the Tabernacles of HAM. There is also found a great Cittie in Thebaida, called Cheramis ; (asit were the Cittie of Ham) of which name Herodo- Hered in Edtus also discouers an Island in the same Region. But because Chush is the elder sonne terpe. 30 of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proued that Chush could not be Æthiopia: yet feeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himfelfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof fets many thinges straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and fenselesse interpretations. Surely, howsoeuer the Septuagint and Iosephus have herein failed, yet it is manifest that Chush could not be Athiopia, but Arabia: (to wit) both that Arabia called Petraa, and a part of Arabia the Happie and the Defart: which Regions Chush and the Chustes presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sate downe altogether. And there is nothing which so 40 well cleareth this controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v.1. where Moses his wife is called a Chuste; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonofors conquests. For whereas Iofephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num.12.v.1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand Chulb for Æthiopia, we must give credit to Moses himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that Iosephus was grosly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For Infephus prefuming that Chish was Athiopia, and therefore that the wife of Moles (which in Scripture Num. 12. v. 1. is called a woman of Culh) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, faineth that Tharbis the daughter of the King of Athiopia, fell in love with the person and same of Moses, while he belieged Saba her Fathers Cittie; and to the end to obtaine Moses for 50 her husband, shee practised to betray both her parents, Countrie, and friends, with the Cittie it selfe, and to deliuer it into Moses handes. The tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in Iosephus. After he had described the strength of the Athiopian Cittie Meroe, which he faith at length Camby [es called fo from the name of his lister, (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these wordes. Hic cum Moses de- Antiquistis.

sidere exercitum otiosum agrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine T H ARBIS, &c. which tale hath this sense in English. When MosEs was grieved that his Armie lay idle, because the enemie hesieged. durst not fallie and come to handie strokes, there hapned this accident in the meane while. The Æthiopian King had a daughter called T HARBIS, who at some assaults given beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had nct only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Athiopians to the very brincke of subuersion: these thinges working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daylie encreased, shee made meanes to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife; 10 Which Moses on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliver the Cittie into his possession: whereunto shee condescending, and Moses having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

## t. II. A dispute against the tale of Iosephus.

His tale (whereof Moles hath not a word) hath Iolephus fashioned, and therein also veterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Cittie of Arabia, for a Cittie of A-20 thiopia: as he names Athiopiait felfe to have beene the Countrie of Moles his Wife, when (indeede) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Athiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, faying that the Sabaans are Arabians, and not Æthiopians; except Iofephus can perswade vs, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wisedome of Salomon, were a Negro, or Black-Moore. And though Damianus a Goes speake of certaine letters to the King of Portugall from Prester John, of the Abisines : wherein that Athiopian King would perswade the Portugals that hee was descended of the Queenc of Saba, and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Sonne by that great Princesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that 30 when Sifbac King of Egypt inuaded Robeam, and fackt Hierufalem, his brother (the fonne of Saba and Salomon) who joyned vpon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aide and succour to Robosm against Ierobosm, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it anything against our opinion of Moles his wife, to have beene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach vs, that Mofes married the daughter of lethro Pricht of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North coast of the Red Sca, ouer against the body of Æ gypt, and neare Esion Gaber, where Salomon provided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Edumaa ioyneth to the Tribe of Inda by the North, to Arabia Pe- 1 trea by the East, to the Mediterran by the West, and to the Red Sea by the Southeast. And if we marke the way which Moses tooke when he left Egypt, and condu-Eted Israel thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it felfe, hee had formerly lived fortic yeares; where it feemeth, that befides his carefull bringing vp in Levet, hee was instructed by Iethroin the Egyptian learning. For Iosephus confesseth, and St. Stephen confirmeth that he was learned in all the wisedome of the Agyptians. But on the other side this Text makes much against Iosephus, where it is written in Exodus the second. Therefore MOSES fled from PHARAO, and dwelt in the land of Madian or Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what 50 Region Madian was, where it is written. When Moses kept the speepe of IETHRO his Father in law, Priest of Madian, and draue the flocke to the Defert, and came to the mountaine of God in Horeb. Now that mount Horeb is not in Athiopia, every Infant knoweth. And if wee may beloeue Moles himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moles purchased in that manner which Iosephus reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrie and friends) neither had shee the name of Tharbis, but of Sippora, or Zippora: neither was shee a Negro, but a Madianitish. And as God worketh the greatest thinges by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a sheep-heard to call Moles, and after him David, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For Meles litting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of Requel Exed. from the other sheep-heards, and drew them water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordained) hee was entertained by Iethro, whose daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence also came lethro to Moses at Rephidim, not farre from Idumaa, and finding the insupportable gouernement of such a multitude, hee aduised him to distribute this waightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Judges of every Tribe and Familie. And if Iethro had beene an Athiopian, it had beene a farre progresse for him to have paffed through all Egypt with the Wife and Children of Mofes, and to have found Moses in the border of Idumaa: the Agyptians hating Moses and all that fauoured him. But the passing of Moses through Arabia Petraa (which ioyneth to Madian) proueth that Moses was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandered fortie yeares, and did by these late transiles of his seeke to instruct the children of Ifrael in the knowledge of one true God, before hee brought 20 them to the land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those fliffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he warethem out in the deferts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of Iosephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrisamens, where also hereprehendeth Apollinaris, who anowed that Moses had married both Tharbis and Sephora: His owne wordes have this beginning. Mentitur etiam A PO LL 1- Sixt Scient. NARIS duas vxores habuisse Mosen, &c. Apollinaris also lyeth in affirming Bibl. 20 that Moses had two wines: and who doth not perceine these thinges fained by them? for it is manifest that the wife of Moses was Zephor A, daughter to the Priest or President of Madian : and that Madian cannot bee taken for Athiopia beyond Agypt; being the same that ionneth to Arabia: so farre Chrisamensis.

#### t. III.

CHVSH ill expounded for Æthiopia, EZECH. 29.10.

N Ow as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Athiopia, and the wife of Moses therefore called Athiopiss. io in the conquest of Naturchedonosor is Athiopis written for Arabia. For by the wordes of Ezechiel it is manifest that Nabuchodono for Egeth 29.10; was neuer in Athiopia. Behold (faith Ezechiel, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the land of Ægypt utterly wast and desolate, from the Tower of Seueneh, even to the borders of the Black-moores: which last wordes should have beene thus converted: From the Tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chusites or Arabians: betweene which two is situated all Agypt. For to say, from the borders of Seueneh to the Æthiopians, hath no sense at all. Seuenehit selfe being the border of Egypt, confronting and ioyning to Ethiopia, or the land of the Black-Moores. So as if Nabuchodonofors conquest had beene but between 50 Seueneh and the border of Athiopia, it were as much to fay, and did expresse no other victorie then the conquest of all that land and Countrie, lying betweene Middlefex and Buckingham, where both the Countries ioyne together; or all the North parts of England, betweene Barwick and Scotland: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man fought to expresse by these two bounds, the conquest of

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England: Barwick beeing the North border of England, as Seuenehor Syene is the South bound of Egypt, seated in Thebaida which toucheth Ethiopia. But by the words of Ezechiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonofor neuer entred into any part of Æthiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneua, and all other (in effect) haue written Athiopia for Chulh.

#### t. IIII.

An other place of EZECHIEL. C. 30. V.9. inlike manner mistaken.

Nd as the former, so is this place of Ezechiel mistaken, by being in this fort con-Auerted. In die illa egredientur nuncij a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopie confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneuans. In that day shall there messengers goe forth from mee in ships to make the carelesse Moores afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greeke word trieres for triremes which are Galleyes of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should have beene (as in the former) amended by vling the word Chuft, or Arabia for Aethiopia or the black Moores, euery man may see which meanly understandeth the Geography of the world, knowing, that to passe out of Agypt into Athiopia there neede no galleys nor ships, no more then to passe out of Northampton into Leicestershire: Atho- 20 pia being the conterminate Region with Ægypt, and not divided so much as by a river. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nabuchodonofor should send galleys alongst the coast of the Red sca, by which an Army might bee transported into Arabia the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all £gypt and the defarts of Pharan) which Army might thereby furprise them vnawares in their security and confidence. For when Nabuchodonosor was at Seucneh within a mile of Athiopia, hee needed neither Galley nor Shippe to passe into it: beeing all one large and firme land with Agypt, and no otherwise parted from it, then one Inland shire is parted from an other; and if hee had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleasure, hee could not have done it: for the fall of Nilus (tumbling ouer high and steepy mountaines) called Catadupa Nili were

Lastly, as I have already observed, the sonnes of every father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could, Gomer and his sonnes in Asia the lesse; Iauan and his fonnes in Greece and the Islands adioyning; Shem in Persia and Eastward. So the sonnes and Grand-children of Chush from the river of Gehon (their fathers first feat) inhabited upon the fame, or upon some other co: tinuat unto it, as Nimrod and Hauilah on the one fide, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha (with the rest) did on the other fide. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Athiopian blacke in moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of Paradife.

#### †. V.

A Place Es AY 18. v. 1. inlike manner corrupted by taking Chush for Æthiopia.

Nd as in these places before remembred, so in divers other is the word Æthiopia put for Arabia or Chush, which puts the story (where it is so vinderstood) quite out of square, one kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense ! hath this part of Scripture Esay 18. Va terra Cymbalorum alarum qua est trans flumina Athiopia or according to the Septuagint in these words. Va terra nauium alarum que est trans fluuios Athiopia? Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Athiopia, sending Ambassadors by sea, cuen in vessels of reeds upon the waters. Ve terrs

ambrofe or a: Wee to the land of the fadie couft, faith Iunius. The former translators vnderstand it in this sense. That the waters are shadowed with the sailes, which are significatively called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land heere spoken of by the Prophet Esay is Egypt no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the Egyptians that fent this mellage to the Israelites which Esay repeateth, and by the former translation every man may fee the transposition of Kingdomes: for hecreby Agypt is transported vnto the other fide of Athiopia, and Athiopia fet next vnto Iudea, when it is the land of Chulh 10 and Arabia indeede that lieth between Iudea and Agypt, and not Athiopia, which is feated vnder the Aguino Tiall line. And of this Beroaldus asketh a materiall question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of Athiopia: Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit. For it cannot hee said that he treateth of an unknowner egion. Now if Æthiopia it setse be under the Equinoctial line, with whom the Ienes had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it again, and beyond the rivers of Ethiopia? except wee shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discourse of those nations. which were not discouered in 2000, yearesafter, inhabiting as farre south as the 20 Cape of good hope, commonly knowne by the name of Bona efperanza.

#### t: V I.

That upon the like mistaking, both TERRHAKA in the story of SENA-CHERIB, and ZERA in the story of As A are unaduisedly made Æthiopians,

Nd by this translation is the story of Senacherih vtterly mistaken in the cause of

hisretrait. For Senacherih was first repulsed at Pelusium, at the very entrance 30 of Agypt from Iudea: when having certaine knowledge that Thirrhaea, (which all the interpreters call King of Athiopia) was on the way to fet on him, he beganne to 10fephl, 10.6.1. withdraw himselfe; and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning messengers to Ezechia King of Inda perswading him to submit himselfe: the tenour whereof is fet downe in the second of Kings in these words. Have any of the Gods of the Nations delivered his land out of the hands of the King of Abur? Where is the God of Hamah? &c.By which proud Ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into Hierusalem, hee then meant to have vnited that great Army before Hierufalem commanded by Rabscheh with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great City vpon the branch of Wilns next Arabia. For Senacherib had a ready mailtered the most part of all those Kings 2.19. 40 Cities in Iudas and Beniamin with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the fiege of Lebna. But vpon the rumour of that Arabian Armie led by their King Thirrhakeh (whom Iofephus calls Tharfices ) Rabfakeh hasted from the liege aniquito. of Hierusalem and found Senacherib departed from Lachis and set down before Lebna, Kings 2.19. which was afterwards called Eleuthoropolis as some have supposed. But while hee had ill successe at Pelusium and feared Thirrhakeh, God himselfe whome he least feared strooke his Army before Hierusclem by the Angell of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place as in the life of Ezechias is heereafter more largely written. And that this Army of Tirrakeh was from Arabia, Iofephus himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth booke the first Chapter of the Iemes antiqui-50 ties, that it was come to Senacheribs knowledge, that the Army which was a foote

(both to relieue the Agyptians and the Iewes) marched towards him by the way of the Defert: Now the Defert which lay indifferent betweene Hierufalem and Pelu- 1.10.14. fium, was that of Pharan or Sur which also toucheth on the three A abiaes, to wit the stony, of which it is a part the Defect, and the Happy, and by no other way in-

Plin.1.5.c.9.

Coron.z.c.14.

deede could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Hierusalem. But, that there is any Defert betweene Pelujum and the South part of Agypt, hath nener yet beene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For herethe word (Chulh) is also translated Athiopia; and in this sense have all the Interpreters, (but Iunius) expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. He heard also men say of THIRRHAKEH King of Ethiopia, &c. whereas it should haue beene thus converted with Iunius. Audiens autem de THIRRHAKEH Rege Chulhi, He heard also of THIRRHAKEH King of the Chulhites. For they were the Chustes and Arabians, whose houses and Citties were next the fire, and vpon whom to the very fmoke of Inda flaming was blowne, being their nearest neighbours; and so were not the Athiopian Black-Moores vnder the Aquinoctial, whom neither warre nor peace (which discouerethall Regions) euer found out, faith Planie. For this King was no more King of £thiopia then Zerah was, who inuaded Afa King of Iuda, with an Armic of a Million and 3000. Charriots. Indeede, how fuch an Armic and those Charriots should passe through all Egypt, (the Kings of Egypt being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, judge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there euer any fuch strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these Lthiopians such trauai- 20 lers or conquerours; and yet is this King Zerah also called King of £thiopia. But the word Chulb being first so converted for Athopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the feates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuafions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

#### t. VII.

A farther exposition of the place. EsAI. 18.1.

Oncerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of Esai, Nauium alarum, 20,1 ninged shops, (so the Septuagint turne it) or Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine) failes whistling in the windes, or terra umbrofa or a (after Iunius ) the land of a shadowed coast, or the land shadowing with wings, as our English Geneua hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and St. Hierome have one sense in effect. For the failes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vie to say ordinarily when our fhips faile flowly, that thee wanteth wings: (that is) when her failes are either worne or too narrow; and we also yie the same phrase of the winde whistling in the failes. And it may be that the Egyptians employed fo many of those small thips. as their failes were faid to give a shadow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, Pintus (vpon Esai) affirmeth, that the word (Sabal) doth fignific to both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline sound; so as the meaning of this place (faith Pintus) is this. We to thee, O Egypt, which does promise to others safegard, under the shadow of thy wings, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Efai: and this phrase is often clfewhere vsed, as in the fixteenth Pfalme, Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me, Defend me under the shadow of thy wings. The Boats of reede spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket; willow couered with hides (as anciently in Bittaine) or a tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both fides with Canes. Of the one fort I haue seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

ð. XI.

ò. X I. Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Agypt.

That MIZRAIM the chiefe planter of Agypt, and the rest of the Sonnes of HAM, were feated in order, one by another.

He second Sonne of Ham was Mizraim, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For Chush first possest Chaldea on the West side of Gehon chiefly: and from thence, as hee increased in people, so hee entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeast-fide of In-

dea. Mizraim his brother (with Phut) past ouer into Africa. Mizraim held Ægypt: and Phut (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of Palastina: and these source brothers possess all that Tract of land, from Gehon in Chaldea, as farre to the West as the Mediterran Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deserta, and Petraa, all Canaan which embraceth Galilea, Samaria, and Iudea; with the two Egypts, whereof the nether is bounded by Memphis on the South, and by the Mediterran Sea on the North: and Thebaida (called the vpper Agypt) stretcheth it felfe toward the South as farre as Syene, the border of the Athiopians or Black-Moores. All the rest of the coast of Africa Westward Phut peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or familie that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sonnes againe, and all the fonnes of the rest of Noahs children, fort themselves.

†: II.

Of the time about which the name of Agypt beganne to be knowne: and of the Ægyptians Lunarie yeares, which made their antiquities seeme the more fabulous.

This flourishing Kingdome possess by Mizraim, changed her ancient trame, and became Ægypt, at such time as Ægyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some thinke) the some of Belus chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece now called Morea, by whom the Argines were made Danei, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877, yeares after the floud, in the time 40 of Iosua, as S. Augustine conjectureth out of Eusebius. But in Homers Odysses it appeareth that the Agyptians were fo called at the time of the Troian warre. And before this, Agypt was knowne by divers other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofriana, &c. And Manethon (whom Iofephus citeth in his first booke against Appion) numbreth all the Kings of £gypt after Moles departure, who confumed 393. yeares. By which other men conjecture, that the Agyptians tooke on them that name 330. yeares after Iosua, and about 1000. yeares after the floud. But where Iosephus in the same booke taketh Ifrael to be those Hyesos, which he also calleth Pastores or Sheep-heards, which are faid to have raigned in £gypt 511. yeares: whom also he calleth his Ancesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the Iewes) in this I am sure he was grossly decei-50 ued, or that he vainely boafted for the Ifraclites had no fuch Dominion as Manethon faineth: nor abode in Egypt fo long a time by many yeares.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. Siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirme (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had raigned in Agypt 230. Kings before Amasis, who was contemporarie with Cyrus; and that they had memoric and storic of 13000, yeares; and that the startes had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These riddles are also rise among the Athenians and Areadians, who dare affirme that they are more ancient then supiter and the Moone, whereof Ourd:

De Faff.l.1.

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Ante Iouem genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades : & Luná gens prior illa fuit.

The Arcadians the earth inhabited Ere yet the Moone did shine, or Ioue was bred.

But for those 13000 yeares it may well bee true: seeing it is certaine that the Agyptians reckon their yeares by Moneths, which makes after that account not about 1000. or 1100 yeares, whether wee take their Moneths or Lunarie yeares to haue beene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 20. dayes and tweller houres; or after any other of those such control in the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 20. dayes and tweller houres; or after any other of those such as discribing the series of their Lunarie yeares.

#### t. III.

Of certaine vaine affortions of the Antiquitie of the Agyptians.

CERARDYS MERCATOR in his Chromologie, reasoneth for the Agyptians antiquitie in this manner: That the fixteenth Dynastite (where Euglebius begins to reckon the Agyptians times) had beginning with the generall floud: and that therefore the first of the other fifteene reached the creation, or some after it. To which coniecture of Marcator, Pererius maketh this answere. That therein Marcator was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth Dynastite was at once with the generall floud: which Euglebius maketh 292. yeares after, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, Mercator maketh the beginning of the 30 sheep-heards Dynastita (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, Saltia, to have been ein the yeare of the world 1846. which Euglebius findeth in the worlds age 2140. For the 16. Dynastita was begunne but in the 292, yeare after the floud, as they account, and continued 190, yeares. Thirdly, whereas Mercator maketh every Dynastita to endure 115, yeares, Euglebius reckoneth many of them at less then 100, yeares: for the 28, had but 6, yeares; the 29, but 20, and the 30, but

Now Annius in his Supplement of Manethon affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynaflies lasted but. 162. yeares: and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131.
yeare after the floud: so as where Mercator makes all the 15. to precede the shoul, 40
and the 164 to have beene then in being at the time of the shoul, Annius makes them
all after it. But the contrarietie of fallhood cannot bee hidden, though disguised.
For Annius had sorgotten his former opinion and affertion, that it was in the 131.
yeare that Ninnad with the sonnes of Noab came into the Valley of Shimara: so hee
forgets the time which was consumed in the building of Babel: and that before the
consultion of speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And
though he haltily conveyed Gomer into Bale, and Tubal into Spaine, in the 10. yeare
of Ninnad raigne: (which was ten yeares after his arrivall into Babylania) yet herein
he is more vnadussed. For he makes \*\*Expt\* posses, the son all government established
in the very first yeare of the arrivall of Ninnad into Shimar, before all partition, or 50
any expedition farre off or neare in question: for from thence (that is, from Babel) did
the Lord (Latter them vpon all the earth.

ŧ, IIII.

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### t. IIII.

Against Perentus: that it is not unlikely, but that Ægyptwas peopled within 200, years after the creation, at least, that both it, and the most parts of the world were peopled before the sloud.

B Vt whereas Percrius seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the Agyptians, touching their Dynsslies, (which Eusseims doth not altogether destroy, but leften I doe not finde any great strength in this opinion of Percrius; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that Agypt should bee peopled within 100. or 200. yeares after Adam, in the first age. And whereas he suppose that it was not inhabited at all before the generall should, I doe verily beleeue the contraries and that not only of Agypt, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: Percrius his wordes are these. Quamado enim primos mundi ducentos, veletiam centum annos Adam i proles adeò multiplicari potuit; vi ad Agyptum vsque habitandum & complendum propagatas sit, & En bow could the children of ADAM is somatisped in the sirst two hundred, or in the sirst two hundred, or in the sirst six (sith Percrius) we must also confessed as to inhabite and sill Agypt? For allowing this (sith Percrius) we must also confesse, that there were then 20 both the Asyptians, and other Nations.

Now feeing that the Scriptures are filent herein, and that it is no point of our fauing beleefe; it is lawfull for enery manto bee guided in this and the like quefitions by the beft reafon, circumfance, and likelyhood; and herein, as in the reft, I proteft that I doe not gainfay any mans opinion out of any croffing or cauelling humour: for I thinke it the part of enery Chriftian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of vuinor, then out of froward subtlette, and prejudicate resolutedness, and any contentions.

First, therefore to this opinion, that Agypt was not planted so some after Adam, no, not at all before the floud, I say that there is no reason why wee should give a 30 leffe increase to the sonnes of Adam, then to the sonnes of Noah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many children: and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred, nor confanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some for tappeare by this, that Cain, who (being fearefull that the death of Abel would haue been reuenged on him ) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of Nod, and there, by the helpe of his owne iffues built a Cittie, (called Enoch) after the name of his first borne. Now if it bee gathered that Nimrod came into the Valley of Shinaar with so many multitudes, as suf-40 ficed to build the Cittie and Tower of Babel: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeares by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly wnderstood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeare! I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeares, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeares after (that is, by such time as the world had stood 200. yeares) aswell Assiria, Syria, and £gypt might be possess before the floud, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true storie of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 50 hundred or 130. yeares after the floud, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that euer Noah himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritieto prone it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selse denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which Semiramis (but the third from Nimrod) found in India, considered with her owne Armic of three Millions, (and shee left not

Zustin.l.1.

all her Kingdomes emptie) doe well proue, that if the world had fuch plentie of people in so few yeares after the floud, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account Ninus gouerned Babylenia and Affyria but 292. yeares after the floud of Woah. And these troupes of Semiramis were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from Media to the Mediterran Sea: when there had now past from the floud to the time of this her inuation, somewhat leffe or more then 360. yeares: for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of Semiramis Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be giuen. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Armie consi- 10 sted of 1300000, footmen, and 500000, horsemen, it must needes bee, that long before Semiramis raigne, the greatest part of Asia (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people : yea Arabia it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of Semiramis have beene plentifully peopled; when Ninus hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his affiftance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Agypt might also be peopled. Now if wee may believe Trogus Pompeius (Epitomiz'd by Instine) Agypt was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Wines was borne. For these be his owne wordes, speaking of Winus. Fuere quidem tempe- 20 ribus antiquioribus V E X O R I S Rex Agypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient VEXORIS King of Ægypt, and TANAIS King of the Scythians: of which the one inuaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquests of Ninus witnesse, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this fide Incia. For Diodorus out of Ctefias numbreth the Armie, wherewith Ninus inuaded Zoroaster, at 1 700000. footmen, and 200000. horsemen: and the stories generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the world ener since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forraine authoritie? for no man doubteth but that £gypt was possest by 30 Mizraim, the fonne of Ham; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Citties in Abrahams time, the Scriptures tell vs. And fure to prepare and cultiue a defolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Citties, Lawes, and pollicies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes; and therefore it must bee inhabited in a leffe time then 200. yeares after the floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the floud. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeares after the generall floud; so as not only Babylon, and Assyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Agypt, Palastina, yea the farre-off Lybia on the one side, and India on the other, and Scythia (inferiour to neither) were all filled : into what fmall corners could then all those nations be comprest, which 1656, yeares brought 40 forth before the floud? euen necessitie, which cannot bee resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld living Na-

tions of his owne body.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of PERERIVS.

F Or what a strange increase did the long lines of the first age make, when they 50 continued 800 or 900 yeares. Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the world could not containe them, rather then that they were not spred ouer the world. For let vs now reckon the date of our lines in this age of the world: wherein if one exceede 50. yeares, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we finde no want of

people; nay, we know the multitude fuch, as if by warres or pestilence they were not fometimes taken of by many thousands, the earth with all the industrie of man could not give them foode. What strange heapes then of soules had the first ages, who enjoyed 800, or 900, yeares, as aforefaid. These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the fame reckoning in effect, as if all those which have beene borne in Brittaine since 3, or 4, hundred yeares before the Norman Conquest (fauing fuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to these there were added as many as by Polygamie might have beene increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mightie ones of the first age observed no law of matrimonie) it is to be thought that those louers of the world and of pleafure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flie from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better persivation to make

men carelesse of life, and searelesse of death, then the little time which keepes them afunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this enuious old age of the world mingleth together, and foweth with the

Now if that Berofus or Annius may be alleaged for fufficient Authours, whom Pererius himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by Iosephus 20 confirmed, that the Cittie of Enoch was feated neare Lybanus in Syria: and if other parts of Syria were peopled in Cains time, I fee no caufe why Palastina (which is alfo a Province of Syria) and Ægypt (which neighbourethit) could bee left defolate both all the life time of Cain, and all those times betweene his death and the floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeares. And sure though this Fragment of Berofus with Annius his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Coppies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in Berofus are not to bee rejected. Therefore St. Hierome for fuch Authours gives a good rule. Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria, Let vs choose what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Mofes, touch-30 ing the generall floud: and in that first part Berosus affirmeth, that those mightie

Men and Giants which inhabited Enoch, commanded ouer all Nations, and fubiceted the vniuerfall world; and though that phrase (of all the world) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the AEts. That there were dwelling at Hierufilem Iewes, menthat feared God of every Nation under heaven: vet by wordes which follow in Berofus, it is plaine that his wordes and fense were the same: for hee addeth from the Sunnes rifing to the Sunnes fetting, which cannot be taken for any fmall part thereof. Againe, we may fafely conjecture, that Woah did not part and proportion the world among his fonnes at aduenture, or left them as discouerers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had beene inhabited.

40 And it cannot be derived that the earth was more passable and easie to traugile ouer before the floud, then after it. For Pererius himselfe confesseth that Attica (by reafon of mudde and flime which the water left vpon the earth) was vninhabited 200. yeares after ogyges floud, whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleafure in palling into farre Countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopfed for 100. or 130. yeares together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and leffe cumber fome to walke ouer, in the first age then after the generall overflowing.

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E. 3.

Of the wordes of Moses, Gen. 10. v. vitimo, whereupon Pererivs grounded his opinion.

Aftly, whereas Pererius drawes this argument out of the last Verscof the tenth Lof Genesis. And out of these were the Nations divided after the floud : Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante dilunium, By which it appeareth (faith Pererius) that there wasno such division before the floud; which he also seeketh to confirme out of the efeuenth of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seemeth to me very weake; the text it felfe rather teaching the contrarie : for out of thefe (faith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth after the floud; inferring, that before the floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the floud out of these only. But whatsoever fendemay be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the floud, or to any plantation or diuision in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the floud, but Weahs Sonnes. wherein doth that necessarie division controle the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this disperfion, it is true, that it was fo for that prefent; but if Babel had neuer beene built, nor 20 any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall plantation : as Berofus faics well, that when mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, adcomparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat, They were driven by necessitie to seeke new habitations. For wee finde (as is before said) that within 300, yeares after the floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, fuch multitudes as the valley about Babylon could not have fultained those numbers with their increase for any long time : all Asia the greater and the leffer; all Stythia, Arabia, Palastina, and Egypt, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Lybia being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleeue Berofus, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 1 40. yeares after the floud) Spaine, Italie, 30 and France were also planted : much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeares before the floud, in the time of the chiefe ftrength of mankinde, they were replenished with people. And certainely seeing all the world was ouerflowne, there were people in all the world which offended.

#### t. VII.

A conclusion, resoluing of that which is most likely, touching the Ægyptian antiquities: with somewhat of PHVT (another Sonne of HAM) which peopled Lybia.

Herefore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with Mercator, nor judge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Agyptians antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That Agypt being peopled before the floud, and 200. or 300. yeares, more or leffe after Adam, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of Mizraim some monuments (in Pillers or Altars of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the Leyptians hauing added to the lift and rolle of their Kings after the floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glorie, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the 50 truth might be inserted. And that the memorie of antiquitie was in such sort prescrued, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write that the vie of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeare before Alexanders conquest : and this report Annius findeth to

agree and reach to the time of Enolb, who was borne 1034. yeares before the floud, and wrote of the worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire : as also of Christ his comming in judgement, as St. Inde hath witneffed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgements, and enery man to his owne reason, I will conclude this plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Egypt from Egyptus the sonne of Belus, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterran Sea, was called the inferiour Egypt; furnamed also Delta because the seuerall branches of Nilus breaking afunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme 10 of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Deserts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the Cittle of Pelulium, where Senacherib was repulfed: The other branch, which yeelded it selfe to the salt water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Cittie of Alexandria: The upper part of Agypt is bounded betweene Memphis and Syene neare Athiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient Cittle of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. gates : and therefore called Civitas centum portarum ; and by the Greekes Diospolis; in the Scriptures 20-hamon, which fignifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iosephus cals Egypt Mersin of Mizraim: and Herodotus affirmes that it had Ieseph. I.t. Ant. 20 once the name of Thebais.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of land to his brother Mizraim, and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei; (fayth 10sephus ) and Plinie mentioneth the river Fut in Mauritania : which river from the L.S.c.I. mountaine Atlas (knowne to the inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chulh and Lud were contermini and affociates with the Egyptians.

). XII.

Of the eleven sonnes of CANAAN, the fourth sonne

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

A NAAN (the fourth sonne of Ham) possest all that Region called by the Romanes Palastina; in the Scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Iudea; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and Inrie: the limits whercof are preciselie set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth. Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar untill Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodome and Gomorh, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen unto Lasha. Now how soeuer these words of the Hebrew Text (as thougoest) be converted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan and Zidon the North; Sodome and Gomorha the East, and the other Citties 50 named stood on the frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right line from Gaza in the way of £gypt, the vttermost territoric of Canaan Southward : and this was

Now the sonnes of Canaan which possess this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

properly the land of Canaan.

1. Zidon

Gen.22.

Gen. 27. v. 46.

- 1. Zidon.
- 2. Heth or Chethus.
- Iebufi or Iebufaus.
- Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
- Girgelbi or Girgeleus.
- Heui or Chineus.
- Arki or Harkeus.
- Seni or Sinaus.
- Araadi or Aruadaus.
- 10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus
- II. Hamathi or Hamatheus, or Chamathaus.

to

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Heuites, Iebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from fome of his.

### t. II.

## of the portions of ZIDON and HETH.

Z IDON the first borne of Canaan, built the famous Cittie of Zidon in Phanicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Aster: for Aster, Zabulon, and Nephtali had a great part of the ancient Phanicia distributed among them; but

the Assertes could never obtaine Zidon it selfe. The second sonne of Canaan was Heth or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites,

or Hittites, one of those seuen principall Nations (commaunders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, and Heuites, and the Iebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Berfabe, and towards Hebron neere the Torrent Befor, and about Gerar, which Moses maketh the vttermost limit of Canaan, having the Desert of Pharan to 20 the South : for about Bersabe (otherwise Puteus iuramenti) foure miles from Gaza dwelt Heth and his posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as Hebron, and Manre; and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buie the field of Sarahs buriall. Of which Nation Rebecca bewailed her felfe to Isaac, saying, That shee was wearie of her life for the daughters of HETH. The Giants Makim were of these Hittites, a strong 4.Kings. 67. v. 6. and fierce Nation, whose entertainement by the Kings of Israel against them the Syrians greatly feared : as in the fourth of the Kings; Ifrael hath hired against ws the Kings of the Hittites.

#### t. III.

## Of the Iebusites and Amorites.

TEBUSEUS, the third some of Canaan, of whom came the Iebusites, and whose principall feat was Iebus, (afterward Hierusalem) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their Cittie and the Countrie neere it, till fuch time as Danid by Gods affiftance recovered both : yet were not the Iebusites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Salomon.

Amoreus was the fourth some of Canaan, of whom the Amorites tooke name, who inhabited that land to the East of Iordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Ar- 50 non and the mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Iordan on the West : of whom og (King of Basan) and Sihon (ouerthrowne by Moses) were Princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the boundes of Canaan: as behind Libanus in the edge of Calefyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also

# CHAP. 8. S.12. +.4.5. of the Historie of the World.

their being in the mountaines of Inda, and in Idumaa neere the Metropolis thereof, Deut.1. called Duma. And hereof it came that all the Canaanites were fometime called Amorites:as in Genesis the fifteenth, for the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet Amos; Tet destroied I Amos. 2 the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cadar, and he was strong as the Oakes.

#### t. IIII.

## Of the Gergesites, Heuites and Harkites.

The fift sonne of Canaan was Gergeseus or Gergeseun, (otherwise Girgass) who in-habited on the East side of the lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolomie sets the Cittie Gerasa, which Iosephus calles Gesera in the territorie of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ disposses the possessed with Divels; and the Gergefites defired him to depart their coaftes: because their swine filled with the guill soirits drowned themselves in the Seaof Galilee. Gergeseus also built Berytus (sometime Geris) afterward Falix Iulia, three miles from the river Adonis in Phanicia; in which the Romanes held a garrison : and to which Augustus gaue manie large 20 priuiledges.

Heucus the fixth fonne; and Father of the Heuites, inhabited vnder Libanus ncere Emath. These Heuites, howsoeuer the Caphthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomie the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of Iosua, and afterward to the time of Salomon. For God was not pleased vtterly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Israelites, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them : for as it is written Iudges the third; They remained. to prove Israel by them, whether they would obay the Commandements of God.

The feuenth fonne was Araceus or Harki, who betweene the foote of Libanus 30 and the Mediterran Sea, (ouer against Tripolis) built the Cittie of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachis.

#### t. / V.

## of Sini and Aruadi.

CINEVS the eighth Sonne Hierofolymitanus fets at Caparorfa, which Ptolomie finds In Indianot farre from Iebus; to the South thereof, faith Innius. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which S. Hierome cals Sim; Ptolomie Simyra: Me-40 la and Plinie Simyrus: Brochard Sycon, (called Synochis) neare Arca. Pererius thinkes that Sineus inhabited the Deferts of Sinai or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of Brochard, who tooke vew of all these places, affirming that Sineus built Synochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini (written with the letter C. otherwise Kenai) who descended of Hobab the Sonne of Raquel the Madianite, who affifted the Israelites in their conduction through the wildernesse of Pharan. But these Cinai were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephtalims, belied their habitations with the Inde. 4. Amalekites: against these Cinai Balaam prophecied, that they should be destroyed by 10/110.19.33; the Allyrians.

The ninth Sonne was Aradeus or Aruadeus, who in the Isle of Aradus built the Gul. Tyr. Vitria. Cittie Arados: opposite against which Island on the maine of Phanicia, they founded another Cittie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this Cittie came S. Peter (faith Clement) and in this Isle preached the Gospell: and founded a Church in honour of our Ladie: but wee finde no such worke

C.7. U 8.

of his in the Acts of the Apoftles. Both the letwo were very famous; and places of skilfull Scamen: whom Executed remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians, The inhabitants of Zidon and Aruad were thy Marriners.

# t. VI. of Zemari.

F Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth Sonne, there are divers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in Caelesyria at Edessa, and founded Samaraim, 10 which in Iosua is placed in the Tribe of Beniamin. There is also Samaraijm (of the Beroat in Chron. fame Orthographie) vpon the mountaines of Ephraim (faith Beroaldus) mentioned in the second of Chronicles c. 13. v.4. which the Latine converteth amisse (faith hee) by Semeron. The Hierofolymitan Paraphrast makes Samareus (of whom were the Perizzites) the parent of the Emissani, which Plinie cals the Hemiseni, in Calefyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthographic, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri) disproueth. And he bought the mountaine Samaria or Shemeron of one SHENER, for two talents of siluer, and built in the mountaine : and called the name of the Cittie which he built, after the 20 name of SHEMER, Lord of the mountaine Samaria. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of Israel. Of whomfoeuer the Samaritanes were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Iewes stood vp, they alwaies called themselues lewes: when it suffered or sanke, they then vtterly denyed to be of

# †. VII. of Hamathi.

that Nation or Familie; for at fuch time as they were returned from their first cap-

tiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Affyrians; and

partly of the naturals.

T Helast of Canzans Sonnes was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamath of Hamath (bith Recodding Carbin) (1) mathi, of Hamath: (faith Beroaldus) of which (the aspiration taken away) the fame is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was parent. Infephus and St. Hierome confound Emath with Antioch, not that Antioch which standeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, betweene the mountaine Cassius and the Pronince of Pieria, and Seleucis, of which S. Peter was Bilhop, and in which S. Luke and Ignatius were borne: but Intioch, furnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus supposeth, 40 which standeth betweene Apamea and Emesain Cassotis. Yet, indeede, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch vpon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emela, are farther off feated from Canaan, then euer any of those Nations ftragled. And whereas S. Hierome fetteth Emath, which hee confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest, that Epiphania, which standeth to the North of Emela, hath all the Prouince of Landicea, betweene it and any part of the land divided. And if Libanon it felfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not Epiphania belong vnto them: for both the Provinces Landicea and Libanita, are between Epiphania and any part of the holy Land . and therefore Emath fo taken could not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth of Iofua is directly proued. 50 For Infina counting the lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all mount Libanon towards the Sunne-rifing from Baalgad under mount Hermon, untill we come to Hamath. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that Emath was not in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the children of Ifrael: because Dauidaccepted the presents of

2,5am.8.9.

# CHAP. 8. S.13. † . 1. of the Historie of the World.

Tohu King of Emath, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not have done, if that Territoric had ever belonged to the children of Ifrael, but would haue recoursed it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promise which God made be confidered, as it is written in Deuteronomie, then might Emath bee compre- 6.11. v.34; hended, though feated altogether without the bounds of the Land promifed, according to the description of Moles and Iosua : for Emath is indeede situate on the other fide of the mountaine of Hermon, which joyneth to Libanus and is otherwise called Iturea. But whereas Hamath is named in Iofua the 19.0.25. and written in the Latine conversion Emath, therein (faith Beroaldus) was S. Hierome mistaken. Emath or Iturea is that ouer the mountaines, and the Citrie in Nephtalim should be written Hanath: and so the Septuagint (vinderstanding the difference) write it Ammath and not Emath, the fame which indeede belonged to the 2Vephtalims, leated on the fouth fide of Libanus, to the East of Affedim: which Cittie S. Hierome writes Emath, Iofephus Hamath, others Emathin, or Amatheos, and the people Amathein; of which (as I take it) Rabfakeh vaunteth in the fecond of Kings. Where is the God of Hamath. C.18. 6 193

## è. XIII.

Of the Sonnes of CHVSH (excepting NIMEOD) of whom hereafter.

The fonnes of Chufb were, Rauma, Sabta, Sabt

#### ė T.

That the most of the Sonnes of CHV's Hi were feated in Arabia the Happie: and of the Sabaans that robbed Ios: and of the Queene that came to SALOHON,

Es A or Sabs was the eldeft Sonne of Chufe, the eldeft Sonne of Hum, to make a difference betweene him and his Nephew Sheba, the Sonne of his brother Raams, or Regma (or Ragma after Montanus) his name is written with a fingle (S) Samech, and Sheba the Sonne of Regma 40 within (S) aspirate, which is the Hebrew Schin. Seba the eldest sonne of Chulh, Regmahis brother, and Shebathe sonne of Regma possest both the shores of Arabia Fælix. Saba tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as nearest his Father Chufb, and the land of the Chufites: Regma and Sheba the East coast of the same Arabia which looketh into the Gulfe of Persia; of which Plinie. Sabei Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad utrag, maria porrect is gentibus habitant, The Sabaans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankintense, extending their Nations dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea. This Countrie was afterwards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, faith Postellus. To this agreeth Prolomie, who setteth the Cittle of Saba towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the Cittle Rhegama towards 30 the Persian, with whom also wee may leave Sabta: for so much Montanus gathereth out of Ptolomie, because he remembreth a Nation (called Stabei) neare the Persian Sea; and Massabatha which descended of them. But Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he cals him Rahma) into Carmania, for which I fee no reason. Iosephus, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished Saba or Sebato the border of Ethiopia.

But Beroaldus thinks it strange, that the Sabai, which stole away lobs Cattle, should runne through all Legypt and all Arabia Petrea, and finde out lob in Traconitis betweene Palestina and Calesyria 1200. miles off. Now as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the Sabai on the Red Sea, northose toward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth upon 10b, which socuer Beroalaus shall take for nearest. But these were the Sabai of Arabia the Desert, where Guilandinus Meichior affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Cittie Saba is seated: the same which Ptolomie cals Sane, now Sems sand from this Saba in Arabia the Desert, came those Magior Wisemen which worthipped Christ, faith Melchior, whose wordes are these. The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as 10 Chryfostome, Hierome, and Ambrofe Supposed) nor out of Arabiathe Happie, as many wife men doe beleeue, but out of Sabain Arabia the Defert : which Cittie when my felfe was there was (as I judged it) called Semifcafac. And to approue this opinion of Guilandinus it appeareth that these Shabai were neighbours to lob, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (aswell those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so disloyed with large Deferts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to paffe them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the mountaines, of the fands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts. Vbi nec homines nec bestia videntur, nec aues, imò nec arhores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altisimi, asperimi, Where there are found neither men nor beasts, no not somuch as birds, 20 or trees, nor any passure or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stonie, and craggiemountaines. Beroaldus and Pererius conceine, that the Queene of Saba which came to vilite Salomon, was of the Sabei on the East fide of Arabia Fælix; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that thee was Queene of Saba towards the Red fea: for Salemon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petraa, twixt Idumea and the Red Sea, as farre downe as Midian or Madian, and Ezion Gaber: and this Queenc of Saba which inhabited the West part of Arabia Fælix, being his neighbour might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of furprise by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoide tediousnesse, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, 20 with his Sonnes Sheba and Dedan, and Sabtern, were all the possessions of Arabia the Happic and the Defert: only Haulah and Nimrod dwelt together on the East side of Chulb, who held Arabia Petrea. Now for Sabta, there is found of his name the Pl'n 1.12. c.14. Cittie of Sabbatha or Sabota in the fame Arabia: of which both Plinie and Ptolomie; Ptol 1216 6.Ajie. who withall nameth Sabotale, within the wals whereof there were fometimes found fixtie Temples. Ezechiel ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants. And that they were the Easterne Arabians their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of Paradise. For losephus his fancies, that Saba was the parent of the Athiopians about Meroe, and Sabta of the Athiopians Aslabari, they be not worthic any further answere then 40 hath already been given: especially seeing these Citties preserving the memoric of the names of Saba and of Sabta in Arabia were yet remaining in Ptolomies time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of Cufb, with little alterations are preserved. In Arabia the Descrit is found the Cittie Saba or Saue, (now Semi/ca/ac) with the Cittie of Rhegana for Rhegma; and the Nation by Ptolomie himselfe called Raabeni of Raamah. In Arabia the Happie is found the Cittie of Rhegama, and Rabana, which also keepeth the found of Rhegma, the Citie of Saptha or Saptah, not far from the East coast of Arabia: as also the Metropolis and chiefe citie, in the body of the South part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration Sabatha; and to the West of Sabatha towards the 50 Red Sea the great Citie of Saba; and the Nation adioyning, Sabai: and to the fouth thereof against oward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of S. ibe. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of Arabia, Hauilab by the passage of Tigris was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by boate

Execb.27,22.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 8. S. 13. +.2.

the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in Ptolomies time.

t. II.

cuen vnto Rhegma the Cittie of Raama, or Rhegma, set neare the River of Lar towards

JOSEPHVS his opinion of DEDAN, one of the iffue of CHVSH to have beene feated in the West Athiopia, disproved out of EZECH:

A Nd whereas Iosephus (whom in this St Hierome followeth, as not curious here-in) sent Dedan the sonne of Raamah into West Athiopia, it is strange that Ezezhiel should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15. verse, and Sheba and Raamab in the 22 verses to be the merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Athiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) aboue 4000 miles. Besides which the Marchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of Dedan (faith Ezechiel) were thy merchants in pretious clothes for thy charriots; and these We-s sterne Ethiopians neuer faw cloth, till the Portugals seeking those Coastes traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie beeing Hides, Elephants teeth, some 20 Gold and Amber, Ciuct cattes, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or iron cheefly.

But in those daies the West part of Africa within the body of the land was known onely by imagination: and, beeing vnder the burnt Zone was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the Negros of the West Athiepia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or Niger, could either paffe by Sea or Land to Tyre in the bottome of the Mediterran Seil, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Chush, which seates they held by that name in the time of Hieremie the Prophet let vs heare Hieremie his own words. Flie yee inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Es AV upon him. 30 Hecreby it appeareth that Dedan was a neighbour to the Idumwans: and Idumwa is

a Province of Arabia Petraa: and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia Falix, joyned in that part to Petras, the feat of his Grand-father Chufb, which neighbor-hood and fellow thip of Dedan and the Idumwans is also confirmed by Ezechie! Ezechicans, I will fretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make ver. 15. it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

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d. XIIII.

of theissure of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie Chap.
9. Vers. 7.

Fter Chulb it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names

(saith Saint Angustime) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which the came of them. Ludim the eldest sonne of Mizraim was the father of the Hebrew, is to all Regions adioyning. Among the sonnes of Sthem there is also signed the said of speakers to the said of speakers which is the said of speake

Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the fonne of Mizraim by the fingular number: plurall number, as aim of the sonne of shem beeing written Lud, the sonne of Mizraim Ludin : and yet these the dual. names and nations are often confounded, not withflanding the apparent difference 50 both of names and nations. For that Ludin the sonne of Mizrain was the parent of

the Lybians in Africa, and that hee was feated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who isyncth them in this fort together. Come vp c1.46,vtr.9. ye Horses, and rage ye Charriots, and let the valiant men come foorth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians beeing of

one parent descended. And in Ezechiel, Phut and Lud are joyned togeather. Athiopia (or Chush) saith Ezechiel c. 30. v. 3. And PHVT and LVD, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are inleague shall fall with them by the sword : which is as much to fay, as the sonnes of Chush; (which were the Chustes) the Sonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians, (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the inhabitants of Agypt and Africa shall fall together. Hierofolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleeue it : because Hieremie ioyneth the Lybians and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrew called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus) though 2. Chron. 12.3. they seeme to be called Lubim or Lubis, a name somewhat nearer the 10 word Lybies, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud, not to be meant of the Libyans at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyda, a Cittie (saith he) betweene Egypt and Palastina, which opinion I could not mislike if the Cittic of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same Cittie which was afterward Diospolis, in which S. Peter cured Anews of the palley) standeth neare the Torrent Gaas, not farre from Joppe the Port of Hierusalens. Yet it is not impossible but that this Cittie might have Lud for the Founder. For there are many Citties of one name founded in all the 20 Regions of the world, and farre a funder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many Citties called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, To of divers others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to bee the Father of Libya who was the third fonne of Mizraim: and fo doth Postellus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraims Sonneshaue no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, sauing Castahim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scrip-

These Cassum inhabited Cassiotis, a region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis and the mountaine Cassius are found: not farre from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim feated neare Cafluhim in that Tract of Agypt called Sethroitis, not farre from Pelusium. Strabo cals it Sethroitis; Stephanus and Plinie Sethroites, of the Cittie Sethron: which Ortelius takes to bee the same which Ptolomie cals Hercules parua. Of the Cassulim and Caphtorim came the Philishims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyli (which is) Alienigena, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palefina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (faith Isidore) doe not vie the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Citties were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gafei, Mcalonita, Azoty, Gethai, and Accaronite. Midore affirmes that Mealon was first called Philistim: and of that Cittie the Coun- 40 trie adioyning. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had aliking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a couenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeede at this time in Gerar; but it is written that hee was also King of the Philistims, in these wordes. Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Phili-Buffi voon the stims with Gerar. Now in regard that this or some ancienter Abimelech gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successours called themselues by Hierome vpon the fame name. The Philistims commanded that Tract of land vpon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Casarea Palastina or Turris Stratonius) which was the fouth border of Phanicia, to Gafaor to the Ri- 50 ucr of Agypt. The Anakims or strong Giants were of these Philistims: and Goliah was of Geth one of the fine Citties about named. They had sometimes fine Kings, faith Liranus. They mastered the Ifraelites at seuerall times about 150. yeares, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel, but

in the end this yoke was taken off by DAVID, and layed on themselues. It is objected, that because these Citties and the Countries adjoyning were held by the sonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Israelites dispossesses the sonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palastines or Philistims held it in the time of losus, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomie. The Heutes dwelt in the Villages vnto Gaza. And what meruaile if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim and not of Canaan, belides Mofes the Prophet Hieremic witnesseth. The Lord will destroy the Philistims, Hierem 4714. the remnant of the iffue of Caphtor: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philistims are faid to be the reliques of Caphtorim; have not I brought up Is R A E L out Amore 9. v.7. of the land of Agypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and ARAM from Kir? fo I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & Palastinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conucrsion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a Cittie directly West from Azypt, betweene Ptolomais or Barce and Apollonia: but Kir in Asa under the Assyrians: Iunius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneua. But Pererius cals Caphtorim Cappadoeia according to the Vulgar translation, to which 20 he is bound : and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane Cappadocia in Palaflina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Afia the leffe. For of which fee whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palastina, it is not certainly in the second knowne. And fure in this manner hee may expound Cappadocia to bee ambiguous, as well as he doth Gyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of Kings, that Teglasphalasser King of the Af- c.16. v.g. fyrians carryed away the inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so Iosephus seemes to understand this Kir, for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene Media Superior: for it was the manner and pollicie of the Affyrians to transplant the people conque-

). X V. of the issue of SEM.

red by them, as they did the Samarians or Israelites, and other Nations. And hereof

30 it came that Kir was called Syro-media: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were

therein captiued.

Of ELAM, ASSUR, ARPHAXAD, and LVD.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of Sem, who were these:

- I. Alam, or Elam.
- 2. Albur.
- 3. Arphaxad.
- 4. Lud, and

10 He posteritie of Sem Moses recounteth after the rest : because from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and storie of the Hebrewes. For of Sem was Abraham descended.

Of these sine Sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxad only, and only the children of him and Aram, the rest

are barely spoken of by rehearfall of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that Affur (who was supposed to found Niniueh) was also faid to be the Father of the Allyrians, whose iffues, and the iffues of Cham instantly contended for the Em-

pire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtavned, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which

also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the world were peopled by Assur, Elam, and Lud, (fauing India) which I beleeve Noah himselfe first inhabited and to whom

Ophir and Hauilah the sonnes of loctan afterward repaired. Hij filij SEM ah Euphrate

fluuio partem Afia v (que ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt, These sonnes of SEM (faith

S. HIEROME) held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean,

Of Elam came the Elamites, remembred Acts the 2. v. the 9. and the Princes of

Persia; which name then beganne to bee out of we and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babylonia: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some pro-

phane writers diftinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But

Sufa (which the Scriptures call Sufan) in Elam was the Kings feat of Persia (witnesse

Daniel.) And I faw (faith he) in a vision, and when I faw it I was in the Pallace of Sv-

SAN, which is in the Prosince of Elam. This Cittie is embraced by the River Euleus

of ARAM, and his Sonnes.

A R AM the fift and last Sonne of Shem was the parent of the Syrians: of which Pamaleus was head. Their name was changed from Aram or Aramites by Sy- Esyrais. rus (faith Eufebius out of Iofephus) which Syrus lived before Mofes was borne; the Eufeb.p.106. fame which others call the fonne of Apollo. Mesopotamia also being but a Prouince of Syria had the name of Aram Naharaijm, which is as much to fay, as Syria duorum 10 fluurorum, Syria compassed with two Rivers: (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates. The Scriptures call it Melopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram : and the Greekes Melopotamia

Arise and get thee to Pagan Aram (faith Isaac to Iacob) to the house of BETHVEL Gen. 28.2. See thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo also remembreth it by the ancient Gen. 25.20 Also

nator of the Syrians in generall; (and not only of those in Syria Inter-amnis, which

ther out of the originall reade Kemuel, the sonne of Aram. Neither is it any inconve-

nience for vs to vnderstand the word (Aram) here, not for the Nation, but for the

name of some one of note; the rather, because in the Historie of Abraham and I-

20 is Mesopotamia) some reade Gen. 22.21. Kemuel, the father of the Syrians: where o-

Against this opinion that Aram the sonne of Sem, was the Father and Denomi-

name of Aram or Arames, as these his owne wordes conuerted witnesse. Ques nos Deuter. 3.4.
Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant, Those which we call Syrians (latth Paul., 19. he) themselves call Aramenians and Arameans.

C.8.v.z.

P.11.

(according to Ptolomio) in Daniel, Vlai and feated in the border of Sufiana. Albur (as most Historians believe) the second sonne of sem, was Father of the Affyrians, who disdayning the pride of Nimrod, parted from Babel, and built Ni- 20 niue, of equall beautic and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disproue that opinion: Every mans hand hath beene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the Affyrians so often inuaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their Citties, and led them Captines, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howfoeuer Herodotus and D. Siculus extend this Empire, and honour this nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the All rians of any such power. after fuch time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For Senacherib who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the mountaine Taurus for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and Spria bounded him toward the West, 20 notwithstanding those vaunts of Senacherib in Esay the 37. Haue the Gods of the Nations deliuered them whom my Fathers have destroyed? as GozAN, and HARAN, and RESEPH, and the Children of EDEN which were at Telasfar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Cittie Sepharuaim, Hena and Iuah? All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Citties, and small Countries; as Haran in Mesopotamia: Reseph in Palmyrena: Hamath or Emath in Ituraa vnder Libanus: the Isle of Eden: Sepher, and others of this fort. Yea Nabuchodonofor, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of Egypt had but Chaldaa, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with Palastina and Phanicia parts thereof. But in this question of Assur, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to Nimrod, whose plantation I have omitted a- 40 mong the rest of the Chusites, because hee chablished the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the world taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldaans, faith S. Hierome, and Iosephus, but it must bee those Chaldeans about Vr : for the sonnes of Cham possest the rest. It is true that hee was the Father of the Hebrewes: for Arphaxad begat Shela, and Shela Heber, of

And that Lud the fourth Sonne of Shem, gaue name to the Lydians in Asia the leffe, is the common opinion, taken from Iosephus and S. Hierome; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

fanc (which was in time long before Kemuels posteritie could bee famous) wee finde Melopotamia called Aram: and that with an addition: formetimes with Naharaum. and sometimes of Padan, to distinguish it from another Aram, which (as it seemes) then also was called Aram. For whereas Iunius thinks in his note vpon Gen. 25, 20. that Padan Aramought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia, (to wit) to that part which Ptolomie cals Ancobaritis (fo called from the River Chaboras, which 30 dividing it runneth into Euphrates) the promiscuous vse of Padan Aram, and Aram Naharaijm (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole Melopotamia) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it fignifieth as much as the yoke of Syria, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Rivers (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The reliques of the name Padan appeare in the name of two Citties in Ptolomie, called Aphadana: (as Iunius hath well noted) the one vppon Chaboras, the other vpon Euphrates.

The Sonnes of Aram were.

Vz or Hus inhabited about Damascus, and built that Cittie, faith Iosephus and Saint Hierome: But Tostatus milliking this opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also Hierom in trad. followeth Iofephus, affirmeth that Abrahams Steward Eliezer was the Founder there-Hebraics of; though it were likely that Hus the eldest sonne of Aram dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of Syria. For Hus was a Region of the fame, adjoyning to Arabia the Defert, and to Batanea or Traconitis: whereof the Prophet Hieremie. 50 Reioyce and he glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus. Hus therefore Hierem, Lamet, is scatted beyond Iordan, in the East Region of Traconitis, adioyning to Basan, having Batanea Gaulonitis, and the mountaine Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damaseus North, and Iordan West: having in it many Citties and people, as may also bee gatheredout of Hieremie : And all forts of people : and all the Kings of the land of Hus. c.25,0,20,

ţ. II.

CHAP. 8. S.15. 1.3. of the Historie of the World.

In this Region dwelt lob, descended of Hus, the sonne of Nahor, the brother of Abraham (faith St. Hierome) and married Dina the daughter of Iacob, faith Philo.

Hul the second Sonne of Aram, S. Hierome makes the Father of the Armenians: and Gether the third Sonne, parent to the Arcananians or Carians: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I doe not disproue, though I see no reason why Gether should leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among strangers in Ana the lesse. Iunius gives Hul (whom hee writes Chul) the Desert of Palmyrena, as farre as Euphrates, where Ptolomic fetteth the Cittie of Cholle.

Gether (faith Iosephus) founded the Bactrians: but Iosephus gaue all Noahs children feathers, to carry them farre away in all hafte. For mine owne opinion I alwaies 10 keepe the rule of neighbourhood, and thinke with Iunius: (to wit) That Gether feated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of Syria, and in the Province of Casfiotis, and Seleucis, where Ptolomie placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by Plinie called

Iunius also gineth to Mes or Mesch the North part of Syria, betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia, neare the mountaine Massius. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probabilitie, that Aram the Father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after: and therefore there 20 is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so farre assunder. And as necessitie and pollicie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children set them afunder. For although these sonnes of Aram, and the sonnes of the rest of Noahs children, kept themselues within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein enery one also sought a Province a part, and to themselves; giving to the Citties therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their posteritie: the vse of letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are 30 thereby to this day subject to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction : so as (Noua Hispania and Peru excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to strangers) an

easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth Sonne is made the parent of the Maconians: of whom something Chapt 8. § 7. hath beene spoken already. Arphaxad the third Sonne of Shem, begat Shelah, and Heber. Heber had two sonnes, Phalegh and Ioctan: and in Phaleghs time was the earth

Of the division of the earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the Sonnes of Heber, of the issue of Sem.

THe many people which at the diufion (at Phaleghs birth) were then liuing, and the through plantation of all the East part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The Hebrewes (faith Pererius out of Sedar Holam, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of Phaleg: and Phaleg was borne in the yeare after the floud 101. and lined in all 239, yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the floud, ere the children of Noah severed themselues. But 50 to this opinion of the Hebrewes, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of Phaleghs birth) fo many people could be increased, Pererius gives this answer, that if 70. persons of the familie of Iacob increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much

more is it likely, that fo foone after the floud the children of Wood might in a florter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleffing of God. Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this answere hath, let others judge: for the children of Ifrael were 70. and had 215. yeares time : and the formes of Woah were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of Phalegh.

Others conceine that Phalegh tooke that name after the dinision, in memorie thereof: as Iofephus and St. Augustine, who reason in this manner. If the division Totals, I. I. Ant. were at Phaleghs death (which happened in the yeare, which is commonly held to Aug. de Ciuntat. be the 48. of Abraham, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his birth) then was the division 38. yeares after Ninus, who governed 52. yeares : in

the 43. yeare of whole raigne Abraham was borne. But when Ninus beganne to Pack in Gen. rule the Affyrians 80. yeares before this diulion (as this diulion is placed by the 415, 616. Hebrewes, Hierome and Chry (ostome) then was the earth fo peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not beene found at any time fince. For Ninus affociating to himfelfe Ariseus King of Arabia, a people who at that time (faith Diod. Siculus) planmum opibus atque armis prestabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, fubdued many Citties in Armenia; received Barzanis into grace; then inuaded Media, and crucified Pharnus the King thereof, with his wife and feuen

children; vanquished all those Regions betweene Vilus and Tanais, the Agyptians, 20 Phonicians, the Kingdomes of Syria, and all the Nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian Sea. For the numbers which followed Ninus (already remembred out of Ciefias) against Zoroaster and others: and Zoroaster on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, proue it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of Phaleg, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all; and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by Ninus and Semiramis: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the division had beene made at the birth of Phalez, there were not then fufficient numbers borne to fill the earth : It was never meant 20 that the earth could be filled enery where at the inflant, but by times and degrees: And furely whatfoeuer mens opinions have beene herein, yet it is certaine, that the division of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at Babel; and that the enterprise of Babel was left off instantly upon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the diussion; and so neither at the birth nor death of Phaleg: for Phaleg was borne in the yeare 101. after the floud, which was the yeare that Nimrod came into Shinaar, or 10. yeares after he

arrived, faith Berofus.

Now if it bee objected that Phaleg (the Etymologie of whole name figuifierh diuision must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at 40 the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered. That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures : for Iacob was called I frael after he had wreftled with the angell; Abraham was first Abram; and Edom Efau; and that Phaleg being a principall man in this division had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the Hebrewes S. Hierome and Chrysostome account Heber a great Prophet, if that by giving his sonne the name of Phaleg, he foretold the divifion which followed: to this I fay, I doe not finde that Heber deferued any fuch honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for diussion and dispersion followerh increase of people of necessitie; and this prophesie (if any such had beene) might 50 also have reference to the division, which afterwardes fell among the Hebrewes

themselues.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and Citty of Babel, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstratine proofe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (where-

vpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous

# t. IIII.

Of the fonnes of IOCTAN, the other fonne of HEBER.

> 1. Elmodad. 2. Saleph, or Selep, or Sheleph, 10 Asamath, or Chatzar. Iare, Or Iarahh, or Ierath. Hadoram.

The sonnes of Iostan were . 7. Dicklach, or Dicla.

6. Vzal, or Vxal. 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. 9. Abimael. 10. Sheba, or Seba. 11. Ophir, or Opir. 12. Hauila, or Chauila, and 13. Iobab.

LL those sonnes of Ioctan (according to S.' Hierome) dwelled in the East partes of the world, or India, eucn from the river Cophe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Gen.c.10.2.30. Scriptures, the wordes of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a mount in the East. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Hauilah. Concerning whose names to avoide confusion it is to bee observed, that among the Sonnes of Chulb, 20 two of them had also the names of Seba and Hauilah. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grand-child by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chush, and Sheba the sonne of Rhegma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Fælix: and Hauilah the fonne of Chush vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some haue thought) the Father of the Sabaans in Persia: of which Nations Dienysius de Orbis si-Gen. 25. v.6. tu maketh mention. Primum Sabai; post hos funt Passagarda, prope verò hos funt Tasci. The first are Sabaans: after these be Passagarda; and neare these the Tasci. And whereas it is written : But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRA-HAM gave gifts, and fent them away from Is AAC his sonne (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East Countrie: hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abra- 40 ham wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthermost East Countrie in respect of Indaa; which also onid setteth under the Sunne-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams Sonnes seated themselves on the borders of Indaa, I rather choose to leaue Sabathe sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Desert, where Ptolomie Setteth a Cittie of that name.

ard pes.

κζ τάξιλοι

But Saba the sonne of Iostan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceive) inhabited India าตัวอิง นักวง it selfe. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the world) which hee wrote in Greeke verse, among the Regions of India findetha Nation called the Sabai. Taxilus hos intermedios habitatá, Sabaus, In the middest of these dwell the Sabai, and the Taxili, faith this Dionylius.

Of OPHIR one of IOCTANS sonnes and of PERV and of that voyage of SALOMON

PHIR also was an inhabitant of the East India, and as (St. Hierome vnderstands it) in one of the Islandes plentifull of gold, which are now known by the name of Molucce. Iosephus vnderstands Ophir to bee one of those great head-landes in India, which by a generall name are called Chersoness, or Peninsule : of which 10 there are two very notorious; Callecut, and Malacca. Pererius takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierome doth, but he sets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third chapter and fixt verse, gathers that uphir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur or the South Sea; by others Mare pacificum. The wordes in the second of the Chronicles are these, And hee overlaied the house with pretious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim. Iunius takes this gold to bee the gold of Hauilah, rememberd by Moles in the description of Paradyle: And Gen.2.11.012 the gold of that Land is good : finding a towne in Characene a Province of Susiana Plin.1.6.c.28. 20 called Barbatia; so called (as he thinkes) by corruption for Paruaim: from whence those Kinges subjected by David brought this gold, with which they presented

him; and which David præscrued for the enriching of the Temple. But this fancie of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Plessis, who also tooke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may bee a subject of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the world of that name: sure I am that at least America hath none, no not any Cittie, Village, or mountaine so called. But when Francis Pifarro first discouered those landes to the South of Panama, arriving in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches and Dominion inferiour to none) fome of the Spaniards vtterly ig-30 norant of that language, demaunding by fignes ( as they could ) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brooke that ran by, the Indians answered Peru which was either the name of that brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniar ds thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly understood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to Charles the Emperour, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever fince as divers Spaniards in the Indies affured me; which also Acofta the Isfuite in his naturall and morall Historie of the Indics confirmeth. And whereas Montanus alfo findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Iucatan) tooke that name of Ioctan. 40 who as hee supposeth nauigated from the vtmost East of India to America: it is most true, that Incatan, is nothing else in the language of that Countrie, but [ What is that or What fay you For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered Iucatan ( which is) What aske you, or what fay you? The like hapned touching Paria, a montanous Countrie on the South fide of Trinidado and Margarita: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discouered, pointed to the Hilles afarre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to fay; as high hilles or mountaines. For as Paria begins that meruailous ledge of mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan: from 8. degrees 50 of North latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrie euer since retained the name of Paria.

The same hapned among the English, which I sent under Sir Richard Greeneuile to inhabite Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered Wingandacon, which is as much to say, as, you weare

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good clothes, or gay clothes. The fame hapned to the Spaniard in asking the name of the Island Triniaado: for a Spaniard demaunding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered Caeri, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner have many places newly discovered beene intituled; of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leave Ophir among the Moluceas whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now aithough there may be found gold in Arabia it selfe (towards Persia) in Hauilah, now Suliana, and all alongst that East Indian shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken up at the Philippines, certaine Islands planted by the Spaniards from the West India. And by the length of the paffage which Salomons ships made from the Red 10 Sca, (which was three yeares in going and comming) it feemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the Molnecas or Philippines. Indeed these that now goe from Portugall, or from hence, finish that natigation in two yeare, and sometimes lesse: and Salomons thips went not about a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the Compas was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore Salomons ships could not finde Peru in America. Neither was it needfull for the Spaniards themselves (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the East India Islands, farre about the mines of any one place of America) to faile energy years from the West part of America thi- 20 ther, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they have built a Cittie called Manilia. Salomon therefore needed not to have gone farther off then ophir in the East, to have sped worse: neither could hee nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have guided him:

Tostatus also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a Countrie, whose mountaines of gold are kept by Griffins: which mountaines Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Afiatica, in these wordes. Nam cum auro e's gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent univer a, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas thefe Countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the Griffins defend the one and the 30 other : a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaspi make warre. These Arimaspi are said to have been men with one eye only.

like vnto the Cyclopes of Sicilia : of which Cyclopes Herodotus and Arifleus make mention; and fo doth Lucan in his third Booke; and Valerius Flaceus; and D. Siculus in the Died. Sicul. 1.16. Storic of Alexander Macedon, But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeve none of them. And for these Arimashi, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed was first given them by reason that they ysed to weare a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to ferue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any fuch defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Plinie, who speakes of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gifolitron, or the Caue of the Northeast winde. For 40 thereft, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the Griffins receive this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this

world, had their perfect fenses, and were not deprined of halfe their eye-fight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all forts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if fuch a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beafts or Serpents defend mountaines of gold, it might be anow-

ed: For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and 50 impaffable mountaines which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tigers, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beafts: into which if any man afcend (except his strength bee very great) hee shall bee sure to finde the same warre, which

the Arimafi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any sense of

gold, or feeke to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made afraide of themselues or their young ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like fort it may be faid that the Alegartos, (which the Egyptians call the Crocadyles) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore Indians are caten vp by them, when they dive for the pearle. And though the Alegartos know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of the Indians, whom they deuoure.

Of HAVILAH the some of IOCTAN, who also passed into the East Indies: and of MESHA and SEPHER named in the bordering of the families of IOCTAN: with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF Hanilab the sonne of Iottan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent from which Ophir past into the Islands adioyning. And whereas Ganges is said to water Hauilah, it is meant by Hauilah in the East India, which tooke name of Hauilah the 20 fonne of loctan : but Hauilah, which Pifon compaffeth, was so called of Hauilah, the sonne of Chulh, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture. SAVI smote the 1, Sam, 15.7. Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commest to Shur, which is before Egypt. But that Saul euer made warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of Ioctan, these three Saba, Hauilah, and Ophir; though at the first seated by their brethren about the Hill Masius or Mesh, Gen. 10. 30. (to wit) betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia; yet at length either themselues or their issues removed into East India, leaving the other families of Ioctan, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from Melh vnto Sephar. And although S. Hierome take Melh to bee a Region of the East 20 India, and Sephar a mountaine of the same (which mountaine Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are farre beyond my understanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Iudea, is neuer farther extended then into Persia. But Mesch is that part of the mountaines of Massin the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chaboras springeth which runneth by Charran: and in the same Region we also finde for Sephar (remembred by Moles) Sipphara by Ptolomie, standing to the East of the mountaines Masius; from whence Ioctan having many fonnes, some of them might passe into India, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens 40 imaginations, contrarie to reason and possibilitie. And that this mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in Numbers 23. B A- v. 7. LAC the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountaine of the East; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Me-Sopotamia, (witnesse this place of Deuteronomie.) Because they hired BALAAM the var, va Sonne of BEOR, of Pethor in Aram Naharaym, to curse thee: for Aram Naharaym was Syria fluurorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the world after the floud doth best agree, (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these bee the reports of 50 reason and probable coniecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies: be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I anyend herein, private, or publike, other then the discoverie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things; so the factious and hireling Historians

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) have by their many volumes of vntrue reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in fleadethereof) have erec'ted Statues and Trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulnesse out to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissoluting nature of time hath worne out or changed the names and memoric of the worlds tirtle planters after the should (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which bath beene spoken) are not quite worne out nor overgrowne: for Babylon hath to this day the sound of Babel; Phenicia hath Zidon, to which Cittie the eldest Sonne of Caman gave name; so hath Cilicia Thassis; and the Armenians, Medes, to Stiberius, Cappadecians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumeans, Libyans, Moores, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulnesse of their first Founders and prime Parents.

# CHAP. IX.

# Of the beginning and establishing of Gouernement.

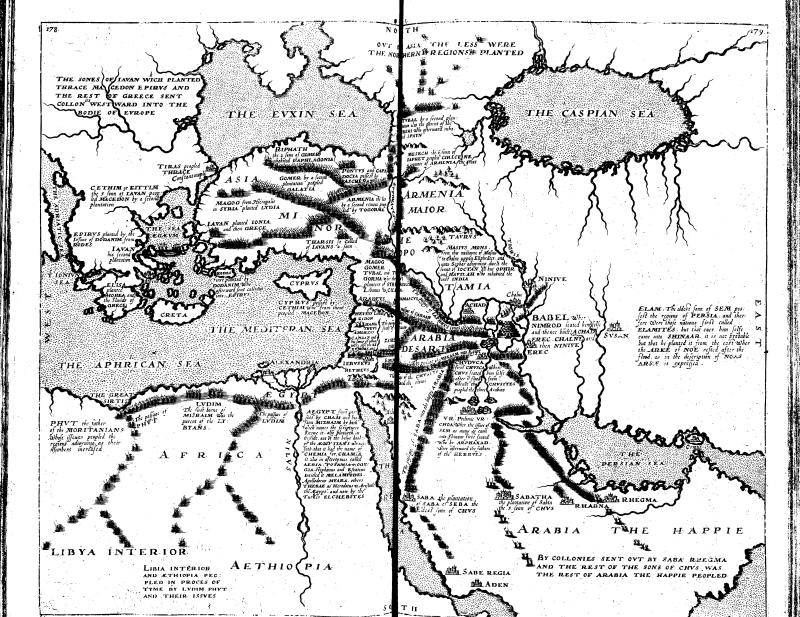
ģ.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of families to Regall, and from Regall absolute to Regall tempered with Lawes.



T followeth now to entreate how the world beganne to receive Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had fearcitie of people) vnder-went no other Dominion their Patternitie and Elderfhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeft of families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was alwaies vfed both for the Magiltrate, and for those of age and grauitie: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleuenth of Nambers God commanded Alofes to gather together 40.0. Of the Elders of the people, and Gouernours over

them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word sense or seniores doth. So it is written in sustaina, Then the Assembly beleeved them as those that were the Elders and Indiges of the people. And so in the words of those falle Indiges and with helse to Daviel, Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder. Defined by the sense which the same word for the Magistrate among the Gracians. Cieero in Cato giveth two other reasons for this appellation: And Lacedamonios qui amplissimum megistratum gerunt; ut sunt, sie etiam appellation sense. Among the Lacedamonion in the chiefe Magistrates, as they are so are they called Eldermen: and againe. Ratio of pindentia will essent in senson sunt in the chiefe of the single sense possible sense of the single control of the single cont



them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (Signor) and out of it (Seignourie) for Lordship and Dominion : signifying (according to Loy/eau) puissance in proprietie, or proper power. The kindes of this Seignourie, Seneca makes two: the one, Potestas aut imperium, Power or command : the other . Propriet as aut dominium, Proprietie or mastership: the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. Ad Cafarem (faith he) potest as omnium pertinet, ad fingulos proprietas, Cafar hath power ouer all; and enery man proprietie in his owne: and againe, Cafar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio, Cafar holdeth allin his power, and every man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase: 10 fo obedience, (the fruit of naturall renerence, which but from excellent feede feldome ripeneth) being exceedingly overshadowed with pride, and ill examples vtterly withered and fell away. And the foft weapons of paternall perfwalions (after mankinde beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giver of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to refift the first inclination of cuill, or after (when it became habituall) to constraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their owne fancies, and tost too and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wifedome was feuered from power, and strength from charitie: Necessitie (which bindeth enery nature but the immortall) made both the Necessities (I fe-Wife and Foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would be mum indicium,

and dominion preuent it. For the Mightie, who trufted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightie then themselves: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertic vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better trially no lesse perilous then an unindurable

20 come farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall floud of confusion or immutabilis promidentia powould a fecond time overflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order teller.

These Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subject themselves 30 to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Gouernement, as the change (which brought with it leffe euill, then the former mischiefes) was generally plealing: fo time (making all men wife that observe it) found some imperfection and corrofiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which invented, and the same Reason which approued sourraigne power, bethought themselties of certaine equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also difcerne her owne limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in fupreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: meafuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and cuill.

bondage.

For as wiscome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings: so the will of Kings 40 fore-went the inventions of lawes. Populus nullis legibus tenebatur : arbitria principum pro legibus erant. The people were not gouerned by any other lames then the willes of Princes: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nibil videt, Loue fees one while too much, another while starke nothing. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeares (for direction and reftraint of Royall power) Lawes were effablished : and that gouernement which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in

50 fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction. In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only: so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (faith Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia insti crant, & religionibus dediti jure habiti De aureo secule, Dij & dicti, Princes, because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called part. 1.

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Dar. 5.21.

Dan.2.v.21.

Iob. 1 ).U.21.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be cascribed to reason and necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that sirst kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and bee preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himselfe by his eternall providence having ordayned Kings; and the law of Nature leaders, and Rulers over others. For the verie Bees have their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne sateit. The moss lings be beareth rule over the Kingsomes of men; and appoint thour it whomsoever he pleaseth. By me (saith Wisedome, spoken by the Son of God) Kings raigne; by me Princes rule, and it is God (saith Daniel) that setted up Kings, and taketh awas Kings; and that this power is given from God, Christ himselse 10 witnesseth, speaking to Pilate. Thou coulded have no power at all against mee, except it

It was therefore by athreefold inftice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wir) by a inftice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their children, and nephewes, and families, in which gouernement the obedience was called naturall piete: againe, by a inftice dinine, drawne from the lawes and ordinances of God: and the obedience hereunto was called confeience; and laftly by a inftice civill, begotten by both the former: and the obedience to this we call dute: . That by the fethere those of the cledeft times were commanded: and that the rule in generall was paternall, it is most evident: for Adam being Lordo-20 uer his ownechildren, inftructed them in the service of God his Creatour; as wee reade, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankinde.

TI. Such Chile

of the three commendable forts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.



Hat other pollicie was exercifed, or state founded after such time as 30 mankinde was greatly multiplyed before the floud, it cannot bee certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable consecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many

Princes of the Azyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were before the generall floud; and very likely, that the cruell oppreffions in that age proceeded from some tyrannic in Gouernement, or from some rougher forme of

rule, then the paternall.

were given thee from above ...

Berof.Li.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the world in those dayes to the Giants of Libanus, who mastred (faith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three 40 severall forts of Gouernement were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of places and people.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernement of one, ruling by inft lawes, called Monarchie. To which Tyramie is opposed, being also a fole and also folute rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magiltrate (faith Aristotle) is the keeper of right and equitie: and of this condition ought cuery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word. Indees and Officers shall thou make thee in thy Citties: And these shall indge the people with righ-

teous indeement.

The second Gouernement is of divers principall persons established by order, and ruling by lawes, called Arisserate, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a sew great ones) is opposed: as the Determint, or Triumvint, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernement of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Othloratia*, or the turbulent vniustruling of the confused multitude, seditionally swaying the state, contrarie to their owne lawes and ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernement are briefly exprest by *Tholosenus*; *Vnius*, *pauco-rum*, *G' multorum*, *Of one*, *of sea*, *of many*.

Now as touching the beginning and order of pollicie fince the fecond increase of mankinde, the fame grew in this fort: First for all, euery Father, or eldest of the familie, gaue lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplyed into many housholds (man by nature louing societor ite) injuried their Cottages together in one common field or Village, which the Latines call Fissue; of the Greeke have, which signifies ha house, or of the word (Fizz) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called Pagus, (being a societie of diversity of the Greeke have, which signifies ha fountaine: because many people (hauing their habitations not farre a sunder) dranke of one spring or streame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires answerth not vnsith.

But as men and impietic beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride betweene the races of the one and the other daylie increased: so both to defend 20 themselues from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to ioyne and fet together divers of their Villages, inuironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being fo compaffed were then called Oppida; either ab opponendo se hostibus, Because mals were opposed against enemies, or ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence : asalfo they were called Vrbes, ab orbe; because when they were to build a Cittie. they made a Circle with a Plough (faith Varro) therewith measuring and compassfing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although Vrbs and Ciuitas be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that Vrbs fignified. no other then the very wals and buildings, and Ciutas was taken for the Cittizens, 30 inhabiting therein: fo called of Ciuis; and that, ab eo quòd multitudo coiuit, of comming together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citrizens, but only fuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Cittie may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof the rest goe under the name or fibiects, though Cittizens by the same generall name of subjects are also knowne. For euery Cittizen is also a subject, but not euery subject a Cittizen: perhaps also fome Cittizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Cittizens) is no fubicet; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) istaken à Magistro, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe Magis (as also magisteria, precepts of art) or else from the Greeke word (Megistos:) and 40 fo the Greekes call them Megislanes, whom the Latines call Magnates or Magistratus.

The office and dutie of every Magistrate Aristosle hath written in few wordes. Ethic.;

A Magistrate or Prime (saith he) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the same is best taught by St. Paul, who expresses the theoretic efficient, and sinall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordayned, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe enist, searce for Rom.13.4i he bewerth not the sword for nonght. For he is the minister of God, to take vergeance on him that doth enist. He also teacheth in the same place, That every soule ought to be V. 1. subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordayned; and that whoseour ve. 150 spliets that power, resistent God, the giver and sountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For Ibid.v. 51 yeemuit be subject (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments upon those that have resisted authoritie, by God ordayned and established. Neither ought any subject

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Gen.20.V.17.

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therefore to relift the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or crueltie: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandement of obedience is without diffinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subjected themselves to the power of Magistracie. Christ commanded that all due to Cesar should be given vnto him: and hee payed tribute for him-Hierem. 19. v.7. felfe and Peter. Hieremie commanded the Ifraelites (euen those that were captines under Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; and Iacob bleffed the King of Agypt. And it is acceptable in the light of our Sautour (faith Paul) that yee make supplications and prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie: and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more 10 for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did St. Chrysoftome in his Homilie to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernement, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should bee wanting: Prastat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum, Better a tyrannous King, then no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth. Prastat (Saith Tacitus in the first of his Historie) sub malo principe effe, quam sub nullo, It is better to have a bad Prince then none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to ferue them. Neque enim libert as tutior vlla eft (faith Claudian) quam Domino feruire bono, No libertie (faith he) more fafe for vs then to be feruants to the vertuous. And certainly howfoeuer it may be disputed, yet is it fafer to line vnder one Tyrant, then 20 vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wife man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as Agesilaus answered a Cittizen of Sparta that defired an alteration of the gouernement, That kinde of rule which a man would disdayne in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children; and as (for the reason before remembred) many housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Citties: so when these Citties and Cittizens ioyned together, and established lawes by consent, associating themselves vnder one Gouernour and gouernment, they so joyned were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; some- 30 times by the people themselues.

Q. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.



Ow this first Age after the floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and the families became strong, and dispersed into seucrall parts of the world, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couctoufneffe being as then but greene, and newly 40 growne vp, the seedes and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall,

and in the blowth and budde. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territorie then themselnes could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then fufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintayne life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And fure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly bee cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more so to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and golden Kings make good and golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both forts. And as the infancic of Empiric, (when Princes played their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might bee

called the golden Age: fo may the beginning of all Princes times bee truly called golden, for be it that men affect honour it is then best purchased; or if honour affeet men, it is then that good deferuings have commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her bankes and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by pollicie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and thrinke the openest and most touial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compaffionate themselues. And although there bee no Kings vinder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things

10 by their ownerespects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times injurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the raigne of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes bee many : for our younger yeares are our golden Age; which being caten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeede) the grieuous alterations in our felues, and the paines and difeases which never part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing : especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just socuer. Fit humana maligni- Tacit.in Dial. tatis vitio, vt semper vetera in laude, prasentia in fastidio sint, It comes to passe (saith Ta-de Orat.

20 citus) by the vice of our malignitic, that we alwaies extell the time past, and hold the present fastidious: Foritis one of the errours of wayward age. Quod sint laudatores temporis acti, That they are prayers of forepassed times, forgetting this adulis of Salomon. Say Eccles; not then why is it that the former dayes were better then these ? for thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing : to which purpose Seneca. Maiores no stri que sti sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, eucr sos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omne nef as labi, Our Ancesters have complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all thinges grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. These are the viuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius, Nouares quando gretus Arnobias

30 fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus capit noua fuit & repentina, What soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest thinges when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden, this wee may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of subjects to Princes : so (relatiucly) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselues, but even to the meanest of his Creatures. Xunquam will 6.7. particulari bono seruit omne bonum, The infinite goodnesse of God dothnot attend any one

40 only: for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For Potest as humanaradicatur in voluntatibus hominum, All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of

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Of the beginning of Nobilities: and of the vaine vaunt thereof



Nd with this fupreme Rule and Kingly authoritic beganne also other degrees and differences among fubicets. For Princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselues were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, truft, and power. From which imployments and offices fprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which 10

Verus nobilis haue continued from age to age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference non na scitter from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of bloud, but to fuccession of vertue, as hereafter may bee proued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers : and so there needed then no endeauour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily defcended. Yet hereofhad Nobilitie denomination in the beginning, That fuch as excelled others in vertue were so called. Hine dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute pra alis notabilis. But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his posteritie, St. Hierome judged of the succession in this manner. Wihil 20 aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent, I fee no other thing to be affected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessitie bound not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters. For if Nobilitie be virtus & antique diuitta, Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceede in all those thinges which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to L. Vines) be a witnesse of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after Plutarch) the continuance of vertue in a race or linage: then are those in whom vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship in steade of Christ, our 30 Ladie, and other Saints: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient vertue: Flowers, and hearbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to weedes. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne soule, filthie, and defiled? Externa fertili productur aliquando cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum, Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes porsoning benbane : and out of barren foile pretious gold. For as all thinges confift of matter and forme, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the race and linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be vertue, and qualitie, profitable to the Commonweale. For hee is truly and entirely 40 Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publike vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our felues acquire by our vertue and well descruings) cannot bee ballanced with that which is both naturall by descent, and also personall; yet if vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (faith this Charron) this Honour (to wit) by descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with filuer or fauour: and these beindeede but Honours of affection, which Kinges with the change of 50 their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off againe. But furely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we have of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without vertue) to be shame and dishonour, then Noblenesse, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

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What calamitie is wanting (faith BERNARD) to him that is borne in sinne, of a potsbare Bernard 1. 2. de body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father.) Dele freum fugacis hono- confider ad Euris huius, & male coronat anitorom gloria, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting ho- got ap. nour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maiest consider thy felfe nakedly : for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myter, or gliffening with Iewels, or garnifhed with filkes, or adorned with feathers, or stuffed with gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will foone paffe over, thou shalt meete with a naked, and poore, and wretched, and miferable man, and blufhing, because he is naked, and weeping because 10 he is borne, and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if thou doeft not believe (faith S. CHRYSOSTOME) looke into the Sepulchers chrisoft homil's and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily per swade thee by their owne example, de incomposita that thou art dust and dirt : so that if man seeme more Nobie and be autifull then dust, this con,5 proceedeth not from the diversitie of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly line: For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is divine.

Phaer.

And how focuer the custome of the world have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth vpon vnworthy iffues: yet Salomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes. There is an euill (saith he) that I have feene under the Eccles ic. Sunne, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Follie is fet in great excellencie >.

CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memorable thinges about those times.

That NIMROD was the first after the floud that raignedlike foueraigne Lord: and that his beginning feemeth to have beene of just authoritie.



HE first of all that raigned as soucraigne Lord after the floud was Nimrod, the Sonne of Culb, distinguished by Moles from the rest (according to S. Augustine) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because he was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others : or elfe in that he was begotten by Chulb, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howfocuer, feeing Moles in expresse wordes calleth Nimrod the Sonne of Chulb, other mens conjectures to the contrarie

ought to have no respect. This Empiric of Wimrod, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall the same beginning in Babel, (which is) confusion.

But it feemeth to mee that Melanchton conceived not amiffe hereof; the fame exposition being also made by the Authour of that worke called Onomasticum Theologicum, who affirmes that Nimrod was therefore called Amarus Dominator, A bitter or Jeuere Gouernour, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called amightic hunter: because he tooke and destroied both beasts and theeues. But S. Augustine vnderstands it otherwise, and converts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that Wimrod was a mightie hunter against God, Sicergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, venator contra Dominum, So is that Giant to be anderflood, a hunter against the Lord. But howfoeuer this word (a mightie hunter) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as 10 Nimrod had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into Shinaar: fo, this charge was rather given him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found, that Noah himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into Babylonia: no mention at all being made of Noah (the yeares of his life excepted) in the succeeding Storie of the Hebrewes: nor that Sem was in this disobedient troupe, or among the builders of Babel.

The same is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that Nimrod, Suphne, and loctan were the Captaines and leaders of all those which came from the East. And though Sem came not himselfe so farre West as Shinaar (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his sonnes Nephew Heber, the name and nation of the He- 20 brewes (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of Chaldan about the Citie of Vr; from whence Abraham was by

God called into Charran, and thence into Canaan.

And because those of the race of Sem which came into Chaldea were no partners in the vnbeleeuing worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to Noah; and Noah to Semand his iffues. In familia HEBER remansit heclingua, In the family of HEBERthis language remained (saith S. Augustine out of Eviphanius;) and this language Abraham vsed: yea it was anciently and before the floud the generall speech; and therefore first called (faith Calestinus) lingua humana; 20 the humane tongue.

We know that Goropius Becamus following Theodoret, Rabbi Mofes, Agyptias, Vergara, and others, is of an other opinion; but how soener we determine of this point. we may with good probabilitie resolue, that none of the godly seede of sem were the chiefe leaders of this prefumptuous multitude. And feeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that Nimrod rather had it by just authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

That NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS were three diffinct perfons.



EN 20, and out of him Nanclerus with others make many Nimrods. Eufebius confounds him with Belus; and so doth S. Hierome vpon Ofe: and these words of S. Angustine seeme to make him of the same opinion. Ibi autem NINVs regnabat post mortem patris sui BELII, qui primus illic regnauerat 63. annos; There did NINVs raigne after the death

of his father BELVS, who first governed in Babylon sixtie fue yeares. But it could not be viknowne to S. Augustine, that Namrod was the establisher of that Empire: Moles being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of NIMR ODS Kingdome (faith 50 he) was BABEL, EREC, ACCAD, and CHALNE, in the land of Shinaar: Wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainely it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by Clement) Suppofed: for in Ninus time the world was marueiloufly replenished. And if S. Augustine

had vindoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather then have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. Augustine (qui primus illic regnaneral, sicho was the first that raigned there) supposed to be meant by Belius: those words doe not disproue that Nimrod was the founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Inlines Cafar ouerthrew the libertie of the Romane Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetuall Dictator, yet Augustus was the first established Emperour: and the first that raisned absolutely by sourraigne authoritie ouer the Romanes, as an Emperour. The like may be faid of Nimrod, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and paternities laying the foundation of four aignerule, as Cafar did; and yet Bolus was the first. who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. Pererius is of opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the fame, because many thinges are faid of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200, yeares after the floud (as they account) that Below raigned : but fuch agreement of times proues it not. For fo Edward the third, and his grand-child Richard the fecond, were Kings both in one yeare : the

And yet the opinion (that Nimred and Belus were one) is farre more probable then that of Mercator, who makes Ninus and Ninirod to be the fame. For it is plaine that the beginning of Nimrods Kingdome was Bakel, and the Townes adjoyning: 20 but the first and most famous worke of Ninus was the Cittle of Winiue.

one dyed; the other in the same yeare was crowned King.

Now whereas D. Siculus affirmeth that Ninus overcame and Supprest the Babylonians, the same rather proueth the contrarie, then that Ninus and Nimrod were one person. For Ninus established the seate of his Empire at Ninue in Allyria, whence the Babylonians might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience. whom he recourred againe by strong hand; which was case: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

> Dicitur altain Cottilibus muris cinxisse SEMPRAMAS Vibemi

SEMIRAMIS with wals of bricke the Citie did incloses went

Further where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mightic: fo Infline hath the fame of Winus, which is one of Mercators arguments; It may be answered. that fuch an addition might have beene given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may believe tustime; then were Vexoris King of Agapt, and Tanais of Seythia mightic Kings before Ninus was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of Mofes (touching Nimrod) with the vndertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference betweenethem. For whereas Mercator conceineth, that it was too early 40 for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages to have invaded and mastered those Citties so farre removed from Babel; namely Erec, Accad, and Chalne: which worke he therefore afcribeth to Ainus, as a man of the greatest vindertaking: and confequently would have Named to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of Nimbod and Ninus to belong to one person, to wit, to Ninus: to these thinges to make some answere. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That ever Nimred invaded any of these Cities; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Citties in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from Babylon, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citrle of Accad which the Septungint cals Archard, and Epiphanius Arphal; Junius takes to be Nisibis in Mesopotamia: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (faith he) call Accabene for Accadene. Others understand Nisibis and Ninine to bee one Cittie : fo

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doe Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran; but all mistaken. For Nijibis, Accad, and Charran are diffinet places. Though I cannot denie Accadene to be a Region of Melopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus out of S. Hierome cals Achad: and so doe the Hebrewes also call 20 islibis, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Cittie of Erec, which the Septuagint call Orech, S. Augustine Oreg, and Pagninus Erec, this place Iunius vnderstands for Aracca in Susiana: but there is also a Cittie in Comagena called Arace: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the affistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third Cittie (called Chalneh) some take it for Calinisis: of which Am. Marcellinus. S. Hierome takes it for Seleucia; Hierofolymitanus for Ctefiphon: others 10 doe thinke it to be the Agrani vpon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Persians. But let Mo(es be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Citties are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these behis wordes. And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar : fo as in this Valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldea (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with Viterbien is, that these foure made but one Babyion, then that they were Citties farre remoued, and in feuerall Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precisely distinguish Chalne from Babylon. Goe you (faith A MOS) to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims. The Geneua transla- 20 tion favouring the former opinion, to let these Citties out of Shinaar, hath a marginall note expressing that Shinaar was here named: not that all these Citties were therein seated, but to distinguish Babylon of Chaldea, from Babylon in Agypt; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrods Empire there was no fuch Babylon, nor any Cittie at all to be found in £gypt : Baby lon of Ægypt being all one with the great Cittie of Cairo, which was built long after, not farre from the place where flood Memphis the ancient Cittie, but not so ancient as Babylon vpon Euphrates. Now that Chaine is fituate in the Valley of Shinaar, it hath beene formerly project in the Chapter of Paradife. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrarie, from the remote lituation of these three Cit- 30 ties from Babylon, we may continue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, were diftinet and fucceffiue Kings.

That NIMROD, not Assyn, built Niniue and that it is probable out of Esxy 23.13. that Assva built Vr of the Chaldees.

Ow as of Nimrod: so are the opinions of writers different touching Assur, and touching the beginning of that great state of Babylon and 40 All prior and touching the beginning of that great-Asice of Baopinnian All prior a controuerfic wearifomly diffuted without any direct proofs, conclusion, or certaintic. But to me (of whome, where the Scriptures are filent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disloyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this fort he connerteth the Hebrew Text. Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; è terra hac processit m Affyriam vbi adificauit Niniuen: (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdome, was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar : and hee went forth of this land into Affyria, and built Niniue. So as Iunius takes Affur in this place, not for any 50 person, but for the Region of Assyria: the land being so called in Moses time, and beforeit. For certainly the other construction, (where the word ( Allur ) is taken for Affur the Sonne of Sem) doth not answer the order which Moles observeth through all the Bookes of Genesis, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the

tenth Chapter he setteth downethe Sonnes of Noah in these wordes. Non these are the Generations of the Sonnes of NOAH: SEM, HAM, and IAPHETH, unto whom Sonnes were borne after the floud: then it followeth immediately. The Sonnes of I A-PHETH were GOMER, &c. fo as Inpheth is last named among Noahs sonnes, bee hee eldeft or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (hauing last named him) hee proceeds and fets downe his iffue, and then the iffue of his fonnes: first, the iffue of Gomer, Japheths eldest sonne; and then speakes of Jauan and his fonnes: for of the rest of that familie heeis silent. Anon after hee numbreth the Sonnes of Ham, of which Culb was the eldelt : and then the fonnes of Culb and Mizto raim; and afterward of Canaan; leaving Shem for the last, because he would not disjoyne the Storie of the Hebrewes. But after he beginneth with Sem, he continueth

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from thence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, vnto Abraham, and fo to Jacob, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sonnes of Shess in the middle of the generations of Ham, had been eagainst order; neither would Moses haue past ouer so slightly the erection of the Assiran Empire, in one of the sonnes of shem, if he had had any fuch meaning: it being the storic of shems sonnes which he mostattended. For hec nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the Sonnes of Culb, because he founded the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire; and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of Babel in particular, having formerly named 20 it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Citties which Nimred founded in Shingar. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, fo also in the eleuenth he maketh no report of Shem, till fuch time as he had finished so much of Nimrod as he meant to touch; and then he beginneth with the iffue of Shem, which hee continueth to Abraham and I/rael. And of Iunius opinion touching Affur, was Caluin: to which I conceive that P.Commestor in historia Scholastica gaue an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes. Vel intelligendum non est de Assyr. filio SEM. &c. sed AssvR (idest) Regnum Assvruminde egressum est, quod tempore SARVG proavi ABRAHAMI factumest, (which is) Or elect is not to be understood of Assur the Sonne of SEM, &c. but Assur (that is the Kingdome of the Affrians)

20 came from thence (videlicet from Babylon) or was made out of it : which happened in the time of SARVG the great grand-father of ABRAHAM. After which he reconcileth the differences in this fort: If you take the ancient Belus (meaning Nimrod) to bee the first erector of the Assyrian Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true quantumad initium, respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true quantum adregni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of Epiphanius, confirmed by Cedrenus, who takes Affur to be the fonne of Nimrod: and fo doth Methodius, and Viterbienlis. S. Hierome and Cyrillus, and now lastly Torniellus: who faith hee tooke Torniell. Annat. vpon him that name of Assurafter he had beaten the Assyrians, as Scipio did of A- fact. in Gen. 19-

40 fricanus after his conquest in Africa: and that Assur was a common name to the Kings of Affyria, asit appeareth by many Scriptures, as Pfalme 81. Efay 10.0/e 5. 60c. but to helpe the matter he makes Nimrod of the race of Shem, and the sonne of Irari. But Rabanus Maurus, who was Arch-Bilhop of Mentz in the yeare of Christ 854. an ancient and learned writer, vnderstands this place with Commestor, or Commestor with him, agreeing in Substance with that translation of Junius: to which wordes of Moses he giueth this sense. De hac terra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELI fili, Ninum condiderunt, orbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Assyrians, who built Ninus the great Cittie, so named of NINVs the sonne of BELVS. On the contrarie Caluin objecteth this place of Efay. Behold the land of 23.11.

50 the Chaldaans, this was no people, Assva founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderneffe; then which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diversitie in the translation and vnderstanding; insomuch as Michael de Palatio vpon Esay (though in all elfe very diligent) passeth it ouer. But Caluin seemeth hereby to inferre, that begause Affur founded the state of the Chaldrans, therefore also Affur ra-

ther then Nimrod established the Affyrian Empire, and built Nimue: contrarie to the former translation of Junius, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the Vulgar, (called Hieromes translation) it may bee gathered that Assure both founded and ruined this estate or Cittie of the Chaldaans, by E/ay remembred: vnto which Cittie people or state, hee plainly telleth the Tyrians that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Cittle of Chaldaa, and that estate, an example vnto those Phanicians, whom in this place hee fore-telleth of their ruine; which Cittie of Chaldea being of Arength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the Affyrians vtterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Cittle of Tyre, 10 (inuincible, as themselves thought) should also soone after bee overturned by the fame Affyrians: as (indeede) it was by Nabuchodonofor. And thefe be the words after Hierome. Ecce terra Chaldaorum, talis populus non fuit, Assva fundauit eam, in captinitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam, (which is) Behold the land of the Chaldeans, fuch a people there were not (or this was no people, after the Geneua) Assva (or the Affyrians) founded it, they carried away their strong men captine, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Cittie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes. Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit, making the sense perfect by the preceding Veric, which all together may be thus vnderstood. If thou goe over 20 to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest, (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the land of the Chaldwans, for this is made desolate by the Assirians, because their walles fell together to the ground. Pagninus and Vatablus convert it thus. Ecceterra Chasaim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assva fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eum in ruinam: which may bee thus Englished. Behold the land of the Chaldaans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assva built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it. Iunius in the place of ships sets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians : and the Geneua, by the Barbarians. But this is vndoubted that the Prophet Esay (as may be gathered by all the sense of the chapter) 30 did therein affure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) hee maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Citties, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharfis; from the Macedonians. and other Gracians under the name of Cittim; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the Mart Towne of the world most renowned. And (as it appeares in our discourse of Paradise) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Cittie Vr or Vrchoa in Chaldea, where the body or chiefe fireame of Euphrates (euen that streame which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tigris) had his passage into the Persian Gulfe: though now 40 it be stopped vp. For (as we have heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from Sheba and Raamah) dwelling on the East bankes of the Persian Gulfe, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chalne did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of Tigris, that is, from Teredon, and of Euphrates, that is, from Vr or Vrchoa: and then by Babylon, and thence by River and over Land they conveyed it into Syria, and so to Tyre: as they doe this day to Aleppo. So then Vr of the Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Citties which had intelligence, trade, and exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of Chaldea, through which that part of Euphrates ranne, which paffage is now fropt vp. Eins curfum vetustas aboleuit (faith Niger.) And Plinie, locus voi Euphratis ostium fuit, slumen salsum, 50 Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was is a Bay of falt water. These thinges being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) wee may expound the Cittie of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here noteth for terrour of the Tyrians, to be the Cittie anciently called Fr; and (by Hecataus)

Camerina; by Ptolomie Vrchoa: and by the Greeks Chaldeopolis, The Cittie of Chaldea: which the Sonnes of Shem vntill Abrahams time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that Assur both founded it and ruined it: it may bee vnderstood, that Affur the Founder was the sonne of Shem; and Affur the destroiers were the Assyrians, by whom those that inhabited Vr of Chaldra, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine : which thing God fore-seeing commanded Abraham thence to Charran, and so into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Pagninus conucrted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne; and the River so farre vp as this Cittie of Vr was in ancient time nauigable, as both by Plinie and Niger appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vinto it. For Chaldea is now called diachaldar, which fignifieth desertlands, because it iowneth to that part of Arabia so called: and Cicero (calling those Arabians by the name of Itureans) addeth that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them hornines omnium maxime barbaros.

So as this place of Elay, which breedeth some doubt in Caluin, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of Iu-20 nius, northeinterpretation of Comestor and Rabanus. For though other men haue not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that Affur is in this place diverfly taken (as for the fonne of Sem, when he is spoken of as a builder of Vr: and when as a destroyer thereof, then for the Affyrian Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this founding of the Cittie of the Chaldees by Allur (into which the most of the posteritie of Sems that came into Shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the Chusites and Nimrodians, retyred themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same Assur built Niniue, or that the same Assur was all one with Ninus; except wee will make Assur, who was the sonne of Shem, both an Idolater, and the sonne of Belus. For (out of 20 doubt) Winus was the first notorious facrificer to Idols;& the first that fet vp a Statue to be honoured as God. Now if Affar must bee of that race, and not of the familie of Sem, as he must be if he founded Winine, then all those which seeke to give him the honour thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more injurie, by taking from him

his true Parent and Religion. Besides, if this supposed Asur whom they make the Founder of Niniue (and so the sonne of Belus) were any other, and not the same with Ninus; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Cittie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to pofteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire agains or quitted it to Ni-40 nus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore bee found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authours, that Nimred founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the hirst workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moses, and that these works being finished within the Valley of Shinaar, hee looked farther abrode, and set in hand the worke of Ninus, lying neare vnto the same streame that Babel and Chalne did : which worke his grand-child Ninus afterward amplified and finished as Semiramis (this Ninus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to passe; that as Semiramis was counted the Foundreffe of the Cittie which shee only finished : so also Ninus of Ni-50 nine. Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare, Shee might repaire or renew Babylon, faith S. Augustine. For fo did Nabuchodonosor vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of

Babylon also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall ouerborne by the furie

of the River: which worke of his food till Alexanders time, whereupon he vaunted

thus. Is not this great Babel which I have built?

Dan.4.27.

Of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as farre as now they are known.



Vt to returne to the storie, it is plaine in Moses, that Nimrod (whom Philo interpreteth transfugium; and Iulius Africanus furnamed Saturne) was the chablisher of the Babylonian Monarchie, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning confisted of those foure Citties before remembred, Babel, Erec, Accad, and 10

Chaine: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into Assyria; and in Assyria built foure more Citties (to wit) Niniue, Rehoboth, Celah, and Refen. And seeing that he spent much time in building Babel it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into Shinaar: that worke of Babel (fuch as it was) with the other three Citties, and the large foundation of Niniue, and the other Citties of Affyria which he builded (confidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his fucceffours in many yeares after: to whose vndertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (faith Glycas) all these Nations 20 were called Meropes, a fermonis linguarum terrag, divisione, By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or Bel, or Iupiter Belus, fucceeded Nimrod, after he had raigned 1 14 yeares; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in diffourdening the low lands of Babylon, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouerflowne Marishes which adjoyned vnto it. For any of his warres or conquests there is no report, other then of his begunne enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those parts of Scythia which Berofus cals Seythia Saga, whose Sonne and Successour Barzanes became subject and Tributarie to Ninus, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father Be- 30 his begunne.

That wee are not to mermaile how fo many Kingdomes could bee erected about these times: and of VEXORIS of Egypt, and TANAIS of Scythia.



Hat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the world so soone after Nimrod, (as by the storie of Ninus is made ma- 40 nifest) the causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull bestoweth on her first entertainers many times more bene-

fits, then either Fortune can, or Wisedome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or with for: fo as every leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they posses, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankinde straggled abroade like beasts in a Defert; but that by a- 50 greement they disposed themselves, and vndertooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the world, and by diffinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were peopled in Ninus time, would not have beene possest in many hundreds of yeares after, as then they

#### of the Historie of the World. CHAP.10. S.6.

were; neither did those that were sent, and trauailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vndertake so difficult enterprises without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of Wimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitic resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the haruest of their owne trauailes : nor those which were of little strength, secure themselues against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatnesse, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne ministers

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and conquests of Ninus (the sonne of Belus) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarches, what way focuer his Ambition led him in the warres.

But Nimrod (his grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him soueraignetic and sole commandement of all those the children of Noah, which came from the East into Babylonia: though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. Below (his sonne and fucceffour) found Sabatius King of Armenia and Scythia, fufficiently powerfull to refift his attempts: which Sabatius I take to be the same, which Iustine cals Tanais; 20 and should conjecture, that Mizrain had been his Vexoris, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour, (as Iustine placeth him) in the time of that Fexoris, who see more of by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned Reineceius all one with the great Sefostris, that lived certaine ages after Ninus. 6.6. This Belus, the fecond King of Babylon, raigned 65. yeares, according to the common account.

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Of the name of BELVS, and other names affine unto it.



Hence this fecond King and Successour of Nimrod had the name of Bel, or Belus, question hath beene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, then assumed by Belus

Cyrillus against Iulian cals the Father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of Belus be thence derived. But Bel, as many learned writers have observed, signifieth the Sunne in the Chaldran tongue; and therefore did Ninus and Semiramis give that name to their Father, that hee might be honoured as 40 the Sunne, which the Babylonians worshipped as a God. And as this title was affumed in after-times by divers others of the Chaldean Princes, and Babylonian Satrapa: fo was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the Carthaginians and other Nations, as fome Historians have conceived.

To this Bel, or Belus, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voices of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelphagor, Belfebub, and Beelfephon. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean convert the word Baal by the Latine Princeps militia, Chiefe in the warre, though Daniel was so called (faith S v 1 D A s) ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum, In honour of his expounding fecrets. S. Hierome makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the same Hier in Ofe. e. t. fignification: and faith, that the Idoll of Babylon was fo called, which Ninus in me-50 morie of his Father fet vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offendors. Hence (faith Lyranus) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the world. Isidore Lyrin (avien.

doth interprete Bel by Vetus, old or ancient; adding, that as among the Allyrians it is Salom, c. 11. taken for Saturne and the Sunne: foin the Punick or Carthaginian language it fignifi- 1fid.18.c.114

Hieron in Ofe.

Diod.l.3.

eth God. Glycas makes it an Affyrian name properly; and 10fephus a Tyrian. He alfo affirmeth that the Idoll which the Moabites worthipped (by them erected on the mountaine Phegor, or Peor, and called Baal) is the same which the Latines call Priapus, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of S. Hierome. But that the word Bel, or Beel, was as much to fay as God, appeareth by the word Beelzebub, the Idoll of Accaron. For Bel, or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the Iewes expresse the Prince of Deuils. But the Prophet Ofe teacheth vs the proper fignification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (faith the Lord) thou shalt call me I s H I, and shalt call me no more BAALIM: for I will take away the name of BAALIM out of their mouthes. For al- 10 though the name of Baal, or Bahal, be infilly to be yied towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the vling of the word Bel among the Chaldeans for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, tanquam Solis particula. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred) as Belphegor, and Belsephon; Belsephon is expounded out of FAGIVS, Dominus Specula vel custodia, The Lord of the watch-tower or of the guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written Belpeor, or Baalpeor: and Peor (they fay) is as much as Denudauit; and therefore the word iovned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this Belus, the sonne of Sa- 20 turne: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father Saturne, the Sonne Author. desquis Inpiter, and the grand-child Hercules. SATVRNI dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui vrbescondiderunt senisimi; primogeniti corum I o ves & I v no nes; Her-CVLES veromepotes corum fortisimi, The ancientest of Noble families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called SATVRNES; their first borne IVPITERS and IVNOES; their valiant Nephewes HERCVLES. But this Belus (faith L.Viues) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne Ninus, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of Iupiter Babylonius, whom the Egyptians (transported by the dreames of their antiquitie) make one of theirs. For Neptune (fay they) ypon Libya the Daughter of Epaphus begat this Inpiter Belus, who was Father to Agyptus. They 30 adde, that this Belus carrying a Colonie to the River of Euphrates there built a Cittie, in which he ordained Priests after the Agyptian manner. But were there any Belus the sonne of Epaphus and Isis, or of Neptune and Libya, or (with Eusebius) of Telegonus, who after the death of Apis married Iss, (Cecrops then raigning in Athens) the same was not this Babylonian Belus of whom we speake, but rather some other Belus, of whom the Agyptians fo much vaunted.

VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begunne from BELVS in Babel.



S for the Babylonian Belus, he was the most ancient Belus, and the Inuentour of Astronomic, if Plinie say true : from whence the Egyptians might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the fame Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

ARBELVS,

Strabe.l.1 3.c.3.

Of the Sepulcher of Belus, Strabo writeth thus. Ouer the River (faith he) there are gardens, where they fay the ruines of BELVS his Tombe, which XERXES brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of bricke, a furlong high, and on 50 Las. cont. Julian. enery fide it had a furlong in breadth. It appeares by Cyril against Iulian, that hee obtained divine worthip yet living: for fo hee writes of him (calling him Arbelus.) ARBELVS, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: perseuer arunt igitur Asyrij, & finitima illis gentes sacriscantes ei.

CHAP.10. \$.7. of the Historie of the World.

ARBELVS, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was euer honoured by their subjects with title of Dettie; (or with the name of God) The Assyrians therefore and the bordering Nations have perseuered, sacrificing to him. Even Arius alfo, whom Suidas cals Thuras, who fucceeded next after Ninyas, was made an Idoll-God among them, if we credit Suidas.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninyas) Thur as raigned (faith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of tharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to Caucasus of the stocke of Iapheth slue him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; thus farre Suidas. Neito ther is it vnlikely but that many among idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statue were first creeted without divine worship; only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceineth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wodden and brazen carcases, when posteritie had lost the memorie of their first invention. Hereof Isidor speaketh in this manner. Quos autem Pagani Deos afferunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniufcuiuf quita meritis vel magnificentia, coliapud suos post mortem caperunt: sed (damonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honor auerunt, minores Deos existim arunt: a lista verò magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta, They were men (faith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods: and every 20 one for his merits or magnificence beganne after his death to bee honoured of his owne But at length (the Deuils per swading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious,

And that the worthipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heather Nations, it is not Isidore alone that witneffeth; but Gregorie : Gentilitas (faith hee) Greenegar inuentrix & caput of imaginum, Gentilisme is the inventresse and ground of images : and Ambros, in plat, Ambrose; Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei, The Gentils adore wood as it 108. were the image of God. Eufebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping Eufeb. 1.7. c. 18; of images a cultome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath S. Augustine against Aug. 6.13. 30 Adimantus. Et verentur (saith LACTANTIVS) ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant Latt. lac.;

quod adorent, They feare their religion would be vaine, should they not fee that which they

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For feeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian fatisfie it felfe with the diffinction of Doulia and Hyperdoulia, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures have not only nowhere warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and curfed the practifers thereof. 40 Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was fo strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the

expresse Commandement of God himselfe, Thou shalt not make any grauen image, nor all the threatnings of Moss and the Prophets after him could remoue, weede it, or by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we finde wordes of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these? Take therefore good heede to your felues (for yee faw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horch out of the midst of the fire) that yee corrupt not your selues, and make you a grauen image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likenesse of Mule or

And besides the expresse Commandement, Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, 50 and the prohibition in many Scriptures, fo it is written in the booke of Wifedome. That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life : for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the wor-

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that Moses spake of images of the liuing God, and not of Baal and the rest of that nature, for you faw no image (faith Mo-SES) that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently said of Basil, Noli aliquam in illo formamimaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua, Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, least thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too. Now, if the great Basil thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him under the greazie penfill of a painter, or the ruftic axe or other inftrument of a Carpenter or Carner?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in Ba- 10 bel: fo did the Deuill transport and speede this invention into all the Regions ad-

ioyning, and into Ægypt and Greece.

The Romanes for a while relifted the crection of these Idols and Images, refusing to fet them in their Temples for 170. yeares, observing therein the Law of Numa: who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But Tarquinius Priscus afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the Gracians (a Nation of all others under the Sunne most deluded by Sathan) set up the images of their Gods; which (as St. Augustine witnesseth) that learned Varro both bewailed, and vtterly condemned : and which Seneca thus derideth. Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hac suspiciant, fabros 20 qui illa fecere contemnunt, The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray onto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the handi-craft men that made them : which also Sedulius the Poet in this fort

> Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suuma, Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur. Quis furor est? qua tanta animos dementialudit? Vt volucrem, turpemá, bouem, toruumá, Draconem, Semi-hominemá, canem supplex homo pronus adoret:

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And confecrate dumbe Idols in their heart. Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise, And feare the worke of their owne hands and art. What furie? what great madneffe doth beguile Mens minds ? that man should vgly shapes adore, Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuise was barbarous, and first, and many yeares practised by Heathen Nations onely, till the Iewes were corrupted in £gypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but Instin Martyr remembreth how the Sibyls inneighed against Images: and Hospinian, how Sophocles taught, that it was pernitious to the foules of men to erect and adore those bables. Strabo and Herodotus witnesse, that the Persians did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. Lycurgus neuer taught it the Lacedemonians, but thought it impietie to represent immortall natures by mortall figures. Eusebius also witnesseth in his fixt booke de praparatione Euangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in Serica, 50 or among the Brachmans in India, that Images should be worshipped. The same do Tacitus and Crimitus report of the ancient Germans. Many other Authors might be remembred that witnesse the disdaine which the Heathen themselues had of this childish Idolatrie : of which Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract de origine

imaginum. And it was truly faid, Omnia mala exempla bonis inities orta funt, All ill examples have forung from good beginnings. The Heathen at first made these Statue and Images, but in memoric of fuch remarkable men, as had descrued best of their countrics and commonwealthes: Effigies hominum (faith Plinie) non folebant exprimi nife aliana illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembred. And though of the more ancient Papiftes, some have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appeareth in Lactantius ) that defence for Images: That Simulachra are pro elemen: is literarum, vt per ea discerent homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them

10 the Heathen faid) are in stead of letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuifible God: in which understanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them then pictures indeed; yet as that of Baal or Bel fet vp in memorie of Belus the Babylonian became afterwards the most reuerenced Idoll of the world, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away: fo those very stockes and stones, and painted canuales (called the pictures of Christ, our Ladie, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. On these stockes we call (faith the booke of Wifedome ) when we paffe through the raging waves, on thefe flockes

more rotten then the ship that carrieth us.

20 This Heathen inuention of Images became fo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to diffinguish them into degrees and orders; as Dij Consentes, seu maiorum gentium; selecti, Patritij, insigniores, dij medij : Counselling Gods, or Gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, select Gods, Patrian, Gods of marke, and common Gods ( which the Romanes called Medioxumi ) dij infimi, and terrestriall Heroes, and multitudes of other Gods: of which S. Augustine hath made large mention in his booke de Cinitate Dei. But (saith Lactantius) among all those Lib. 14. miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did Epimenides Cretensis (by what good Angell moved I know not) crect in the Athenian fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedi-

30 cation even to the times of S. Paul: who made them first knowe to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their cies which were capable of grace, that they might discerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth enery man, and the obfcure and stinking mist wherein the Deuill had so many yeares led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these Gods was so great in generall, or that eueric Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them; as Iupiter in Creete, Isis in Agypt, in Athens Minerva, in Samos Iuno, in Paphos Venus, and so of all other parts; but every Citie, and almost every familie had a God a-part. For as it is written in the second of kings: the men of Babel, made Succoth Benoth, and the men C.17, v.18.3t. of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Albima, and the Auins made Nib-

40 haz aud Tarrak, and the Sephernaims burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech. All which how plainly hath the Prophet Efat derided? Men cut downe trees, rinde them. burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themselues by the fire thereof. and of the residue hee maketh a God, an Idoll, and prayeth unto it : but God hath shut their eyes from light, and their heartes from understanding, It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleeue the commandements of God so direct against I dolatrie, to belecue the Prophets, and to beleeue Saint Paul: who speaketh thus plainely and seelingly. My beloued flie from Idolatrie, I speake as unto them which have understanding, CA4: sudge yee what I say.

ò. VIII.

Of the warres of NINVS: and lastly of his warre against ZOROASTER.

Nto this Belus fucceeded Nimus, the first that commaunded the ex-

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ercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously inuaded his neighbour Princes; and the firft that without fhame or feare committed adultery in publique. But as of Belus there is no certaine memorie (astouching particulars:) fo of this Ninus (whose Story is gathered out of to prophane Authours) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may bee disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that peece of Berofus set out and commented upon by Annius hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as Chytraus noteth) to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halycarnassaus, and others: yet Lodouicus Viues, B. Rhenanus, and others after them have layed open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proning directly that it cannot beethe same Berofus which lived in Alexanders time, cited by Athenaus and Joseph cont. Ap. Iosephus: and whose Statue the Athenians erected, faith Plinie. Yetitis from him chiefely, that many have gathered the succession of the Babylonian and Assyrian Princes, euen from Nimrod to the eightenth King Ascatades, and to the times of Iosua. 20 For of Metasthenes an Historian, of the race of the Persian Priests, there are found but certaine papers, or some fewe lines of the Chaldean and Assyrian Monarchies: but hee afterwards in the collection of the Persian Kinges is not without his cr-

Ctesias of Cnidus (a Cittie adioyning to Halicarnassus) who lined together with Cyrusthe yonger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his History out of the Persian Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as Ninus and Semiramis: and though in the Story of Cyrus the yonger Xenophon approueth him in some things, and Atheneus Pausanias and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whome hee lived, and so incredible are the numbers 30 which he findes in the Armies of Winus, and especially of Semiramis; as what soener his reportes were, times have confumed his workes, fauing some very few excerpti-

ons lately published. And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgement, I will passe ouer the acts of this third Asyrian, in as few wordes as I can expresse them. S. Augustine affirmes that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue India, Bactria, and Arabia. For hee made Ariens of Arabia the companion of his conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people and was his kinsman, and a Chuste, and the nearest Prince confronting Babylonia. His first enterprise was 40 vpon Syria, which hee might easily subdue, both because hee inuaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the Arabians and their King Aricus (which bordered Syria) affisted him in the conquest thereof.

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his warre against Zoroaster : for from Armenia hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the leffer Asia, I doe not beleeue, for none of his fucceffours had any poffession therein.

His third warre was against Pharnus, King of the Medes, whom it is said that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his feuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee invaded Zoroaster be- 50 fore the building or amplifying of Niniue, or after, it is vncertaine. It is faid that he made two expeditions into Bactria: and that finding little or ill fuccesse in the first he returned, and set the worke of Winiue forward: and then a second time entred Bactria with 1700000. foote, and 200000. horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Cha-

riots: being encountred by Zoroaster with 400000. But Ninus prenailing, and Aug. de Cinit. Zoroaster flaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Cittie Dei. thereof, called Bactra or Bactrion (faith Stephanus: ) which by a paffage found, and stephateVrb. an affault given by Semiramis (the wife of Menon) hee entred and poffeft: Vpon this occasion Ninus both admiring her indgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely refeects) he tooke her from her hulband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if hee refuled to confent. He therefore yeelding to the paffion of loue in Ninus, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and disho-10 nour, cast himselfe head-long into the water and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to have beene the chiefe Authour of Magick arts: and of the divers kinds of Magicke.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first inventor of Astrologie or of Magicke : and that there were diners great Magitians of this name.



CHAP.II. S.I.

OROASTER King of the Baltrians, Vincentius Supposeth to be Cham, the sonne of Noah: A fancie of little probabilitie. For Cham was the paternall Ancester of Ninus; the father of Chus; the grandfather of Numred, whose sonne was Belus, the father of Ninus. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that booke which was called Scripture Cham, deuised by some wicked knaue, and so intituled : of which Sixtus Senensis hath made the due mention.

It is reported by Cassianus, that Serenus Abbas gaue cassian in Ottal. the invention of Magicketo Cham, the sonne of Neab: Col. c. 21.

so did Comestor in his Scholasticall Historie: which Art (faith he) with the seuen liberall sciences he writ in fourteene pillers : seuen of which were made of braffe, to relift the defacing by the waters of the floud; and seuen of bricke against the injurie of fire. There was also another denised discourse, which went under the title of Prophetia Cham. Cassianus out of Serenus hath somewhat like vnto this of Commestor. These be Cassianus wordes. CHAM (filius NOAH) qui superstitionibus istis & facrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hijs memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre iusto, &c. CHAM (the sonne of NOAH) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring 50 any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein hee was to remaine with his godly Father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be grauen in mettall and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which prefaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained vnto ; being taken for the inventor of natural 1 Magicke and other arts; for the

corrupter, faith Plinie and Instine. But I doe not thinke that Zoroasier invented the

doctrine of the Horoscopes or Nativities; or first found out the nature of hearbs,

ftones, and minerals, or their Sympatheticall or Antipathethicall workings; of which I know not what King of Chaldea, is also made the Inuentour. I rather thinke

that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by Noah to his sonnes. For

Abraham who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster, (as Iosephus reporteth) was no leffe learned herein then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wifedome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and vertue to nature and all naturall things;

whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired 10

the inftruments, and attributed proper firength to the things themselves, (from

which the effects were fensible) which belonged to that wisedome, Which being one,

Of the name of Magia : and that it was anciently farre diners from conjuring, and Witchcraft.

Снар.и. \$.2.

Ow for Magicke it selfe; which Art (saith Mirandula) pauci intelli- Pic. Mir. fol. 81. gunt, multi reprehendunt, Few understand, and many reprehend: Et sicut gunt, must representation, sew unactions, and many represent the four sames ignotes femper allatrant, As dogges barke at those they know not 10 they condemne and hate the things they understand not 1 thinke it not amisse (leaving Nimus for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word ( Magus ) because of Simon Magus: who being indeede, not Magus, but Goes, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For Macieke, Coniuring, and Witcherie are farre differing arts, whereof Plinie being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For Nero (faith Plinie) who Plin.1.30.bif. had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by Tyridates King of Arme- nat. nia, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the art after long studie and labour

altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a Persian word primitively, whereby is exprest such a one as is altoge- Poply & Ather conversant in things divine. And (as Plato affirmeth) the art of Magicke is the Plato in Alcib. art of worshipping God. To which effect Apollonius in his Epistles expounding the 20 word (ua) so faith, that the Persians called their Gods ways : whence he addeth that Magus is either & xard quous to Or tsparevilis કર્લા (that is) that Magus is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; fometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken Matt.c.2. v. 1. And this is the first and highest kinde : which Piccolominie calleth divine Magicke : and these did the Latines newly Piccol.de desirit intitle sapientes or wisemen: For the feare and worship of Godisthe beginning of knowledge. Proucib.1.7. These Wifemen the Greekes call Philosophers: the Indians Brachmans: which name they Toucolde definition which percent were not this day calling the Philosophers. fomewhat nearely retaine to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the £- febat. gyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalistes, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharifees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by 30 the name of Chaldaans: and among the Perstans Magicians: of whom Arnobius (speaking of Hostanes, one of the ancient Magicians) vseth these wordes. Et verum Deum in offanio Mili meritamaiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius venerationi nouit as- muysedicii cum, sistere, Idem damonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos. Sost HENES (for Arnobiopag369 fo M. Falix calleth him, not Hostanes) afcribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the

His Maiestie also in his first booke of Damonologie c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (Magus) imports as much as a contemplator of divine 40 and heauenly sciences; but vniustly so called, because the Chaldeans were ignorant of the true divinitie. And it is also right which His Maiestie anoweth, that under the name of Magicke all other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth His Maiefire distinguish it from Necromancie, Witcheraft, and the rest: of all which hee hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which His Maiestie condemneth Demonolog, 1, 2 is of that kinde whereof the Denill is a partie. Daniel in his fecond Chapter nameth 61. foure kinds of those Wifemen: Arioli, Magi, Malesici, & Chaldai. Ariolithe old Latine translation calleth Sophistes: Vatablus and Pagninus Genethliacos, or Phylicos, or Philosophers, or (according to the note of Vatabius) Naturalists: Nempe funt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) diuinarum humanarum grerum scien-50 tiam profitentes, For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Gracians (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both divine and humane. The Greeke and the English call them Inchaunters; Junius Magicians: Castalion Coniecturers: in the Syrian they are all foure by one name called Sapientes Babylonis, The

true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Deuils earthly and wandering, and enemies

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and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things and reneweth all. Now whether this Zorosster (ouerthrowne by Ninus) were the same which was fo excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the Magician, Ctesias cals Oxyartes, whom Plinie finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoro-Scalle, in Eugleb. after, flaine by Ninus, was not the Magician: which is also the opinion of Sca-

Icfep.l.1.ant.c.4

Againe, Tofephus and Cedrenus affirme that Seth first found out the Planets, or 20 wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens; for if this art had beene inuented by Zoroafter, hee could not have attained to any fuch excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it feemeth) of fingular judgement, hee might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leave it by writing to po-

But of this Zoroafter there is much dispute: and no lesse jangling about the word and art of Magicke. Arnobius remembreth foure to whom the name of Zorosster.or Zoroastres was ginen: which by Hermodorus and Dinon scemeth to bee but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to fay, as aftrorum cultor. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the same that Ninus ouerthrew: the second, a 30 Chaldean and the Astronomer of Winus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who liued in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar: the fourth, Zoroaster Armenius, the Nephew of Hostianes, which followed Xerxes into Greece: betweene whom and Cyrus there past 78. yeares. Suidas remembreth a fift, called Personedus sapiens: and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster the sonne of Oromasdes; which Picus Mirandula con-

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe Zoroaster was, it is doubted. Plinie and Laertius make him a Persian. Gemissihius or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchius make him a Chaldean. But by those bookes of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a Chaldean by Nation, though the word 40 (Chaldean) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly as for any distinguishment of Nations. Porphyrius makes the Chaldei and Magi divers; Picus the fame. But that this Zoroafter was a Chaldean both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his bookes, which (faith Pieus) were written in the Chaldean tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the Magi and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those bookes of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of Mirandula to Ficinus, he faith, to be intituled, Patris Ezre ZOROASTRIS & MEL-CHIOR magorum oracula,

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Wife men of Babel.

ģ. II.

De vit. fanct.

See vpon his

The second fort Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius, and our English call Asirologers, Hierome and the Septuagint Magicians. The third kinde are Malefici, or Venefici; in Hierome, Pagnin, and the Septuagint

Witches, or Poyfoners : in Iunius Prastigiatores, or Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called Venefici, or Poysoners; and that indeede there is such a kinde of Malefici, which without any art of Magicke or Necromancio vse the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischiese, His Maiestie confirmeth in the first chapter of his second booke: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practise, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other thinges by the Deuill prepared; and atother times to make pictures of waxe, or clay, or otherwise (as it were Sacramentaliter) to 10 effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translatours call Chaldaans: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euents: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them observed, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of Magicke, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kinde of Magicke was that part of Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and hufbandrie: which was a know-20 ledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower elements.

Philo Indens goeth farther, affirming that by this part of Magicke or Astrologie together with the motions of the starres and other heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in Chaldea: Qui contemplation creaturarum cognouit Creatorem, (faith Io. Damascen.) Who knew the Creatour by the contemplation of the creature. Iosephus reporteth of Abraham that he instructed the A gyptians in Arithmeticke and Astronomie, who before ABRAHAMS comming unto them knew none of thefe (ciences.

And so doth Archangelus de Burgo in defence of Mirandula against Garsias. A LEX-ANDER & EVPOLEMON dicunt, quod ABRAH AM fanctitate & fapientia omnium 20 prastantissimus Chaldaos primum, deinde Phanices, demum Agyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & diuina docuerit, ALEXANDER (faith hee, meaning Alexander Polyhistor) and EVPOLEMON affirme that ABRAHAM the holieft and wifest of men did first teach the Chaldeans, then the Phanicians, lastly the Agyptian Priests, Astrologie and di-

uine knowledge.

The third kinde of Magicke containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brablings of the Aristotelians, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse, Virtutes in centro centrilatentes, Vertues hidden in the center of the center, according to the Chymilis. Of this fort were Albertus, Arnoldus de villa noua, Raymond, Bacon, and many others: 40 and before these, in elder times, and who better viderstood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that fuffer, were Zoroaster before spoken of: Apollonius Tyanaus remembred by St. Hierome to Paulinus; in some mens opinion Numa Pompilius among the Romanes: among the Indians Thespian: among the Agyptians Hermes: among the Babylonians Budda: the Thracians had Zamolxis: the Hyperborians (as is supposed) Abbaris: and the Italians Petrus Aponensis: The Magicke which these men profest is thus defined. Magiaest connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, vt inde operaprodeant non fine corum admiratione qui causamignorant, Magicke is the connexion of naturallagents \* Toto in men- and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wife man to the bringing forth of such 50 do lucet Tring, effects, as are wonderfull to those that knownot their causes. In all these three kindes princeps, confla which other mendiuide into foure, it seemeth that Zoroaster was exceedingly learname, perfeit ned reflectally in the first and highest. For in his oracles hee consessed God to bee yand, or means the Creatour of the Vniuerfal: he beleeueth of the \*Trinitie, which he could not in-

ucfligate by any naturall knowledge: hee speaketh of Angels, and of Paradise: approucth the immortalitic of the foule : teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the Magi: which Oracles of his, Pfellus, Ficinus, Patritius, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this Zoroafter, Eusebius in the Theologie of the Phanicians ving Zoroasters owne wordes. Hac ad verbum feribit : (faith Evsebivs) Deus primus incorruptibi- Deprep. exang. lium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibijosi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, la.c.i. munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacra natura vnicus inuentor, &c. Thus writeth Z OR OA-

10 STER word for word. God the first incorruptible, euerlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wifest, the father of right, having learn diustice without teaching, perfect wife by nature, the only inventour

Снар.п. \$-2.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisedome of the Chaldeans, doth distinguish those L.2.501.46. wise men into fine orders, (to wit) Chascedim, or Chaldaans: Asaphim, or Magicians: Chartumim; (which hee translates Arioli, or Sophists) Mecasphim, or Malefici, or Venefici, Witches, or Poysoners; and Gazarim Augures, or Aruspices, or Di-

Chaseedim were those which had the name of Chaldaans, which were Astronomers, 20 Hy calorum motus diligentissime spect arunt, These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens: whom Philo in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were in the old Latine translation called Philosophers: of the Septuagint and of Hierome Magicians, qui de omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt, Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane : of whom Origen makes Balaam (the sonne of Beer) to be the first : but Laertius ascribeth Laertila the invention of this art to Zoroastres the Persian.

Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples (faith S. Augustine, Plinie, and Iustine) of another Zoroastres: who corrupted the admirable wifedome of the Mags, which he received from his Ancesters.

Mecasphim, or Venefici, or Witches, are those of which we have spoken already out of His Maiesties booke of Damonologia.

Gazarim, or Aruspices (after S. Hierome) which divine from the entrailes of beafts flaine for facrifices for by Gazarim others understand Augures, who divine by the flying, finging, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction wee may perceive the difference betweene those wise men which the Kings of Babylon entertained; and that the name and profession of the Magi among the ancient Persians was most honest. For as Peucer truly observeth, praerant religioni Persica, vt in populo Dei Leuita, studij (g. vera Philosophia dediti erant : Peucer de dininec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamá, nat.inc.de mag.

40 percepiset. The Magi (saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the folias. 6136. Leuites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be king of the Persians, who had not first beene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Senensis in defence of Origen against Polychronius and Theophilus hath two kinds of Mugick, his owne wordes are these. Et ne quem moneant pra- Bibl. 1.6. fol 1424. missa Polychrony & Theophili testimonia, sciendum cst duplicem esse Magiam; alteram vbig, ab Origine damnatam, que per sudera cum damonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur : alteram ab Origine laudatam, que ad practicen naturalis philosophie per tinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentiumac patientium. That the testimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (saith he) may not 50 moone any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two fortes, the one enery where con.

demned by Origen, which worketh (whether truly or feemingly) by couenants made with Deuils; the other commended by Origen; which appertaineth to the practick part of naturall philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuallapplication of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition Hierome doth embrace in the first of his

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FeLSo.

Commentaries vpon Daniel where confidering of the difference which Daniel makes betweene these fower kindes of wise men formerly remembred, he vseth this dittinction; Quos nos hariolos; cateri emusses (id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi qui de singulis philosophantur; malesici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis, & Jape contingunt corporamortuorum : porro in Chaldais Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro Maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sint Philosophi Chaldaorum : & adartis huius scientiam Regesquog & Principes eiusdem gentis omniafaciunt; unde er in nativitate Domini (aluatoris ip/i primum ortumeius intellexerunt, & venientes in [anctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, stella de super o stendente. They whom we call 10 Sorcerers, and other sinterpret inchanters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; Magicians, fuch as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that we blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead : further, among the Chaldaans Itake them to be fignified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their owne nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldwans: yea Kings and Princes of that nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saulour they first of all understood his birth, and comming unto holy Bethichem did worship the Childe: the starre from about shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a Magician, and 20 the abuse of the word. For though some writers affirme that Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto viitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcung; that he is called a Magician now adaies, who having entred league with the deuill v feth his helpe to any matter ; yet (as our Saujour faid of Dinorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of Magicke is of the wiledome of nature; other artes which vndergoe that title were invented by the fallhood, subtletie and enuic of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other do-Etrine, then the vse of certaine ceremonics permalam fidem : by an euill faith : in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to applie things that worke to things that fuffer. And though by the Iewes, those excellent Magicians, Philosophers, 20 and Divines which came to worthip our Saujour Christ, were termed Mechaschephim, or Mecasphim; yet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. Consuctudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, Common custome (faith S. Hierome) understandeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And antiquity (faith Peter Martyr) by Pet.Mart-loci. the word (Magi) understood good and wife men Quidigitur expanescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum (ed sapientem sonat Mar. Ficin. part. er Sacer dotem? O thou fearefull one (faith Ficinus) why doubtest thou to wse the name of Magus aname gratious in the Gospell which doth not signifie a Witch or Conjurer but awife man and a Priest? For what brought this slaunder to that studie and profession but only idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? Causa fuit mirificentia quo- 40 rundam operum, qua re vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ip (as vel coniungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera domonum credebantur ab ignorantihus hac. De operibus huiusmodiest Gul. Parissen de, Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The maruelousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the sause of this slaunder: but because these workes have been done by procurement of Deuils toyning the natures together or mingling them, or how soeuer sitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: for by understanding (saith he) the ut- 50 termost activitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ: for otherwise (to vse his owne words) ignoratis terminis potentia & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, qua fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia. The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, wee must needes doubt whether those

very workes which Christ did; may not bee done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this fort. Ideo non haretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verisime & Catholice, per talem Magiam adiuuari nos in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi, Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholikely; that by such Magicke we are surthered in knowing the distinitie of Christ. And seeing the Jewes and others the enemies of Christian religion, doe impudently and impioufly object, that those miracles which Christ wrought were not aboue nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge then any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason anow, that the vttermost of 10 natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himfelfe witneffeth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselues, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to filence.

of the Historie of the World.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned : though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath sought to obtrude eaill things under the name and colour of good things.

CHAP.11. S.2.

Eeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other then diuinorum cultor & interpres, A studious observer and expounder of divine things : and the art it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke) no other, quamnaturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio, Then the absolute perfection of naturall

Philosophie: Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forteth with wife and learned men promifeue, and without difference and diffinction. to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vie 30 S. Paules wordes) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Deuill hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall Magicke, or the wisedome of nature, because the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of hearbs, drugges, minerals, and excrements then may wee by the same rule condemne the Physition, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill also in the Oracles of Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and the like, taught men in dreames what hearbs and drugges were proper for fuch and fuch diseases. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath fought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the ministers and servants of God, changing him-

40 selfe for that purpose into an Angell of light. He hath led men to Idolatrie as a doctrinc of religion, he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrologie, by giving a divine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as Gods, and not as instruments. And (as Bunting obser- Bunting obserueth) it is true, that iudiciall Astrologie is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heauenly bodies (as euen generall experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of Mars doedrie; the Moone doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they have severall and proper names, so have they severall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also

50 differ in beautic and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteit the number of the Starres, and callett them by their names. But into the good Tallist. and profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Deuil ceaseth not to shuffle in his superstitions; and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of nature hath he

fastened his doctrine of Characters, numbers, and incantations; and taught men to beleeue in the strength of wordes and letters: (which without faith in God are but inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the all-powerfull word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating word, by whom are all

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Moreouer, hee was never ignorant, that both the wife and the fimple observe when the Sea-birds for fake the Thoares and flie into the land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bathing of Ducks foreshew raine: for they feele the aire moistened in their quilles. And it is written in Hieremie the 10 Prophet, Euen the Storke in the aire knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow. Hereupon, this enemie of mankinde, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the fame, as if God had written the fecrets of unsearchable prouidence in the liners and bowels of birds and beafts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as Abimelech to restore Sara to Abraham; because he admonished Ioseph, and by dreame informed Iacob, Laban,

Gen.12.17. Iob.33.17-

C4.8.VET.7.

G.Parisien.de leg.34.cap.

mat leg. & si ac-

Pharao, Salomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the East, and others. For as it is remem- 20 bred in I o B : In dreames and visions of the night when sleepe falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise, therefore, I fav. doth the Deuill also practise his divinations by dreames, or (after Parisiensis) divinitatis imitationes, his mocke-divinitie. This in the end grew so common, as Aristides compiled an Ephemerides of his owne dreames: Mithridates of those of his Concubines. Yea the Romanes finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreames ( without distinction of causes) were drawne to distinction, forbad the same by a Codex de male- law, as by the wordes of prohibition (aut narrandis somnys occultam aliquam artem dininandi) it may appeare. Likewise by the law of God in Deuteronomie cap. 13. feducing dreamers were ordered to bee flaine. Yet it is not to bee contemned that 20 Marcus Antonius was told a remedy in his dreame for two grieuous diseases that op-Aug. de cura pro press him; nor that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Ptolomies poisoned wound; mortuu agenda. nor that which S. Augustine reporteth of a Millanoise; whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paied, was told by his Father in a dreame where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of Astrages of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for asmuch as the cause is not in our felues, this place denieth dispute.

#### ð. IIII.

That DANIELS misliking NABVCHODONOSORS condemning of the Magicians doth not instifie all their practises.

Vt it may be objected, that if fuch divination as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange reuelations: how came it to passe that Daniel both condemned the haftie sentence of Nabuchodonosor against the Magieians of Chaldea, and in a fort forbad it? especially considering that such

kinde of people God himfelfe commanded to bee flaine. To this divers answeres 10 may be given. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any art, either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there is none other (faid the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods,

whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the euer-liuing God.

Secondly, it may be conicctured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselues in any cuill or vnlawfull. arts, but were meerely Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, Daniel perswaded the contrarie, and called it a hastic judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and Professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himselfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters; of which some were termed Sooth faiers, others Astrologians, others Chaldeans, others Magi or Wifemen: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, Daniel milliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practise of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels diflike, and hindering of the execution of fentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute instifying of their practise and profession.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vie of them.



Otwithstanding this mixture every where of good with enill, of fallehood with truth, of corruption with cleannesse and purity. The good. The truth, The puritie in enery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worthipping of God by facrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer facrifice to the

20 God of all power, because the Deuill in the image of Baal, Astaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like was fo adored.

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of hea- ex dries uenly bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned men in these daies from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of heauen, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The sympatheticall and antipatheticall working of hearbes, plants, stones, minerals, with their other vtmost vertues sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable endes can neuer, terrifie the honest 40 and learned Phylician or Magician from the vling of them to the helpe and comfort of mankinde : neither can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betraieth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of dreames; so farre as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly the prohibition to marke flying of foules (as signes of good or cuill suc- Dent. 18.20) ceffe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against raine, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound artes with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) 50 but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulnesseall excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggerly ignorance: and (as Plinie teacheth) we should shew our selves ingrates erga ees, quilabore curag, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce , Vnthankefull we should shew our selves towards those, who with paines and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Cwan. comp. Theolog.c.1.

· Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematickes also and Professors therof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this fort. In speculo mathematico Verumillud, quodin omni scibili quaritur relucet non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate. In the glasse of the Mathematickes that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a neere and manifest reprasentation.

#### V I.

### Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Magick

T is true that there are many artes, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of Magick: and effected abufuely to bee as branches of that tree, on whoose root they neuer grew. The first of branches of that tree, on whoole root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromance or Goetia: and of this agains there are divers kindes. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Deuill himselfe gives answere in stead of those that seeme

to appeare. For certaineit is, that the immortal foules of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is

not to be found in the graues.

A second practise of those men, who pay tribute or are in league with Sathan, is that of conjuring or of railing up Deuils, of whome they hope to learne what they lift. These men are so distract, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keepe out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselues against that great monfter. Doubtleffe they forget that the Deuil is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to fit in Gods feat, that he made no feruple to tempt our Sauiour Chrift, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolue himselfe, that 20 he can draw the Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Deuils seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and foules of those which raise them vp; as His Maiestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught, That the Deuils obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargaine.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which genus quoddam inhabite Iamblicus imagination; but fure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalpotential value and alwaies attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way

eret em et incon- neede any fuch inforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deale altogether with Cardans mortall Deuils, 40 a fallo neg, pol. following the opinion of Rabbi Suornathan and of Porphyrius, who taught that fibile different these kind of Deuils lived not above a thousand yeares: which Plutarch in his Treaan impogini.
L. vines in cap, tile de Oraculorum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by Aug de Civit dei them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other CHAM. exercile. times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of Simon Magus when he had lifted him up in the ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by St Peters praiers (of which Euleb. biff. eecl. S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the fame pranckat other times vpon his own accord the Deuill plaied with Theodotus: who transported (as Simon Magus was supposed 50 to have beene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had Budas, a principall piller of the Manichean herefie, as Socrates in his Ecclefiafticall Historie witneffeth: and for a manifest proofe hereof wee see it every day, that the Deuill leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the gallowes, for whom at other times hee ma-

Li.1,6.21.

CHAP.II. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

keth himfelfe a Pegafus, to conneigh them in haft to places farre diffant, or at least makes them fo thinke: For to those that received not the truth (faith S. PAVL) God shall cornt. 5.5. (end them strong illusions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Maiestic in the second booke and the fourth chapter of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are meerely illustue. Another fort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glaffes and Crystals: of whom Cufanus : Fatui funt incantatores, qui in unque & vitro volunt spiritum inclu- Exercital. 2. dere : quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore, They are foolish inchanters which will shut up their fairits within their nailes or in glaffe: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another art belides the afore mentioned, which they call Theureia, or White Magicke; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by facrifice and inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kinde of adoration due vnto their Creatour: fo feeing they are most free Spirits; there is no man fo abfurd to thinke (except the Deuill haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can bee constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professiours thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministeric of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall fubitances and abstract natures, either by facrifice, vow, or inforce-20 ment, are men of euill faith and in the power of Sathan. For good Spirits or Angels

cannot be constrained; and the rest are Deuils which willingly obey. Other forts there are of wicked divinations : as by fire, called Pyromantia: by wa-

ter, called Hydromantia: by the aire, called Mataotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeede) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcrast: the practifers whereof are no leffe enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudy, then the Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Deuill worketwo waies; either by the Deuill immediatly, or by the art of poisoning. The difference betweene Necromanciers and Witches, His Maiestie hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a fort) command; the other obey the Deuill,

There is another kinde of petty witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beafts and birds, of which Pythagoras was accused, because an Eliantic non Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if the same exceeded the bifter. art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then Mahomets Doue, which he had vsed to feede with wheate out of his eare: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on Mahomets shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to finde his breake-fast: Mahomet perswading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the holy Ghost that gaue him aduise. And certainly if Bankes had lived in elder times, hee would have shamed all the inchaunters of the world: for whosoeuer was most samous among them, could neuer master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their dennes, or killing of them in the holes by inchantments (which the Marsians, a people of Italie practifed. Colubros difrum- Encilin Satyr. pit Marsia cantu, Inchanting Marsia makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath beene vsed it appeares Psal. 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many impostures may bee in this kinde; and even by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be elaied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them : and therein I finde no other Magicke or inchantment, then to draw out a Mouse with a peece of tosted cheese.

dies of the sust rife to Eternall life, and of the wicked to an Eternall and second

post 18. Just. Mar.ad Orthodox.q.75. Hilar. fal. 2.in fine. Tert. de Anima. in fin. Athan.q.13. Chryfoftom.hom. 19. in Euang.

And (besides St Augustine) Iustine Martyr, Hilarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chryfostome and others beleived firmely, and taught it: that the soules of men being once seperate from their bodies did not wander on the earth at all. Credere debemus (faith CYRIL) quum a corporibus sanctorum anima abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati dinina commendari. We must beleiue when the foules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the Divine Goodnesse as into the hands of of a most deere Father. If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high: ifin Hell, ab inferno nulla est redemptio, from Hell there is no redemption. For 10 there are but two habitations after death; Vnum (faith AVGVSTINE) in igne aterno; alterum in regno aterno: the one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall kingdome. And though it bee written in Iure Pontificio, that many there are who beleiue that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the Glosse vpon the same Text 25,95, Epicopi. findes it ridiculous. Credunt, & male, quia funt Phantasmata (saith the Glosse) They beleiue, and they beleiue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions. For whereas any fuch voice hath beene heard, faying, I am the Soule of fuch a one; hecoratio a fraude at g, deceptione diabolica est. That speach is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill, faith CHRYSOSTOME. Likewise of the same faith Tertullian. Absit vt animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Propheta, à damonio credamus extractam. God forbid that 20 wee should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should bee drawne

vp againe by a Deuill.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition Samuel; so doe they the wodden images Cherubins: and false brazen Gods are called Gods: and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of Ecclesiasticus (a booke not numbred among the Canonicall Scriptures, as S. Augustine himselfe in his Treatise, if it bee his de cura pro mortuis agenda confesseth) yet Siracides following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Deuill would willingly perswade, that the soules (yea euen of inst men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust 30 and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as Saint Augustine (or whosoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken Saul, that hee resufed to answere him either by dreames, by Vrim, or by his Prophets: it were sottish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuill, or a wicked Witch to raise a Prophet from the dead in Sauls respect : it being also contrary to his owne diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in Deuteronomie 18. and elsew here. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the foule of a dead bodie, that gaue answere

2.Kings 4.34. Nullus enim magus aut de

1.Kings 17.22.

verè vnquam

Wier de fascin.

God; those Deuils which S. Augustine calleth ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum, mockers of their owne vassals, cashing before their eies a semblance of humane bodies, and framing founds to their eares like the voices of men, doe also perswade their graceleffe and accurled attendants, that themselves both possesse, and have power ouer the soules of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tumetiam cogitantium faith, L.VIVES, The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that fo imagine. These then are the boundes of the Deuils power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vassall: potest ad maluminuitare, non potest trahere, faith S. Avgvstine, he can allure, but he cannot in- 50 force to eaill. Such as thinke otherwise may goe into the number remembred by Lu-

But because Helias and Helizeus had raised some from the dead by the power of 40

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atá, omnia cæcis In tenebris metuunt : sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of NINVs, and of his mife SEMIRAMIS: and of other of her actes.

### ò. I.

Of the magnificent building of Niniue by NINVS: and of Babylon by SEMIRAMIS.



Vt to come backe to Ninus the amplifier and finisher of Niniue: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of Zoroaster, it is vncertaine. As for the Citty it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane writers. and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it tulin, la, Died. had in compasse 440. stadia, or furlongs: the walles ii.2. whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had fuch Sabel, I.en 1: a bredth as three charriots might passe on the ram-

pire in front: these walles were garnished with 1 500. towers which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this Cittie (built in the Plaines of Affgria, and on the bankes of Tigris, and in the Region of Eden,) was founded long before Ninus time; and (as ancient Histo-40 rians report, and more lately Nauderus) had the name of Campfor, at flich rime as Ninus amplified the fame, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of Babylon and Niniue begun by Nimrod in Chaldes, and in Affrria, Ninus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus finished Ninue, Semiramis Babylon: Herod.L.t. 714, Namu and Semanus made perfect. Namus influed a visual, see when influed wherein shee sought to exceed her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when influed wherein sheet sought to exceed her husband by farre. Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded : labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselues and their people without either Walles or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bulhments, and waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis liuing in that age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and 50 purpoling to follow the conquest which her husband had vindertaken, gaue that beauty and strength to Babylon which it had.

of the end of NINVS: and beginning of SEMIRAMIS reigne.

His she did after the death of her husband Ninus: who after he had maistred Bactria, and subjected vnto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the Mediterran Sea and Helleftont (Afia the leffe excepted) and finished the worke of Niniue, heleft the world in the yeare thereof 2019. after he had raigned 52. yeares. Plutarch reporteth that Semuramis defired her husband Winus, that he would graunt vnto her the absolute to

fouereigne power for one day. Diod. Siculus out of Athenaus, and others, speakes of five daies. In which time (moucd either with defire of rule, or licentious liberty. or with the memory of her husband Menon, who perished for her) she caused Ninus her husband to be flaine. But this feemeth rather a fcandall cast on her by the

Greekes, then that it had any truth.

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Howfoeuer Ninus came to his ende, Semiramis tooke on her after his death the fole rule of the Affyrian empire : of which, Ninus was faid to be the first Monarch because he changed his seat from Babylonia in Chaldea to Niniue in Assyria. Iusline reports that Semiramis (the Better to inuest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offense to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the peo- 20 ple in the person of her sonne Ninias or Zameis, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any fenfible difference.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might bee made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable actes which are written of her by the name of Semiramis, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of India (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne Ninias had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that Semiramis (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. yeares after by any such subtilety: (for fo long shee reigned after the death of her Husband:) but it may bee true 20 that Ninias or Zameis (being wholly given to his pleasures as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernment and vndertakings.

of Semiramis parentage, and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

Ome writers (of which Plutarch is one) make this famous woman to haue beene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Coun-40 trey, a Syrian. Berofus cals her after the name of her Citty wherein she was borne, Semiramis Ascalonitis; of Ascalon, the ancient Citty and Metropolis of the Philistims. Others report her to be the daughter of

Derceta, a Curtizan of Ascalon exceeding beautifull. Others say that this Derceta or Dercetis the mother of Semiramis was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated feated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to Ascalon; and afterward falling in love with a goodly yong man the was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuaied away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild so beafts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which vsed to feed upon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupa the harlot that fostered Romulus. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.12. S.4.

thereby hope the better to couer her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which the was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have fained) changed by Venus into a fifth, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought that from this Derceta the inuention of that Idoll of the Philistims (called Dagon) was taken for it is true, that Dagon had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the Arke of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the Trunck of Dagon, the head being broken of : For fo St. Hierome hath converted that place. Vatablus, Pagninus, and Junius write it by Dagon onely, to which fignifieth a fifth, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second all being fundred from the body.

For my felfe I rather thinke, that this Dagon of the Philistims was an Idoll reprefenting Triton, one of those imaginary Sca-gods under Neptune. For this Citty being maritimate (as all those of the Philistims were, and so were the best of Phanicia) vied all their devotions to Neptune, and the rest of the pettie Gods which attended

#### d. IIII.

Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the · improbabilitie of her vices.

Vt for her Pedigree I leave it to the Affyrian Heralds: and for her vitious life I ascribe the report therof to the envious and lying Grecians. For delicacie and ease do more often accompanie licentiousnesse in men and women, then labour and hazzard do. And if the one halfe bee true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer lined any

Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame then Semirania was, both for the workes the did at Babylon and elsewhere, and for the warres the made with glorious successes: 30 all but her last enterprise of India; from whence both Strabo and Arianus report that the neuer returned: and that of all her most powerful! Army there survived but only twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of Indus, dead of the famine, or flaine by the fword of Staurobates. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason bath numbred: so were those that returned lesse then could haue escaped of such an Army, as consisted of source millions and vpwards. For these suid, \$845.lik.\$6 numbers which she leuied by her Lieutenant Dercetaus (faith Suidas) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horsemen one million; of Charriots armed with hookes on each fide one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses 40 three hundred thousand; of Galleies with brazen heads three thousand, by which the might transport ouer Indus at once three hundred thousand fouldiers: which Gallies were furnished with Syrians, Phanicians, Cilicians, and men of Cyprus. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of Ctesias whom Diodorus followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: fo Diedorus himselfe hath nothing of certainty, but from Xerxes expedition into Greece and afterwards: whose Armic (though the same was farre inferior to that of Semiramis) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that Xerxes transported into Greece an Ar-50 my of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to passe the Hellespont) three thoufand Gallies, as Herodstus out of the seuerall Provinces whence those Galleies were

taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude socuer the Armie of Semiramis consisted : the same being broken and ouerthrown by Staurobates upon the banks of Indus, canticum cantauit ex-

tremum: she sang her last song; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the Gods into a Doue, (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylonians gaue a Doue in their enfignes.

Of the Temple of BELVS built by SEMIRAMIS: and of the Pyramides of Agypt.



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Bell.1.2.

Mong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes 10 (belides the wall of the Citty of Babylon) was the Temple of Bel, ere-Eted in the middle of this Citty, inuironed with a wall carried fourcsquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each square certaine brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square she raised

a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it agains (taking a Basis of a lesse circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one about an other: vpon the top whereof the Chaldeans Priests made the observation of the

starres, because this Tower ouer-topped the ordinary cloudes. By beholding the ruines of this Tower hanc many Trauailers beene deceived:

who suppose that they have seene a part of Nimrods Tower, when it was but the 20 Foundation of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Aimrod.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincenseeucry yeare (faith Herodotus). This Temple did Nabuchodonosor adorne with the spoiles of Hierusalem, & of the temple of Salomon: all which veffels & ornaments Cyrus redeliuered. This Temple Zerxes evened with the foile; which Alexander is faid to have repaired by the perswasions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might haue been in his defire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few yeares after Babylon taken, Proclin Timeo. and therefore could not performe any fuch worke. The Agyptians (faith Procliss) inhabiting a low and leavell ground, and given to the same superstition of the stars that the Chaldaans were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and vse, the Py- 30 ramides by Memphis, which were conspicue undig, nauigantibus, saith Plinie. Of these Pyramides Bellonius a carefull observer of rarities (who being in Agypt mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report. Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa some mite, et tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pouroit l'enuoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez. The best Archer standing on the top of one of

these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thence into

the aier as farre as he can with great difficul-

ty shallbe able so to force the same,

but that it will fall voon

Some of the degrees

or steppes.

Finis Libri primi.

The

CHAP.I.S.I.



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

## CHAP. T.

Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Sto. rie of the Assyrian Empire.

of some of the successors of Semiramis: with abriefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of Abraham.



FTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the Empire, on whom Berofus Annianus bestowes the conquest of Ba-Etria, and the overthrow of Zoroaster; contrary to Diodorus, Iustine, Orosius, and all other approued writers. For Minias being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacie, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninius of any moment, other then that out of lealousie he eucry yeare changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the Chaldwan

Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras; but that he reduced agains the Baltrians and Caspians, revolted as it seemeth in Nini-30 ss his time : nor of Aralius, the successor of Arius, but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow Abraham, whose waies are warrantable, (till wee meet these Assertions againe in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we hall best give date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Ninns, Ni-

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Xerxes or Balanius. For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certaine by the vicertaine, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures fet vs down without error, by the raignes of the Affrian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aductture, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help vs, Mirum ronest in rebus antiquis Hilloriam non constare, No meruale if then inthings very ancient, Hillory want

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Affirian Kings raigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams birth, and in what yeare the fame hapned after the floud. Now fince all 10 agree, that the fortieth three yeare of Ninus was the birth-yeare of Abraham; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the floud the birth of Abrahim hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrewaccount, and others: the most part making 292.or 293. yeares 5 others 252. yeares between Abrahams birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in Annius) makes but 250. yeares from the floud to Ninus: then feeing that Abraham was borne in the fortieth three yeare of Ninus, according to Eulebius, and S. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of Abrahams birth was in the yeare after the 20 floud 293. or as the most part of all Chronologers gather the yeare 292.

Now, fince I do heere enter into that neuer refolued quæstion, and Labyrinth of times, it behoueth me to give reason for my owne opinion : and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walkeaside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those dartes, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the casie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerlity.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove ABRAHAM was borne in the yeare 292 after the floud, and not in the yeare 352.

Hole which secke to proue this account of 292, yeares; betweene the generall floud and Abrahams birth, ground themselues, first on these words of the Scripture. So TERAH lined 70. yeares, and begot ABRA-HAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: secondly vpon the opinion of Tosephus, 40 S. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them:authorities (while they are fleightly lookt ouer) feeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that TERAH at 70. yeares begot A-BRAHAM, NAHOR and HARAN: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthieft, Abraham being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the cldest some of Terah, and so necessarily borne in the scuentieth yeare of his life. Secondly it was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleffing; and not of Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Gencalo- 50 gy of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Nahor, and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham were not the eldeft sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that Abraham was borne more affuredly in the 130. yeare of Terab his age, then in the 131.132.&c. Mofes having no where fet downe precisely that Abraham went into Canaan that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. yeare: feeing Abraham himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

The answere to one of the objections proposed, shewing that ABRAHAM made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canzan : and it, after

O answere all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long fince, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now for a fmuch as the state of the question can-

not well be scanned, vnlcsse the time of Abrahams journey into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method fo farre, as to fearch into a ftrange tradition concerning his trauails, that serueth as a ground for this opinion, 20 and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; the latter after his Fathers death, the former prefently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his fathers death at Haran: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the Epifle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith ABRAHAM (when he was called) obcied God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receive for inheritance; and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it be granted) Heb. Et. ferues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore fee whither we may give credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that Abraham first departed Charran or Haran after the death of Terah his 30 Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. STEPHEN: And after bis Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against wich place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that Abraham Att. 4. made two journies into Cansan; one before Terah's death, and an other after: no fuch thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reafonto induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham past into C4- Heb. 11.8, naan, and then returned vnto Haran, from whence he departed a second time : then I thinke it reason, that he be beleiued in the rest. But that he performed the com-40 mandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving Vr and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures themselues are true. For after his Father was dead, (faith the Martyr Stephen) Godbrought him into this Land. And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moles omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other; and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams comming into Canaan, but out of Moles: For if S:ephen had spokenany thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the terres his aduerfaries toogreat an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of Christ. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that Abraham passed and repassed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that 50 he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearifome journey, than the

frength of his faith in Gods promife: in which if any thing would have brought him to despaire, he had more cause then euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was belieged with famine at his first arrivall, and driven to flie into

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Ægypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himfelfe for Sacrifice: all which discomforts hee patiently and constantly vnder-

Secondly, let vs consider the waies themselues, which Abraham had to passe ouer, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great river of Euphrates, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Deferts of Palmyrena, and to climbe over the great and high mountaines of Libanus, Hermon or Gilead : and whither these were easie walkes for Abraham to march twice ouer, containing, as afore- 10 faid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man judge. For if hee trauailed it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from Vr to Haran: and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to disproue this fancie; the manner of Abrahams departing from Haran hath more proofe, that he had not animum reuertendi, not anv thought looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, bee he of what antiquity or authority soeuer. For thus it is written of him . Then A BR A-HAM tooke SARA his wife, and LOT his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possest, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan and to the Land of Canaan they came. Now if Abraham brought all with him that was deare ynto him; his wife, and kinfmen, and his, and their goods: it is not proba- 20 ble that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous. and barren a Country as that was : or if hee could have beene thereto moued, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet vnfetled, and preft with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father beene then alive, hee might have hoped from him to receive more affured comfort and reliefe, then among the £gyptians, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of Abrahams returne to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have fent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: fo they perhaps, if they were viged, could fay 20 little elfe, than that without fuch a fecond voiage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not oper-troublesome. They say that Abraham was in Haran at his Fathers death, or fome time after, being then by their account 135, yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vindone the bufineffe, which as wee reade, was within foure or fine yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very folemne oath his principall feruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for sface his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his seruant were so well acquainted in Mejopotamia, that they could particularly designe 40 any one woman, as a fit match for Ifaac? Surely if Abraham had been there in perfon so lately, as within foure or fine yeares before, hee would not have forgotten a matter of fuch importance; but would have trufted his owne judgement, in choofing a woman, fit for her picty, vertue, and other defireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only sonne, who was then 35. yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the floud had begotten children, rather than have left all at randome to the confideration of a feruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it bee supposed (if it may be beleived) that either Abraham forgot this builnes when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that Abrahams man in doing his ma- 50 sters errand was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that Sarah had borne to him a fonne in her old age? If Abraham himfelfe, a more certaine author, had so lately beene among them, would not all this have beene an idletale? It were needlesse to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether

Gen.24.

Gen.12.5.

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Whether it were lawful for Abraham to haue returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, even though a wife of his owne kindred could not con. 24.6. haue beene obtained without his personall presence. Iacob indeed was sent thither & 8. by his parents, to take a wife of his ownellinage; not without Gods especiall appro- Gen. 28, bation, by whose bleffing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a feruant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of re-

10 turning to the place, from whence hee hath taken and transplanted them. That briefe faying, Remember Lots wife, containes much matter. Let vs but confider Mesopotamia from whence Abraham was taken, and Agypt, out of which the whole nation of the Ifraelites was delinered : wee shall finde, that no bleffing iffued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When Ezechias was visited with an honourable Emballie from Babel, it feemes that hee conceined great pleasure in 2. Kings 20, his minde, and thought it a peece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by Esai, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to fuch thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of Babylon they fate downcand wept. Concerning Egypt we Plats 3.

20 read, that Sefae and Nece Kings of Egypt brought calamity vpon Ifrael: allo that 1.Kings 14.25.00 their confidence in the Agyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where their connection to return into Agypt I do not remember, nor can readily find; Dest. 17.016. but it is found in Deuteronomie, that God had faid, They flould no more returne that way; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to Agypt, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction pon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of Abrahams is but an imagination : and that imato ginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perfivade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that S. Stephen hath directly taught vs, that Abraham left Haram, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleiue as they doe. For all the trauails of Abraham are precisely set downe in the Scriptures : as first from Vr or Camerina in Chaldea to Haran or Charran : and then from Haran (after his Fathers death) to Sichem; from Sichem hee removed to a mountaine betweene Betheland Haie: thence into Egypt: from Egypt he returned thither againe, where Lot and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part : from thence the second time hee removed to Mamre, neare Hebron : 40 and thence having purfued Amraphel, and refcued Lot, hee after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea, vnder Abimelee : and after neare vnto it at Berfabe, at which time hee was ready to offer up his some Isaac on the mountaine Morial. But this fiction of his retrait to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or humane. Now if it may bee suposed, that Abraham had made any for-

mer journey into Canaan, as Leuita in his Cabala hath fained, it should in reason

bee therewithall beleiued, that hee would in those his first tranailes haue proui-

ded himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding : and not have come a

fecond time, with his wife, kinfmen, familie, goodes and Cattle, not knowing

whereon to rest himselfe. But Abraham, when hee came from Charran, past 50 through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sichem, and the Plaine of Mo-Gazines. riah : where finding no place to inhabite, hee departed thence to Bethel and Hai: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some fit habitation : from whence againe, as it is written in Genesis the eleventh. Hee went foorth, going and iournying towards the South: and alwaies vnfetled.

and feuen yeares after.

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By occasion of which wandring to and tro, fome fay, the Agyptians gaue him and Mont, in Caleb. his the name of Hebrai. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrie, we may note, that ere hee came to Bethel and Hai, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared vnto him faying, Vnto thy feed will I give this Land, thewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknowne. For Abraham withoutany other proudent care for himselfe, beleived in the word of the living God: neither fending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arrived he received a fecond promise from God, that hee would give those Countries vnto him and his feede to inhabit and inherit.

Laftly, what should move any man to thinke, that Mofes would have omitted 10 auy such double iourney of Abrahams, seeing he setteth downe all his passages elswhere, long and fhort? as when he moued from Siehem, and scated betweene Hai and Bethel: the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of Mamre, being but twenty fower miles : and when hee left Mamre, and fate downe at Gerar, being leffe then fixe miles; no, Moles past over all the times of the firstage with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham: shutting up all betweene the Creation and the Floud in fix chapters, which age lasted 1656. yeares: but he bestoweth on the story of Abraham fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fine and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Mo-20 fes forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abrahams trauailes, or other actions: or that he would fet downe those small remoues of fine miles, and omit those of three hundred. For fuch a journey ingoing and comming would have ministred fome varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inferting and adding to Abrahams storie.

### d. IIII.

The answere to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikelie, that TERAH Should beget ABRAHAM in his hundred and thirty yeare.

Ow touching the objection, where it is faid, that it was very vnlikelie that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130. yeare, seeing ibraham himselfe thought it a wonder to have a sonne at an hundred : this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and miscases: abraham having respect only to Sarah his wife, when he spake

of their many yeares. For when the Angell faid vnto Abraham in his Tent doore at Mamre; Loe, SARAH thy wife Shall have a Sonne, it followeth in the next verse, Now ABRAHAM and SARAH were old and firicken in age, and it ceased to be with 40 SARAH after the manner of women: therefore SARAH laughed &c.

So then, in that it is faid it ceased to be with S. A.R. A. H. after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on Abraham. For Abraham by his fecod wife Keturah had many fons after Sarah's death, as Zimron, Jockfban, Medan Midian, ifhbak, and Shuah: and the eldeft of these was borne 37. yeares after Isaac: and t'ie yongest 40. yeares after. What strangenesse then, that Terah being 130. yeares old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of Abraham at one hundred yeares? For Sarah died in the yeare of the world 2145. and Isaac was borne in the yeare 2109: and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sa-Origen, bomil. 11. rab was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145, there remais 50 in Gen. Aug. de neth 36. And therefore if Abraham begat five fonnes 36. yeares after this supposed cuit. des. 1.16.6. 34. Contain: wonder, and when Abraham was 137, yeares old: it is not strange that his Father PererinGen. Terah should beget Abrahamat 130. And if Booz, Obed and Ieffe, who lived so many yeares & ages after Abraham, begat Ions at 100. yeares, or neare it, it cannot be mer-

when this feruant of Abrahams demanded an answere as touching Rebecca, then an-

fwered Laban and Bethuel, and faid; This thing is proceeded of Ichouah: meaning that it 60.144.50. was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein hee acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; Take, take, goe that sheemay bee

uailed at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130; and Abraham others at the fame age

The answere to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of ABRA-HAMS age from the Scripture, though wee make not ABRAHAM the eldeft Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of ABRAHAM his two brethren sould berefected.



T followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings Abrahams age altogether in doubt, except wee allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and born whon Terah was 70 yeares old. For Abrahams age beeing made vncertaine, all fucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, vnlesse wee make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205, which was the yeare of his death, then was Abraham 75. And if you aske, how I can judge of times, either preceding or fucceeding, by knowing that A-20 braham departed Haran at that age : I answere, that St. Stephen hath told vs, that Abrahams departure followed the death of his Father Terah : and Terah died at 2055 fo as the 75 yeare of Abraham was the 205. yeare of Terah: which knowne, there can be no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is faid, That Moses had no respect vnto Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the Church but to Abraham only, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh &c. I answere, that: Moles for many great and necessary causes had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the fuccession of Gods Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For Nahor was the Father of Be-20 thuel & Bethuel of Rebecca the mother of Ifrael & Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah. and Mileah and Sarah was mother to Isaat, and grandmother to Isaab also the

wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Iacobs great grandmother : and the age of Sarah the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a fonne at 90 yeares, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselues, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Islaw married Rebecca the grand-child of Nahor; and Iacob Lea and Rachel, the daughters of Labon, the grand-child also of Nahor: it was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is 40 10f. 24.2. yet I fee no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleisted and obeied the calling of Abraham, leaving their naturall Countrie, and

City of Vr in Chalden, as Abraham did, and remoued thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chaldea; but Lot, his sonne, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the lifter of Lot, Abraham married. Nahoralfo who remained at Charran, gaue his fonnes daughters to Isaac, and Iacob his owne kinfmen: hee himselfe having also married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleiued in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Labar had seene the servant of Abraham standing at the Well beside Charran, hee invited 50 him to his Fathers house in this manner : Come in thou bleffed of lehoush &s. And Gongan

thy masters sonnes wife, even as Jehouah hath said. This their often ying of the name of Iehouah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a figne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chryfostome, and some later writers, as Catetan, Oleaster, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idoter. because he retained certaine Idols, or houshold Gods, which Rachel Stole from him; yet that he beleived in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams servant, blessed of Iehouah, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not anow, that these men were out of the Church, who fure I am were not out of the faith.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren. Gen. 11. V. 26. deth not proue that hee was the eldest: together with divers reasons proving that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.

the maine objection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that striue to shorten the times, endeuor to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeare of Terahs life: grounding themselues first and cheistly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lined 70. yeares and be-

gat ABRAHAM. NAHOR and HARAN: To this Isay, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that hee was the eldest and first borne some of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first borne of Adam : nor Isaac of Abraham : nor Isaab of Isaac : nor Iuda and Iosephof Iacob: nor David the eldest of Iesse: nor Salomon of David: as

is formerly remembred.

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But it is written of Noah; Noah was 500. yeares old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and laphet: showing that at the 500, yeare of his age he began to beget the first of Aug.quaft.fuger those three sonnes. For according to St. Augustine speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futura dignitatis:in qua excelluit ABRAHAM. The order of nativity is not heere to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sonnes of Noah : fo is it heere; where it is faid that TERAH lived 70. yeares and begat ABRA-HAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget fonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his auncestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130. Enosh 40 Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalaeel at 70; Mahalaeel Iered at 60: Noah was yet 500 yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes : as aforesaid. And S. Angustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the yongest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His owne words are these. Fieri enimpotuit vt posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellentia, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior suerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah or in thele of Terah : Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in na- 50 ture, as touching his election or spirituall bleffing, for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergò vel ipso potiùs electio diuina, que comitem secùm trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat SEMO in libris NOA, & ABRAHAMO in liber is Thare. Pietie faith he or rather divine

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election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it piete and the feare of God, gave place and precedencie to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeare of his age, And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived 86, years, Gen 12.4. It was at Gerar (the fouth border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Ifaac, when Abraham Gen. 16.16. had confumed 100. yeares. It was from the valley of Alamrein Canaan that Abrahamrose out, when herescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and hee had then but

the age of 82 yeares; and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father 12.140 5th. 10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. yeare old, then must Abraham 14. haue beene 135. yeares when hee first set his foot in Canaan: seeing Terah must bee dead ere he parted, and so 70.added to 135.made 205, the true age of Terab; which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75 : hee rescued Lotat 83 : he had Ifmael at 86 : he had Ifaac at 100 proued by the

Moreouer if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70 years of his age: then had Terablined till Isaachad beene 35, yeares old, and Ismael AO. both which must then have been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vnleffe wee should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham 20 departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death : or else give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, faith it was about his Fathers death : because the greeke word 4472, may be transported by the Latine fub, aswell as by post: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60 yeares before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to have beene borne in the 70. yeare of Terah; we must give those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Vr of Chaldaa, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeares after his arrivall into Canaan. For the yeare of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeare of 30 the World 2083; and the yeare of Ismsels birth was the Worlds yeare 2094; which maketh 10 yeares difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Morial therein, 39 miles from Berlabe, where Abraham

of Mamre, no man doubteth! And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terah lived: nor in leffe then 10 yeares after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70, yeare

then inhabited and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terab lived but 145. for 70 and 75. make 145. which must also have Genize beenethe full age of Terah: but Terablined 205 yeare : and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeare of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Istah wanted but 10. yeares of Abrahams age: Isaat beeing borne when Abraham was 100 and Sarah 90: yeares

It followeth then that if Abraham had beene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at 9. yeares old : for granting that Haran was borne but one yeare after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. yeares as old as Abraham, then of 30 necessitie must Haran beget her, when he had lived but 9. yeares; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Ifeah was Surah, Rab: Solomon affirmeth, both names, faith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principalitie. Againe, to what end was the word Isah or Isheah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to

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speake of any thing superfluous it is not vsed in Gods Bookes; and if Isah had not belonged to the story, it had beene but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had beene trew (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that Moles had no respect of Nachor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Is ah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing elfe first or last.

The age also of Lot disprough the eldership of Abraham: for Lot was called an old man when Abraham was but 82, yeares: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah, Abraham marrying one of 10 Harans daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within 10. yeares as olde as Abraham: it may appeare to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham : who also died first and before his Father left Vr in Chaldas. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, vpon the same place of Genesis: drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but 10. yeares yonger than Abraham himselfe. Lyra his wordes arethele. Siigitur HARAN fuit iunior ipfo ABRAHAM, fequitur quòd non babebat decem annos quando genuit SARAM: imònec octo &c. and afterward, & ideò melius videtur dicendum, quod ABRAHAM fuit vitimo natus de tribus filis THARE, tamen nominatur primo, propter eius dignitatem : & quia ponenduserat caput stirpis & generati- 20 onis sequentis : & quia primo facta est cirepromisso expressa de CHRISTO, sicut supra dictum eft de SEN &c. If therefore (faith Lyra) HARAN was yonger then ABRA-HAM himfelfe, it followeth that he was not 10 yeares old when he begat SARAH: And therefore it feemeth better to be faid, that ABRAHAM was the last born of the three fonnes of THARE, neuerthelesse he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the flocke and generation following: and because the promise of CHRIST was first made unto him, as before it is said of SEM.

#### ð. V I I.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides : with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more unprobable.



AR.3.4.

Gen.12.4.

T therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was borne in the 120 years of Terah. in the 70. yeare. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, according to S. Stephen, and that iourney by Abraham performed when 49

hee was 75 yeares old, these two numbers added make 205. yeares, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For my selfe, I haue no other end hecrein then to manifest the truth of the World's Storie: I reuerence the judgements of the Fathers: but I know they were miltaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuerfie. For what soeuer is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke de Civitate Dei ca. 15, the same may bee answered out of himselfe in his fine and twentieth question vpon Gen. But S. Augustine heerein followed Insephus, and Isidor: and Beda followed S. August. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrews and Iofephus fought to make Abraham the first borne : as if God had had respect to the eldest 50 in nature . So did Iosephus together with Nicholas Dams (cenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Iewish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of Queene Sarah: and faid that Abraham was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euerie one had an infinite multitude under him ; trecentes & oitodecem prafectos

habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharae invading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife Sarah. Such fables argue that lofephus is not to be believed, but with discreete reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeares from the floud to Abraham, is vpheld by manie of the Hebrews . But how thould we value the opinion of such Chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their judgement in such matters were worthie to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting downe the fuccession of the Persian Kings, vnder whom they lived, whose historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of manie good wri-10 ters. Yet groffely haue they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome finde their opinion rehearfed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the Romane religion are also generally on the same lide: it being a thing vsual among them, to maintaine what soeuer they have beene formerly knowne to hold and beleive. Contrariwife, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him: of later times Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Caluin, Iumus, Beza, Broughton, Dock. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the Protestants, hold Abraham to have been borne in the 130 yeare of his Father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuerthelesse good Authors, as Bucholcerus, Chitraus, Functius 20 and others, are verie auerse hecrein, especially tosephus Scaliger with his Sethus Calvifius, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-heritique in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poilonous. Contrariwise Augustinus Torniellus a Pricett of the Congregation of S. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose Annales are newly fet forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleadging Beroalaus, nor any Protestan: writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretiques. For my selfe I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the Romish Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this

larger account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant writers have approved; it but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former 30 reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of judgement, that the best approued Historians, Divine and prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approue the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approue the times by. Let vs then make judgment to our felues, which of these two accounts giue the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the worlds new plantation, and the continuancie of Gods Church: either that of Iofephia, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of Abraham: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking Abraham to be the first borne of Thare,

40 in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a yonger sonne of Thare, and borne when he had lived 130, yeares. And if we looke over all, and doe not haltily latisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satisfied doe slothfully and drowfily fit downe; wee shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the Septuagint, who according to some editions, make it about 1072. yeares betweene the floud and Abrahams birth: then to take away any part of those 352, yeares giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abrahams time, yea, before Abraham was borne, we shall find that it were verie ill done of vs, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deeply betweene Abraham and the floud: because

50 in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole florie might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimonic of the Scriptures supreame, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of St. Augustine, That wherefocuer any one place in the Scriptures may be conceined difagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood.

Of the Floud

For in Abrahams time all the then-knowen parts of the world were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent Cities: and fo had Palastina, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the world belides, as far as India: and those not built with stickes, but of hewen stones, and defended with walles and rampiers : which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruailes? gining also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mens apish braines, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the storie to of the World and mankinde.

### ð. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians and others, grounded upon the times noted in the storie of ABRAHAM.

An.mundi 2008 dil.352.natus Abrabam Eufeb. August. de Civit. Dei. l, 16. c. 17.



N this fort therefore for the reasons before allead ged, I conclude, that from the generall floud, to the birth of Abraham, 352. yeares that from the general floud, to the birth of Catraman, 572. Acades were confirmed: and taking the Affyrian Historie with vs, the same in number of yeares were spent from the floud to the 43. yeare of Ninus Abraham was borne: which hapned in the yeare of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, wee must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinar, as to those that staied in the East, to wit, 30. yeare to Chus, ere he begat Seba: of which, though the Scriptures are filent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, wee may the more fafely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at 34. Peleg Regu at 30. Regu Serug at 32. Now after Seba, Chus begat Hauila, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Nimrod was borne as it appea- 30 Aug. de ciuit. reth Gen. 10: which St. Augustine approueth. Giuing then 30. yeares more to Raama ere hee begat Sheba, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered that 65, yeares were confumed ere Nimrod himselfe was borne : and that Raamah had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for Peleg, the fourth from Noah, as Raamah was, begat Reguin the same yeare of his life.

Gen. 11.18.

Let vs then allow 60. yeares more after the birth of Nimrod, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build Babel; for sure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125: The rest of the time of 131. (in 40 which yeare they arrived in Shinar whereof there are 6. yeares remaining) we may giue them for their trauels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattle: and as some ancient writers have conceived, and Becanus of la-An. a falute bu. ter times, they kept alwaies the mountaines sides, for feare of a second floud. Now mani generis ab if we take this number of 131.out of 352. there remaines 221, of which number aquis centesimo Berosus bestoweth 65. on Belus, and 42. on Ninus, before Abraham borne : both num Babylani which S. Augustine approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there cum fub nofiro remaineth 1 14. yeares of the 3 52, from the floud to Abrahams birth: which number of 114 necessitie bestoweth on Wimrod.

perauit annis 65 Berefus.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod, is over-long: fure if we com- 50 pare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For Nimrod, by this accompt, lived in all but one hundred feuenty nine yeares: whereof hee raigned one hundred and twelve: whereas Sale who was the sonne of Arphaxad the sonne of Sem, lived four hundred thirty three

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yeares : and of the same age of the World was Nimrod, the sonne of Chus, the sonne

Now after Ahraham was borne

Ninus reigned 9. yeares: which added to 43. make Ninus dieth and leaueth Semiramis his fucceffor. Semiranis gouerned the Empire of Babylonia and Assyria 42. yeares, and died in the Of the World

.yeare compress of Americanis and ruled 38. yeares, in the second yeare 261.

of whose reigne Abraham left Mejopotamia.

When Abraham was 85, yeares old, he refcued his nephew Lot, and ouerthrew by 403, a dd. furprise Amraphel king of Shinar, or Babylonia. Nimas reigned 38 yeares, and Abraham came into Canaan but 23. yeares after Serviramis died: which was the 75. yeare of his age : fo that Amy appel may feeme to haue beenethis Ninias the fonne of Ninus, and Semiramis, whose 23 yeare, as aforesaid, being the 75 yeare of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might hade received this overthrow in the 85. yeare of Abraham, and the 33 yeare of his own reigne: after which hereigned fine yeares; which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias; are not casily answered. Howbert for the times of the Affyrian kings, that they are to be ordered as wee haue fet them downe, accor-20 ding to the times noted by Moses, in the storie of Abraham, it is most certaine: vn-· leffe we will either derogate from the truth of Mofes his computation, which were impietic : or account the whole Historie of Ninus and Semramis to bee a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

#### d. IX.

That AMRAPHEL, one of the foure Kingswhom ABRAHAM ouerthrew Gen. 14.

may probably be thought to have beene NINIAS the Sonne of NINVs.



Nd now touching this Amraphel, whom Moses makes king of Shinar or Babylonia, in the 85. yeare of Abrahams life, that is, in the 33. yeare of the reigne of Ninias Zameis the king of the Affyrians, the fonne of Winus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee

could bee at this time king of Babylonia: Ninias Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt the answere which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath beene alreadic noted, that this Ninius or Zameis, was no other then our Amraphel: who inuaded Traconitis or Bafan, and ouerthrew those fine kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim. For the Scriptures tell vs, that Amraphel was king 40 of Shimar, which is Babylonia: and the times before accounted make him to be the fuccessor of Ninus and Semiramis: and it falleth out with the 85. yeare of Abrahams life : wherein herefcued Let, flew Chedorlaomer, and ouerthrew the reft. Trive it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarke : for Chedorlaomer commanded in cheife, though Amraphel bee first named by Moses in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of Genesis, For the Kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or of the flue Cities, were the vaffals of Chedorl. and not of Amraphel: as it is Written. Twelue yeares were they Subject to Che Dor L'Aomer, but in the 13. yeare Gual44. they rebelled, and in the 14. year came CHEDORLAOMER and the kings that were with him: and therefore was Chedorl, the principall in this criterprise, who was then king

50 of Elam, which is Persia: Now Persia being seated ouer Tigris, and to the East of Amraphels Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the West of Shinar or Babylonia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it selfe, feemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had Amraphel beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make Ninus or Semiramis

CHAP.I. S.II.

Xenophon.

Genia.

whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the affistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the fitst and greatest of those fower Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of Sodome, Gomora, cre, were his vassals, and not Amraphels) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of Affria, had now (as we shall show more plainly in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre : though not long before it commanded all the kingdomes betweene India and the Phanician Sea: to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

#### ò. X.

Of ARIOCH another of the foure Kings, and that ELLAS: whereof he is faid to haue beene King, lies betweene Coelesyria and Arabia Petrœa.



Ow the two other kings joined with Amraphel, and Chedorl, were Arioch and Tidal; the one king of Ellassar, the other of the Nations. For Ellassar, Aquila and Hierome write Pontus: fo Tostatus thinketh that it should be Hellespont: which opinion Pererius fauoureth. But this is 20 onely to defend the Latine translation. For as Pontus, so is Hellespont

farre distant, and out of the way to send any armies into Arabia Petraa, or into Idumea: which Countries these foure Kings cheifly inuaded, Besides that, it is certaine, that the Asyrians (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in Asia the leffe. For at fuch time as the Afsyrians feared the invalion of the Medes and Perlians, they fent not into Afia the leffe as commaunders: but vsed all the art they had to inuite Crafus to their affistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the Medes against the Asyrians. But examine the enterprise what it was. These kings (faith the Text) made warre with BERA, king of Sodome, BIRSHA king of Gomor- 30 ha. SHINAB king of Admath, and SHEMEBAR king of Zeboim, and the king of BELA which is Zoar. All which five kings had not fo much ground as Middlefex: being fuch a kind of Reguli, as Iofua found in the land long after: namely Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning; of which Canaan had 32, all slaine or hanged by 10/11a. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are faid also to haue inuaded, be imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from Pontus or Hellefont, had manifested a great impotencie and weaknesse in the kings of Babylon and Persia.

And though it be alleadged for an example, that divers kings far off, came to affift Pompey against Cafar: yet these same examples without like occasions and cir- 40 cumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to scare the greatnesse of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the eies of the world were fixed on Cafar; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leffe doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure kings maistered in their paffage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of Manaffe, Gad, and Ruben: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene Iordan and the mountaines of Seir inclofed by the river of Arnon on the South fide, and by Lybanus on the North, confifting of the two small Provinces of Traconitis or Basan, and the Region of the Moabites: a conquest farre vnualuable, and little answering the power of the Assyrian Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of Ninus and Se-50 miramis, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the affiftance of any of the kings of Helle front, or any other part of Afia the leffe. But as the Vulgar and Aquila convert Ellassar by Pontus: so Symmachus makes Ariocha king of the Scythians, aking indeed, as farre fetched to joyne with the Affyrians

in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The Septuagint doe not change the word of Ellss ar at all, but as they keep the word Ararat, on the mountaines wherof the Arke did reft, so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word Eduffer, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of Pontus or Hellespont: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For Stephanus de Vrbibus a Gracian Cosmographer, findeth the Citie of Ellas in the border of Cælelyria . and St. Hierome calleth Ellas the Citie of Arioch, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by Stephanus in Calesyria, yet it standeth on the border 10 of Arabia, of which Arioch was king: who formerly joined with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from Cham and Chus: after whom the name of Arius was by the Hebrens written Arisch: and afterward againe Aretas: as in the Macchabes: the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of St. Mac.z.c. g.v.s. Paul, who was sought to be betraied by the Lieutenant of Aretas commanding in Cor. 2.11. Damaseus. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the Affyrian Empire. It is true that we finde in Daniel, that in the time of Nabucho- Dan. 2, donofor, one Arioch was Generall of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that Arisch heere spoken of, the fonne of that Arioch confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus, nor of Scythia: regi-20 ons farre remoued from the Assyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch who commanded vnder Nabuchodono for is mentioned in Indith, by the name of king of the Elymeans: who are a Nation of Persians bordering Assyria: according to Stephanus: though Plinie fets it betweene the Sea-coast, and Media: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings or other of that house (knowne by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta or Aretas) had the gouernment of that Persian Province called Elymais (asit seemeth they had by the places of Daniel and Iudith) yet the same was in Nabuchodonoforstime. But this Arioch heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the king of Arabia, the sonne of Arius, the confederate of Ninus: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that fide to-20 wards the West to Bahylonia, and Chaldaa: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and bloud: which D. Siculus also confirmeth.

Died Sic.1,2,c.1

# of TIDAL another of the foure Kings.

He fourth King by Abraham ouerthrowne was Tidal, king of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it Goum, which Vatablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra of mixt people: Caluin of runnagates without habitation: Pererius out of Strabe, findes that Galilaa was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of Ægyptians, Arabians, and Straboli. 16.fe, Phænicians. Nam tales sunt qui Galilaam habitant, Such are the inhabitants of Galilee saith 523-

Strabo: and therefore was Tidal called king of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so : but the authoritie of Strabo is nothing in this question. For Galilaa was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of Strabo. For when Abraham came Gon, 12,6. into Canaan, the Cananite was then in the Land, how socuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettic kingdomes adioyning to Phonicia, and Palossina; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidice, Caßiotis, Chalibonitis, and all these doe also ioine themselves to Mesopotamia, on the North, and to 50 Arabia on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselues together under Tidal, I take to be the probablest coniccture.

X 2

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That CHEDORLAOMER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Affyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.



Astly, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provincial gouernour of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were fuch alfo, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Affur, and Shinar, to call the Affyrian a king of E- 10

lam: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of Chaldea, Shinar, Babylonia, or Affyria: but neuer by Elam; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim which in the Hebrew fignificth Regale: for so Q. Curtims calleth the garment which the Persian kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleiue that the Affyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatnesse at the time of this inuasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe : all 20 whose cheife Commanders became kings after him. Tamberlain conquered Asia and India with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to prevalent furie God hath adjoined a short life: and what socuer things Nature herselfe worketh in hast, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if

Ninus beeing the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, infolent, and cruell. Semiramis taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her Paramor: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing chan- 20 ged Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no leffe feminine then the was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual! smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: fo those kings adjoining (whose subjection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more greiuous) could not fleepe, when the aduantage wasoffered by fuch a fucceffour. For in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, this King shined little (saith Nauclerus of Ninias) in the Babylonian kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men having been neuer before gawled with the yoke of forraine dominion. Nor having euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery: no long descent having as yet invested the Assyrian with a right: nor any other 40 title being for him to bee pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate fonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold fo many great Princes and Nations his vaffals, with a powerleffe maftering, and a mindleffe industrious than his Father, and Mother had vsed before him. And he that was so much given ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42 yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, -as he neither indeauoured to gaine what he could not gouerne nor to keep what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These Considerations being joyned to the storie of Amraphel, deliuered by Mo- 50 fes, by which we finde that Amraphelking of Shinar was rather an inferiour to the king of Persia, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken afunder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at fuch time as it pleased God to impose that great travaile vpon Abraham, from Vr in Chaldea to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred werethen setled, and in peace. For it was in the 23 yeare of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God, tooke this great journey in hand : in which time of 23. yeares after the death of Semirams, the neighbor Princes had recoursed their libertic and former estates. For Semiramis armie of foure millions, with herselfe vtterly strab.l.15

confirmed in India, and all her armes and engins of war, at the fame time loft, gaue an

10 occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and auncientest Historians, that Arius the sonne of Ninias, or Amraphel, inuaded the Battrians and Caspians, and againe subjected them : which needed not if they had not been revolted from Ninias, after Ninus death. And as Arioth recoursed one part, so did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from Agypt to India: and therefore was called Xerxes, ideft Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher, which vndertakings had been no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the Babylonian sub-20 iection. Now if we shall make any doubt heereof, that is of the reconquest of Arius and Ninus, wee may as well thinke the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but fained: but if wee graunt this reconquest, then is it true that while Nimias or Amraphel ruled, the Affyrian Empire was torne afunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of Moles as before remembred.

ð. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselues: and soretained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be fo, we neede not fay that AMRAPHEL was NINIAS, nor trouble our (elues with many other difficulties.



He consent of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these 4 kings, Amaphel of Shinar, Chedorlao-mer of Elam, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or feeme intituled:doth almost insorce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elswhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for peo-

ple of those lands, or if (as Hierome hath it) Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitati-40 on, or gathered out of fundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceine of this Historie; remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolue them. For as it had been a strange coniecture to thinke that Arioch was drawn to affift the Persian, against the Sodomite; as far as from Pontus, where it is very vnlikely that Chedorlaomer was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of siddim should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that Chedorlaomer, if he were king of Persta alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of Ass. ria, Chaldaa, Melapotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia, and Canaan, to Subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his care, being dissoined by so 50 many great Nations of different languages, a wife-man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering Persia together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of Ellafar, & that of Tidal, so far offremoued were become his dependants,

what reason can we finde that might have induced him to hearken after Solome and

Gomorable when he shold have fought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire,  $X_3$ 

Gen. 14.17.

by rooting out the posteritie of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media, and Zoroalter of Bactria) then to imploy the forces of Amraphel, and those other kings, against five pettic townes, leaving Tyrus, and Sidon, and the great Citie of Dama/co, with many other places of much importance, and farre neerer vnto him, vnfubdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement : fo are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these fine Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; year and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that hee should come or fend to reclaime them; was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene Euphrates, yea betweene themselues and the riuer of Indus? Likewise on the part of Chedorlaomer we should finde no greater wisedome, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them : whom by any Lieutenant, with small forces hee might have subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie; How small then must his valour haue beene, who with so mightic preparations effected no more then the wasting of 20 that Falley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although hee had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inualion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that Abraham slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention : Neither will the raigne of Ninias who lived foure or fine yeares longer, permit that he should have died so soone: neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in Stria. Whereby it appeares that these foure kings, were not the same that they are 20 commonly thought: nor their forces fo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well bee true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders every one of his owne companie, which he carried forth as a Colonie, feeking place where to fettle himfelfe and them, as was the viuall manner of those times.

Neither is it vnprobable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troupe of Persians, Amaphel some people out of Shinar, and Tidal others gathered out of fundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Who ocuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of Thuey dides, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infan- 42 cie of Greece, or the manner of the Saracens inuading Affrica, and Spaine, with almost as many kings as feuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the Spanyards in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the West-Indies: may easily perceive, that it was neither vnusuall, for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his affociates were fuch manner of Commanders, it may feeme the more likely, by the flothfull qualitie of Ninias then raigning in Affyria: whose vnmanlike temper was fuch, as might well give occasion to fuch vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of Semi- 50 ramis, rather to feeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whilft others more vnworthie than themselues, were advanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers upon this place make this coniecture disagreable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may

hold our felues to the former coniecture, that Amraphel was Ninias: and that the power of his Auncestours being by his sloth decaied, he might well be inferiour to the Persian Chedorlaomer : or if this doe not satisfie, wee may say that Amraphel was an Vnder-king or Satrape of Shinar, under Ninias: who may be supposed to have had his Imperial feat in his Fathers Citie Niniue: and to have preferred it before Shinar and Babylon the Citic of his Mother, whom hee hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation; and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That these foure kings were leaders of Colonies, sent out of the 10 Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hecreto adde that Chedorlaomer seemes rather called a Persian king, then king of Persia: and that Arioch (whole kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene Syria and Arabia) having beenea man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to have cost bestowed vpon it : especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholy to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these 20 opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people societ these foure were kings, this expedition is the only publique action that we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews E/au and Iacob, as they are registred by Moses, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand vpon things generally knowne to all Christians, nor to repeate what hath beene elsewhere alreadie spoken, nor to preuent ourselves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, wee passe them heere in silence. And because in this Storie of Abraham and his posteritie, there is much mention of Egypt: by which it appeares that euen in the time of Abraham, it was a fetled and flourishing king-

dome, it will not be amiffe in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

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## CHAP. II.

Of the kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Isra-lites from thence.

Abreife of the names and times of the first kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes of difficultie inresoluting of the truth in these points.



Oone after the confusion at Babel (as it seemes) Cham with many of his iffue and followers (hauing doubtleffe known the fertilitie of Ægypt before the floud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie: in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred ninetie one yeares after the 20 deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this kingdome till fuch time as Ifrael departed Agypt are shewen in the Table following.

	An.Mundi.	An.au.	
หาวการเรือง มาแบบของสุดุ เมื	1847.	191, 352.	Cham. Ofiris.
-gabi grti i i i	2269.	613.	Typhon ? Hercules. \$
	2276. 2391. 2424. 2438. 2476. 2488. 2497.	620. 735. 768. 782. 820. 832. 841.	Orm. Sefofiris the great. Sefofiris the blinde. Bufiris or Orm the 2. Acenchere or Thermutis or Meris. Ratheris or Athoris. Cheneres drowned in the red Sea.
	l	1	

The Table and especially the Chronologie, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscuritie manifest and resistlesse truth cannot be found. For S. Augustine, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had fought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of Varro, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Egyptian kings: which he would not have done, if they had not beene more vncertaine then the Sicyonians, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtleffe they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscuritie in the Egyptian Storie, was the ambition of the Preists: who to magnifie their antiquities, filled the Recordes (which were in their hands) with many leafings : and recounted vinto strangers, the names of many kings that neuer reigned. 50 What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in £gypt, fuch as are neuer found but in States that have greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of meruailous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Preists were not altoge-

ther falle. A second cause of our ignorance in the Agyptian Historie, was the too much credulitie of some good Authors, who beleiuing the manifold and contraric reports of fundrie Azyptians, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; haue confirmed them, and as it were enforced them vpon vs, by their authoritie. A third and generall cause of more than Agyptian darkenesse in all auncient Histories,, is the edition of many Authors by John Annus, of whom (if to the censures of sundrieveric learned I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That Annius having scene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would. may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme 10 him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Heereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authors, either in the Chronologie or Genealogie of the Agyptian Kings, runnes three altogether different waies. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow Eufebius: Many late writers follow the edition of Annius his Authors: The prophane Histories follow Herodotus, Diodorus, and fuch others.

### ø. II.

That by the account of the Agyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that CHAMS reigne in Ægypt began in the yeare after the Floud 101.



30

O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the auncient kings, about whom is most controucrsie, the best meane is by helpe of the Dynasties: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the Dynasties (besides the authoritie of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most

part, if not altogether with the Histories of the Assyrians, Iroians, Italians, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is joined by general confent, with the 43. yeare of 20 Ninus : in which Abraham was borne. The twelue first Dynasties lasted each of them seuen yeares, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater Gods: so that all the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynast indured source teene yeares : the foureteenth 26 : the fifteenth 37. These three last are said to haue beene under the three yonger Gods. So the hiteene first Dynastes, lasted 161. yeares. As I doe not therefore beleine that the continuance of these Dyn. was such as hath beene mentioned, because Annius in such-wise limits out their time : so I cannot reject the account vpon this only reason, That Annius hath it so : considering that both hitherto it hath paffed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by manie good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth 40 Dynastic, in the yeare of Abrahams birth, as aforesaid : the reckoning is easily casts by which the summe of 161. yeares, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352 yeares, which were betweene the floud and Abrahams birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of Chams reigne in Egypt, was in the yeare 191. Asalfo by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into Shinar, arrived at Babel, Anno à diluuio 131. In building the Tower were confumed fortic yeares as Glycas recordeth: whose report I have else-where confirmed with divers probabilities. That Chan was long in paffing with his companie, their Wiues, Children, Cattle, and fubfiance, 30 through all Syria then defolate, and full of bogges, Forrests, and bryers (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentic one yeares had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselsein Ægypt, wee allow twentie yeare: and these summes being added to-

gether, to wit one hundred thirtie one yeares after the floud, before they arrived at

Babel, 40. yeares for their stay there, and 20. for Chams passage into Agypt, and setling there, make vp the summe of 191 yeares: at which time we faid that Cham began his reigne in £gypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. And to this summe of 101. yeares if we adde the 161. yeares of the 15. first Dynasties, as they are numbred in common account, wee shall fall right with the yeare of Abrahams birth, which was An. Dil. 352. And heereto omitting manie other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first Dynasties must needes have beene verie short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seuerall times aboue 161. yeares: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Ægypt haue beene peopled as sooneas Babel after the floud : or the Dynasties (as Mercator thinkes) must have beene before 10 the floud. That the arrivall at Babel was manie yeares before the plantation of Ægypt, after the floud, enough hath beene faid to proue: and that the Dynasties were not before the floud, the number of the longliu'd generations betweene Adam and the floud, which was leffe than the number of the Dynaslies, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into manie Dynasties, then may this have have been aswell after the floud, as before : considering that the sonnes of Noah did not in cuerie Countrie creet such forme of Policie, as had been vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with manie other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

#### à. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers families of kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many under one king.



He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not feuerall races of kings, as the vaunting Agyptums were wont to file them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For inrefitutions of decaied antiquities, it is more easse to denie than to ak 30 firme. But this may bee said, partly vpon good circumstance, partly

vpon the furest proofe, That it was the manner of the Agyptian kings, to put the government of the Countrie into the hands of some trustic Counsellor, only re-Teruing the sourraigntie to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe Visier. This is confirmed first by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are vnder Cham, and more then one under Ofiris or Mizraim; and must therefore have beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counfailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to Agypt, as are mentioned in the Scriptures : of whom Abimilech the Philistim in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did no- 40 thing without Phicol Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking Abrahams wife, and in his private carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of Abimilech the fonne of Gideon it was faid : Is not hee the fonne of IERVBBAAL? and ZEBVL is his officer? Also Ilbosheth the sonne of Saul, feared Abner the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, David himselfe hating Ioab for his crueltie did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite living then in Agypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to have laied the burthen of gouernment vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieute- 50 nants often. Aboue all other proofes is the advancement of Ioleph by Pharaoh. william. Tr.de For Pharaoh faid to Ioseph; Only in the Kings throne will I bee about thee : behold I bell Sacro, Lig. have fet thee over all the Land of Ægypt. William, Arch-bishop of Tyre, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the

like or verie same forme of gouernment by Viceroies, was in his time practifed in £aypt, having there beene in vse (as he beleived) ever fince the time of loseph. He plainly shewes, that the Soldans of Agypt were not Lords of the Countrie, how euer they have been so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly perfourmed the dutie of subjects vnto the Caliphe: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not only of civile government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authoritie roiall into the Soidens hands. He that shall reade in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Mulene Ellia- Linguist dech, with the fourme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient 10 Pharaoh, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as Iofeph was, though farre in-

feriour in wifedome.

CHAP.2. S.4.

To thinke that manie names of fuch Regents or Lieutenants as Ioseph was, haue crept into the list of the Azyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For Inferim Called him . Theman that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of General Control the Countrie: Besides, it is not valikely that the vainglorious Agyptian Preists 33. would as casily report him a king to posteritie, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and rotall managing of the State had passed, whilst that the king himselfe intending his quiet had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example alreadie 20 cited of losephs brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of presists do appear in Diodorus, and Herodotus: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, lay; Diodorus, that Sefostris was the ninetieth king after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 322 after Menas: which could not have been if Menas had been Adam. Therfore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not so many races of kings, but successions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many fundrie linages or sorts of men. Now by what soeuer means a Dynastie or Regencie continued: whether in one famiic, as being made an hereditarie office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: fure it is that it was the kings guift, and free choice, that gaue the office. But the Crown roial alwaies passed by descent, & not by election: which (beside consent of Authors) 30 the Scriptures also proue. For whereas Iofeph bought all the land of Agypt for Pharash, if the crowne had passed by election, then should Pharash's children heereby either have beene inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next succession: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue beene more mightie then the king: as Land-lords of all Agypt, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise wee finde in Exod. 12. that God finote the first borne of PHARAOH, that was to set on his throne: And in Efay it is faid of PHARAOH: I am the sonne of the ancient king.

of CHAM, and his sonne MIZRAIM, Or OSIRIS.

Hat the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath showed from Chamto Chencres, now it followeth to show.

Legypt is called in the Scripture, the land of HAM. That this name is not Pfel, 18, 10. giuen to it because the posteritie of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that 109.13. himselfie did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For 106.13.

I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of Cush, Put, or Canaan, as well as Ægypt, were called the land of Ham. Further it is found in Diodorus Siculus, that O- Diod. Sic.l.t. fris calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of Cham, saying; Minipater Saturnus deorum om-50 nium iunior : also, Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum : which must needs be vnderstood of Cham: for this Saturnus Agyptius was Cham: as it is faid, that on the monument of Ninus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Ægyptus. Likewise the Temple of Hammon not farre from Ægypt doth testifie, that Ham resided in those parts. And St. Hierome in quastionibus Hebrai-

24.I

eis faith, that the Agyptians themselves did in his daies call their Countrie Ham; as in foure severall places in the Psalmes this Countrie is called the land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in Ofride, that in the facrifices of the Agyptians this Countrie of Agypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia: vt puto (faith he) d Chamo No Es filio, to which also he addeth out of Isidor, Agyptum V/g, hodie Agyptiorum lingua K A M vocari: that Ægypt unto this day in the tongue of the Ægyptians is called K A M. For the beginning and continuance of Chams reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I have already given in profe of the time Spent in the 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strange that the reigne of Cham, should last so long as 161. yeares: considering that Sem lived 600. Arpachshad and Shelah 10 each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one Saltis created by Manetho, had in those long-lived generations reigned there, 19. yeares, and with Baon, Apachnas, Apochis, and others of the same brood, obscured the same and gloric of Ofiris, Orus, and Sefoftris. Reineccius in histor. Iulia, placeth Mizraim next, otherwise called Ofiris according to Diodorus: who faith he was the fonne of Hammon: Krentshemius faith that Mizraim and Ofiris are words of neere affinitie and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoeuer it bee, weeknow that Mizraim the sonne of Cham, was Lord of A. gypt, and Reineccius citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that Agypt is now called by the naturals in their owne language Mezre. Neither doe I fee caufe of doubt whether Ofiris were the same with Mizraim. It is more necessarie, and hard 20 to shew manifestly, how long Mizraim or Ofiris reigned. For whereas the yeare of his death is no where precifely fet downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly faid by Annius his Berofus, to have begun his reigne at the birth of Abraham, when the Dynaslie of the Thebai began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of Eulebius: who auoucheth as much: next by Diodorus, who faith that he inhabited Thebes: which habitation of Ofris there, that it might be cause of that Dynaft. I can well believe : affenting to farre to Reineccius, who thinkes the Dynafties were named only, according to the feuerall feates of the kings.

Of the time when Osiris reigneended: and that IACOB came into Agypt in the time of ORVs the Sonne of OSIRIS.



He death of Ofiris, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only coniecture that I know, is made thus. Lehabim the sonne of Mizraim called Hercules Lybius, made warre in Italie, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the affociates of Typhon, in the 41. yeare of Baleus king of Af-(yria: before which yeare he had made many great warres in £gypt,

Phanicia, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, and Spaine: and having ended his Agyptian warres, 40 left the kingdome to Orus. Thus farre Berofus, or authors following Berofus. That piod. Sic. l. 2.0.1 Orus last of all the Gods (as they were stilled) held the kingdome of Is, Diodorus Siculus plainly faith and Plutarch as much; to which all old Histories agree. Krentzhemius heereupon inferres, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the warres, which Heroncules made in so many Countries, after the Agyptian warres were ended: so should the death of Ofris have beene the 34.0f Baleus: when himselfe had reigned 297. yeares. I thinke that Krentzhemius was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For furely in those daies when commerce was not such as now, but all Nauigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so manie Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet 10 would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of Ofiris had beene the 34. of Baleus, then must Israel haue come into £gypt but seuen yeares before the death of Osiris: and haue fined there in the reigne of Typhon. A thing not eafily beleined. For it was the fame

king who aduanced Ioseph, bad him fend for his Father, and gaue him leave to goe into Canaan, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may eafily be gathered out of the booke of Genesis. Whereas therefore the raigne of Ofres, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeare of 1/5 raels comming into Agypt : we must needs cut off 23. yeares from that number, which Krentzhemius coniectures his raigne to have continued: namely feuen which he should have lived after Incobs comming into Agypt: nine in which 10/eph had there flourished, ere his fathers comming: and other seuen in which Typhon and Hereules had raigned after the death of Ofiris, yet before Infephs advanagement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Lybius his wars. For the war which Hereules made in Italie, is faid to have indured 10. yeares: After which proportion we may well give not only fixe yeares, as Krentz hemius doth, but 23 more to fo many wars in fo many and fo far-diffant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto Orus the 13. yeares, which passed betweene the time of Iofephs being fold into Agypt, vnto his advancement : confidering that Putiphar who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to have married, continued all that while cheif Steward vnto Pharaoh: a thing not likely to haue been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in Agypt, as the tyranous vsurpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I shold 20 confidently fay, that Puiphar for his faithfulneffe to Orm, the sonne of Ofris, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his cheif Steward: at which time buying Infept and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Infephs hands, than vnto any of his Agyptian followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weake and valueky in the trouble som daies of Typhon) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further & fay, That when the faying of Iofeph pleased Pharaoh, and all his feruants: then Putiphar Preist of On, being cheise Officer to Pharaoh, did acknowledge in Iofeph, the ancient graces of God, & his iniurious imprisonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife! and being old refigned his office of cheife 30 steward vnto him:who afterward in regard of Putiphar, did fauour the Preists, when he bought the lands of all other Egyptians. This might appeare to some a tale not valike to the frierly book of Afenath, Putiphars daughter: but vato fuch as confider that God workes vitally by means: and that Putiphar was the Steward of that king, vnder whom Iseob died it would feeme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to anouch it. Concerning the warres of Hercules, in which by this reck oning he should have spent 42 yeares after he left £gypt, ere he began in Italie, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian wars considered, & his former enterprises & archeiuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs. but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these 40 Probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these profesare no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscuritie, otherwise than by likelihoods.answerable to the holy Text.

ð. V I. of Typnon, Hercyles Ægyptivs, Orvs, and the two Sesostres, fuccessively, reigning after Mizraim and of divers errors about the former Sesostres.



Oncerning the reigne of Typhon, and of Hercules, I finde none that precifely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelogrator giueth three yeares to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is fo peremptorie without profe, as if his owne worde were sufficient authoritie, in many points verie questionable; alledging no witnesse,

but as it were faying, Testemeipso: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the tearned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Hercules did verie soone

which summe divers other waies may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of £gypt, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of orw: wee are now to confider how many of them are to be allowed vnto 20 Sefastris or Sefanchasis: who is placed next vnto Orus, by authoritie of the Scholiastes Apollony : not without good probabilitie. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of Alia: to haue built a fleete of shippeson the red Sea: and so to have entred into India: likewise with an other fleete on the middle-earth Seas, to have passed into Europe, and subdued manie Nations. This is he (as Reineccius iudgeth) whom Iustine erring in account of his time calleth Vexoris: For Iulline placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus: whereby it would follow that selostris, if hee were Vexoris, was more ancient then was Ofiris (otherwise Mizrain) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of Israel out of Agypt, no one Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the 20 way from Egypt into Asia) till the Father in law of Salomon, Pharaoh Vaphres, tooke Gerar, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time Sefac oppressed Rehoboars, and gaue it to his daughter : after which sime Sefue oppressed Rehoboam, & Necho sought passage through the land of Israel, when hee made his expedition against the Chaldeans. Ofking Vaphres and Nechoitis out of question, that neither of them was the great king Sefostris. Of Sesac it is doubted by some, for asmuch as he came into 14das, with a great armie. Reineccius propounding the doubt leaueth it vndecided; vnleffeit bee sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that hee himselfe placeth Sefastris next to Orus: following the Scholiastes Apollony. But further answere may be made to shew that they were not one. For as Instine witnesseth, Sesostris, otherwise Vex- 40 oris, made warre on people farre remoued, abstaining from his neighbours. Selas camevp purposely against Hierusalem. Sesostris, as Diod. witnesseth, had but 24000. horse : Sefac had 60000 : Sefostris had 8020. Chariots, Sefac but 1200 : Sefostris made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name : Sefac, as most agree, had no other purpose then to succour Ieroboam, and give him countenance in his new reigne: whom he had fauoured euen against Salomon: therfore Selostris must needes haue reigned whilft Ifrael abode in Egypt.

Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of Herodotus, and Diodorus, that one Menas, or Menas, was next to Orus: because those Historians affirme that hee related next after the Gods; it moueth me nothing. For Ostra did succed those 14 Gods, 10 namely the twelve greater and three selfer: himselfe also (as the learned Kaintenian noteth) being called Manas. Which name, as also Minass, and Menis were titles of dignitic: though militaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemius doth we rie probably gather, that Menas was Mercurius Ter-maximus; the Hebrew word.

Meni signifying an Arithmetician: which name Ter-maximue might well be attributed to Ofiris: who was agreat Conquerour, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Artes. In prowesse and great vndertakings Sefostris was no whit inferiour to Osiris. For he sought victorie not for gaine, but for honour only : and beeing well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and fubmitted themselues to his will and roiali disposition. leauing them in a manner to their libertic, returned into Agypt. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired : which neuerthelesse hee is said to have escaped, 10 and to have reigned in all thirtie three yeares: after which time hee chose rather to die then to liue : because he fell blinde. Both Herodotus, and Diodorus, affirme that Selofiris left a fonne, whose name was Pheron or Pherones: who afterwardes tooke the name of Sefosiris: but was nothing like to his Father in glorie: for hee shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse Herodotus attributes to his affaulting the river Nilus with a iaueline: which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed yet for a smuch as Orus the second, (otherwise Busins) who succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this Sesostris had been king, it must needes bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That Businis began not 20 vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of Busins, to the departure of Israelout of Ægypt plainly shewes, beeing almost generally agreed upon, to have beene 75 yeares. That none came betweene Sesostria the second and Busiris or Orus the second, it stands only vpon probabilities: which are these. After Sefostris had reigned somewhile, he fell blinde: after certaine yeares hee recoucred his fight, as is faid : which may have beene true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: furely the manner of his recouerie as it is fet downe, is verie fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or washing his cies with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his sight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindnesse, and when hee was well againe (if euer hee were) 20 may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeares: so his workes which were great doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not verie short. His words are largely set downe by Herodotus, and Diodorus: a part of which may seeme to have beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and fluces of Nilus: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, then with darts, and iauelins: and by his diligent ouerlight of that worke, was like enough to loofe both his eye-fight and his peoples loue: whom his Father had verie bufily emploied in excelline labour about it.

#### d. VII.

Of Business the first oppression of the Israelises; and of his successor Queene There



Nd heerein (if I may prefume to coniceture) Busins, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as Ierobam did with the fonne of Salomon. For that Busins himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of Israel in his buildings: If therfore he were em-

ploied by the great Sefoffris, as teroboam was by Salomon, in the ouerlight of those businesses, the had good opportunitie to worke his greatnesses with the king by industrie; and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king; as teroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at an others: vnlesse he hauceither an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreouer he sought to derive all the paine and labour of publique workes from the Agyptians Y 2

Exod.1.

Ægyptians, to the Ifraelites: he furely did that which to his owne people was verie plautible:who (as appeares in Exodus) were nothing flack in fulfilling the kings crueltie. Now that Orus the 2. or Businis was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the Edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) lasted tenne moneths:it is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also think that hereupon grew the fable of Busiris facrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Ex. 1. that the King, who knew not 10 seph, was a king of a new family. That Busiris was of a new familie, Reineccius doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloudy edict. Neuertheleffe, true it is, that Bufir is according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. yeares after the birth of Moses; before whose 10 birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which Bunting thinks to have lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of Aeypt. Let vs the fore consider, besides the blindnesse of Selostris the second how great the power of the Regents or Viceroyes in Agypt was : and how great confidence the kings did put in them: feeing Ioseph ruled with fuch full power, that he bought al Ægypi, & all the Ægyptians for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the Agyptians cried out vpo Pharaoh, for bread: Pharaoh said to all the Agyptians, Go to Ioseph: what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to have gouerned himself, would give such trust, and soveraigne authoritie: it is not vnlikely 20 that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often profpers, not only the good (fuch as toleph was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therfore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun, til the death of Sefostris. But whether Busiris did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence or whether the blind king religned it, keeping the title; or whether Businis were only Regent, whilft the king lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that Pharaohs daughter tooke vp Moles, and that Pharaoh vexed Israel: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abfurd for vs to fay that the blind king Se- 30 fostris the second oppressed Israel: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked Tirant shewed his cuill nature even when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that Busiris did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares which passed betweene the beginning of Sefostris his reigne, and the departure of Israel out of Agypt, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine, are to bee accounted to Busiris or Orus the second, and his children. Busiris himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to Eulebius: whom verie many indicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke Moses out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares : Her name was Thermutis Phareis, or Muthis according to Cedrenus: Eufeb. cals her Aceneris: and out of Artabanus his Historie Me- 40 ris: Iosephus cals her both Acenchere,& Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario saith that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis the daughter of Amenoph, the fon of Pharaoh. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not Pharaohs sonnes daughter, but Pharohs daughter. Amenophis indeed is placed next before Busiris or Orus the second by Eusebius and others: but whether he were a king or onely a Regent I cannot coniccture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of Sefostris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis: and his daughter by the Agyptians called rather the neece or grandchilde, then the daughter of Pharach, because of the gloric of Sefostris, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that Busiris or Orus the se- 50 cond marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniccture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto Pharaoh: and furniting him, Queene of the land, 12. yeares. But if the were the daughter of Orus the 2. & fifter of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many thinke, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine,

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.2. \$.8.

VIII.

then may it seeme; that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule

of the two brethren of Queene THERMVTIS: and what king it was, under whom Moses was borne: and who it was that perished

when her Farher died.

Hee had two brethren the one was Rathoris or Athoris, who fucceeded her; the other Telegonus, who is only named by Eufebius: but his lineage and offpring described by Reineccius. Rathoris after his listers death reigned 9. yeares: after whom Chenchres, thought to be his fon,

reigned 10.and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of Chencres, Eulebius faith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus vpon Io: of which Historic elswhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres (whom some call Acencheres: but all or most do stile sequero a fighter against God) Acherres reigned 8. yeares: and then Cherres 15. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeare of Cherres it is said by Euseb that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt built 20 Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlikely : viz. That

£gypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid you it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea : else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to have taken all from Cherres the grand-child of Chencres. For whereas Armais is faid to have reigned 4. yeares after Cherres: and Armesis one after Armais: these two kings are by Eufebius and others accounted as one; and his reigne faid to have beene 5. yeares. Hisname is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Historia Iulia.

Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Agyptus or Ramelles who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, maried to-Hypermnestra. --

Danaus or Armeus expelled by his brother &gyptus, after hee had reigned fine yeares, became king of Argos in Greece: was Father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of Epaphus shoul have occupied the kingdome after Cherres, it is hard to fay : confidering that Epaphus himfelf is reported by Eulebius to have been borne in the time of Cheneres. But for almuch as the Historic of Epaphus his birth, is diversly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the Father of Danaus & Agyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Ramesses, was e-50 qually distant from Busiris or Orus the secod, with Cherres the grandchild of Cheneres, And that the posteritie of Telegonus did marrie very yong, it appeares by the historie of these two brethren, Danaus & Agyptus: of whom the former had 50 daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by divers women yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth : Howsoeuer it were, the generall confent of writers is, that Armeus or Danaus did succeede Cherres: and (according to

Exod.4.19.

Eufebius and good Authors approuing him) reigned flue yeares. \*\*Ramessign followed, who reigned 68 yares. This \*\*Ramessign for the \*\*Egyptus\*\* is that \*\*Armessign for the reigned flue yeares. \*\*Approved the theorem in the opinion of \*\*Mercator\*\*, \*\*Abssign for the opinion of \*\*Mercator\*\*, \*\*Abssign for the reigned fo

an at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wildernefle, and there abode for feare: 10 all which Circumfiances could agree with none, but this Rameffes, who reigned fo long: wherefore defirous rather to hold a true Paradox, then a common errour, hee placeth one Aliftragmathofs (whofe name is found in the lift of Egyptian kings, but the time vincertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112.0 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from the others from Themofs (whom Eufcals Amassis) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene Manetho and Euseb. he findes Mose borne vnder Armessimum: and Israel delivered in the daies of his sonne Amenophis. The verie name of Alistragmathofs seemes to him with little alteration to sound like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as 10 a king, or a wise man about the time of Islae. For (saith he) from Alistragmathofs to Phragmathofs, Pharmathofs, Pharatassis, or Pharatases, the change is not great. Mercater was a man of excellent learning and industrie: and one to whom the World is

by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place Exod. 4. all are dead &x. may better be vndershood of Busiris and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, St. Cyrill in his first booke against Inlian the Apostata, saith that Dardanus built Dardania, when Moses was 120. yeares old: Ramesex, which was this Armesessimmum, being then king of Ægypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned 19. yeares: who is thought 30

bound for his many notable workes: yet my affent heerein is with-held from him.

by Mercator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the king that perilied in the red Sea: of which our opinion beeing alreadie laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a Chronolo-

gicall Table (hall lay open) and heere to speake of that great delinerance of Israel out of Exppt: which for manie great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly ouer-passe.



CHAP. III.

# CHAP. III.

# Of the delinerie of Hsrael out of Ægypt.

Q. I.
Of the time of Moses birth, and how long the Ifraelites were oppreffel in £gypt.



Rue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of Moses his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great workes of the Highes, the different opinions are verie necreas manic, as the men that have written of that Argument.

L.Viues in his annotations upon St. Augustine citeth manic of their conicctures: a sthat of Porphyrie out of Samchoniato, that Moses lived in the time of Semiramis; but if he meant the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrarie to all sto-

ries Diuine and humane; while that Semiramis liued shee commanded Syria, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the Ammonites or Moabites or Edomites while she ruled, in rerumnatura.

A second opinion he remembreth of Appion, taken from Ptolomica Preist of Mendes, who saith that Moses was borne while Inachus ruled the Argiues, and Amesis in Ægypt.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* Historie the first booke : that *Mofes* was borne while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Affrius, who though hee cite some authorities, that Affect lived after the Troian warre, is himselfe of opinion, that Moses was faire more ancient, proving it by manie arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the teltimonic of Numerius the Philosopher, who tooke

Musus and Moses to be one: confirming the same out of Artapanas, who confessed that Mass was called Musus, by the Gracian: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Egypt: the same which Eupolemus calleth Merisjothers (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes. Eusoim also affirment that by Eupolemus in his first booke de bono, Moses vir Deo coniunstissimus is called Musus Indeorum. Eusophis in his Chronologic, sindes that Moses was born while Europ. Amenophis ruled Egypt. The ancient Maerithon cals that Phara, which lived at Moses with the Grammarian will have to be Amoss, and elsewhere Amenophis the Father of Sethoss: to whom Institute and Cornelius Tacius give the name of Boschoris. To ome it seemeth most probable, that while Saphrus, called also Sphenus or Phiereus, governed Asspris, Orthopolis Sicyonia; and Criesus the Arigines; that then (Sesofiris the Geond ruling in Asspr) Moses was borne. For if we beleive St. Augustine, it was about the end of Cereps time, that Moses led Ifraelout of Egypt. Educit Moses (saith he) led the decumbination of the control of the second of the s

people of God out of Agypt, about the end of Ceca or sime king of the Athenians. 2514.

In this fort therefore is the time of Mose birth, and of his departure out of Agypt best proued. St. August affirmes (as before remembred) that Moses was borne:

Saphrus gouerning Assignia, and that he left Agypt about the end of Cecrops time.

Now

Exod.I.

Now Saphrus ruled 20, yeares; his fucceffor Mamelus 20, yeares; Sparetus after him 40. yeares : in whose fourth yeare Cecrops began to gouerne in Attica : Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the Empire 41: So as Moles beeing borne while Saphrus ruled Allyria: Orthopolis Sicyonia; and Criafus Argos (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, faith S. Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed Agypt) it will follow that the birth of Moles was in the nineteenth yeare of the Affrian Saphrus : for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for fo long Saphrus reigned) to which adde the thirtie yeares of Mamelus, and the 40. yeares of Sparetus, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeares of Cecrops his 50. yeares: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of Ascatades, who was Sparetus successour, those nine yeares added to 71 make 10 80 at which age Moles left Agypt: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of Cecrops formerly spent, there will termine but soure yeares of Cecrops his 50: and so it falleth right with S. Augustines words, affirming that towards the end of Cecrops his time, Moles led the people of Ifrael out of Egypt.

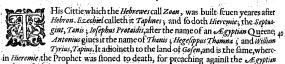
Now the time in which the Hebrewes were opprest in £gypt, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine yeare before the birth of Moses, and 54. yeare, or rather more, after Iofeph : betweene whose death and the birth of Moses, there were confirmed 64. yeares: some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great feruitude and miserie. For as it is written in Exodus: They set taske-masters over them, to keepe them under with burdens : and they built the Cities Pithom and 20 Ramases erc. And by crueltie they caused the children of Israel to serue; and made them wearie of their lines, by fore labour in claie and brick, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vpon them by a masteting power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wifedome of God appointed: euen from 74. yeares, or not much more after the death of Iofeph, who left the World, when it had lafted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of Moles, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he perfourmed in the Worlds age 2514, towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of Egypt, may the better be vnderstood. I thinke it necesfarie to speake a few wordes of the principall places therein named, in this dif 30

### ≬. II.

Of divers Cities and places in Ægypt, mentioned in this Storie, or elfewhere in the Scripture.

27umb.33. Ezechiel 30. Hierem.2.43.44 Infep.l.t.c.9. Tyr.de bell.facro 1.19.6.23.

courfe.



Zoan or Taphnes was in Moles time the Metropolis of the lower Agypt, in which their Pharaohs then commonly refided; and not vnlikely to be the fame Citie, where Abraham in his time found him. But Eusebius out of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham read Astronomie in Heliopolis or On, to Pharetates King of Agypt, Alex. Polyhistor out of Eupolemus hath it otherwise : saying, that Abraham instructed the Agyptian Priests, and not the king; both which authorities Eusebius citeth. The Sep- 10 tuagint, and the Vulgar edition, for Zoan write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Vatablus, Iunius, and our English call it on; and Ptolomie Onium. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower Agypt, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of Ailus falling into the Sea at Pelusium. Andit

Luang li.9.c.4. Gtil.12.15. Esai 19.11.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.3. S.2.

it may be that Heliopolis to the South of the river Train, was the same which Vatablus, and our English call Auen. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine Execusion knowledge : the same which Pomp Mela, and Plinie call Solis oppidum ; Tyrius in the Holie warre, Malbec; the Arabians Bahalbeth; and Simeon Sethi, fons Solis. Of this Heliopolis or On, was Putiphar Priest, or Prince, whose daughter Infeph married. In the territorie adioining Iacob inhabited, while he lived in Agypt. In the confines of this Joseph. 1. bell. Citie, Onias the high Priest of the Ierres built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall Indiaic.c.s. God; not much inferiour to that of Hierusalem (Ptolomic Philopater then governing in Agypt) which flood to the time of Vespasian, 333. yeares after the foundation by 10 Onias, whom Iofephus falfely reporteth, heerein to have fulfilled a prophecie of E/ai. c.19. In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terra Ægypti. In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the middest of the land of Ægypt. Antiochus Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannifing ouer the Iewes, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in Egypt. Lastly, there it was, that our Sauiour Christ Iesus remained, while Io-(eph and the Virgin Marie feared the violence of Herod : neare which (faith Brochard) Brochser, Good

the fountaine is still found, called Iefus Well, whose streames doe afterward water the gardens of Ballamum, no where else found in Agypt. And heereof see more in Brochard in his description of Egypt.

There is also the Citie of Noph, remembred by Esai and Ezechiel; the same which Esai.19.13. 20 Hosea the prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a mountaine ad- Equip. 13.13 ioining, fo called, which mountaine Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great Hofea 9.6. Citie, which was called Memphis; and so the Septuagint write it. It is knowne to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalen,

Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our English write Sin; the Septuagint call Sais : and Montanus Lebna ; is not the same with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius witnes- G.Tyr.l. 20,617 feth. In the time of Baldwin the third, Pelusium was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyri- lib.z.c.5. us) qua olim dicta est Pelusium, Belbeis, that in times past was called Pelusium.

The Citie of No, the Septuagint call Diospolis. Of which name there are two or Excels 30.15.16 30 three in Agypt. Hierome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, for fo Hierome and Ziegler write it, is the same which the Hebrews call Exch 30.17.

To make the storie the more perceiuable, I have added a description of the land of Gosen, in which the Israelites inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethfemes, Balfephon, Succoth, and the rest; together with Moses passage through the Desertes of Arabia the Stonie. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were perfourmed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth 40 the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what we read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digresse in manie places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent : taking for my authoritie, after many others more ancient, that great learned man Arias Montanus; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holie land, hath these words. Si enim absalocorum observatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeò confusa atá, perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici posit. If nurration (faith he) be made of those things which are perfourmed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all 30 things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.

#### ð. III.

Of the crueltie against the Israelites yong children in Agypt: and of Moses his preferuation, and education.



Vt to returne to the storic it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and flauerie, which the ffraelites endured, yet they decrease fed not in numbers: infomuch as thurash confidering the danger of difcontented pouerty, and the able bodies of an opprefied multitude, how perilous they might be to his chate, by suggestion of the Deuill 10

resoluted to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as sooneas they should be born. To which end he sent for Sephora & Thua, women the most famous and expert amongst them, que preerant (saith Commestor) multitudini obstetricum, who had commaund given them over all midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the midwives of Agypt together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the Hebrews, or of the Agyptians, it is diverfly diffruted. St. Augustine calls them Hebrewes, because it is written Exodus the first, The King of Agypt commanded the mixwiues of the Hebrew women coc. But Iosephus, Abulensis, and Pererius beleiuc them to be Agyptians. Who so euer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the 20 Abul. Perer. execution of that fecret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the Agyptians, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: Pharaoh finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howfoeuer, to destroic all the male Hebrew children borne within his

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaeh had of the multitudes of the Hebrewes,

Ver.22.

Ver.16. Folcob.ant.l.2.

the greatest part of whom he might have affured, by affoording them the justice, which eueric king oweth to his vasfals, and the rest he might have emploied or sent Insperse Land a waie at his pleasure; Inspense give than other cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an Experian Preist, that among the Hebrewes there should bee borne a childe; who growing to mansestate should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and prefuming that he could relift the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herodlong after practifed, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of Christ, as if it should have beene temporall, he caufed all the male children at that time borne to be flaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of Exodus. Come,let vs workewisely with 40 them, least they multiplie; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they ioine themselues also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relic on the inventions of their owne most feeble; and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For even by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruailous workes taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an Arkeof reedes, a fucking and powerleffe infant. And this Princeffe hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so peirced her compassion, as she did not only preserue it, and cause it to be sostered; but 50 commanded that it should be esseemed as her owne, and with equal care to the fonne of a King nourished. And for memorie that it was her deede, shee called the childe Moses, as it were, extractus, or ereptus, taken out, to wit, out of the water : or,

after Iofephus and Glycus, Moy, a voice expressing water, and hifes, as much to say, as

Ex0.10.5.

that which is drawne out of water ; or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of strom.lis. opinion, that Mofes was circumcifed, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes. and that Amram, his father, had named him Joachim. In his youth he was carefully

bred, by the care and at the charge of Pharaohs daughter, and by men of the most understanding taught and instructed : quem regio more educanit, prefect is ei sapientibus phil de vita . Egyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur, faith BASIL; Vnto whom shee dans Prince- Mossi. lie education, appointing over him wife Masters of the Agyptians for his instructors. Thereby (fay Infephus and Philo) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Leptians : which also the Martyr Stephen in the leventh of the Asts confir-10 meth. And MosEs was learned in all the wisedome of the Leaptians. Which wisedome or fapience, fuch as it was, or at left formuch thereof as Sic, Senenfis hath gathered, we have added, betweene the death of Moses, and the raigne of solut. A transfer of the state of the

of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Athiopia; and of his marriage there : PHILO his indgement of his Pastorall life : and that of PERERIVS of the bookes of water state GENESIS and IOB.



CHAP-3-S-4-

Hen Moles was growne to mans estate, Tolephus and Eulebins, out of Artapanus, tell vs of ten yeares warre that he madeagainst the Ethiopians: of the belieging of Saba, afterward by Cambyfes called Meroe: and how he recoursed that Citie by the fauour of Tharbis, a Daughter of Athiopia, whom he tooke to wife. So hath Commestor a pretie

tale of Moles, Howafter the end of that warre, Tharbis religting his returne into Leggt, Moles, most skilfull in Afronomie, caused two Images to be ingraven in two pretions fromes : whereof the one encreased memorie; the other caused forgetfulnesse. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of oblinion, 20 to his wife Tharbis, referuing the other of memorie for himselfe; which ring of forgetfulnesse, after thee had awhile worne, thee beganne to neglect the loue thee bare her hulband : and to Moles without danger returned into Agree. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them : It is true, that about the 40 lyeare of Mofer age, when hee beheld an Agyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrawes, moued by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by distance against the other; in the contention he flew the Egyptian. Soone after which act, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose defence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and adulfe of God, whose chosen servant hee was, hee fled into Arabia Petres, the next bordering Countrie to 40 Egypt; where wandring all alone, as a man left and for laken, in a place vak nowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous frangers, and who in fiture times were the irreconciliable enemies of the Hebrewes it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldlie meanes) to make the watering of a few theepe, and the affifting of the Daughters of Riggel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrie nearest Egypt; fittest to return from : necessarie to bee knowne, because interjacent betweene Egypt and Indea, through which he was to leade the Visaditer: and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best ferued. And laftly, where the glorie of the world shined least amidst mountainous

50 Deferts, there the glorie of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and anpeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings forme or an adopted child of great Pharachs daughter, but as a meeke and humble thoepe-heard; fitting at a mountaine foote: a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of Arabia, neares Median, be confumed 40 yeares. And though (as

Philo in the storie of Moles life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those slocks. committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paftorall knowledges yet in that solitarie Desert he enjoyed himselfe and being separate from the press of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, he gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfeall those knowledges, whereof his yonger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalitie, which heafterward obtained. Est enim (saith PHILO) ars Pastoralis, quasi preludium ad reguum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, greeis man suetissimi. Quemadmo dum bellico singenia praexercent sein venationibus, experientia in feris, quod posteain militia es bella per- 10 fectura sunt : bratis prabentibus materiam exercity, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero prafectura mansueti pecoris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis sideo q. Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumedia sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sbeepe 13, as it were, an introductoric exercise unto a Kingdome, namely, therule ouer men, the most gentle flocke : Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselues in hunting. practifing on wild beafts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute bealts affoording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance anto a Kingly rule over Subjects; therefore, Kings are stiled speep-heards of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.

Percr.in 3. c.

That Moles in this time of his abode at Madan, wrote the Booke of 10h, as Pererius Supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that leb was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererius opinion. That Moles, while heliued in that part of Arabia, wrote the bookes of Genesis; although I cannot denie the reason of Pererius coniecture, That by the example of Jobs parience hee might ftrengthen the oppressed Hebrewes: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put them in affurance of their deliverie from the Egyptian flaterie, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised. Of his calling backe into Egypt by the Angell of God, and the meruailes and

wonders which he performed, thereby to perfwade Pharaoh, that hee was the mef 30 senger of the most High, the partieulars are written in the first sourceene Chapters of Exades; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained; it were Exol. c.g. v.13. - needleffe. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Mofes defired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him knowne, and by whom he was sent; he received from God formuch, as man could comprehend of his infinite and everbeing nature. Our of which he delivered him in the first part of his answere, a name to be confidered of by the wifelt and in his fecond, to bee viderstood by all. For there is nothing that is; or hath being of it felfe, but the eternall which truly is; which is about all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment , their fubstance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; neuer continuing 40 avonoftay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say Now. Likewill, what foewer is confumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in enery shortest

C.4.1.13.

Hieronad Dam, peece of time fuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. Vines Dei & folamatura, qua vere est sid enimiquod subsistit non habet aliundessed suumest. Ca-Tera que watar funt, estamfividentur effe non funt, quia aliquando non fuerunt , é potest rir function effe, quad now fuit ; It is the one and only nature of God which truly is for he hath his being of him elfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are crested, althoughthey fermeto be, yet they wee not; for fometimes they were not; and that which hath northeene, may are amount being. And with this, in respect of the ditine hattire, the faving of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth - Tota verum natili as mira eff aut inatis, 10 out fallax : The whole nature of things to but a fladow, either emptie or deceiptfull inscomparison of whom ( faith of ) all Nations are as nothing, leftethen nothing, and

of Ofeneren plagues wherewith the Agyptians were flrucken, the first was by

changing the Riuers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the Hebrewes. To which this place of the Reuelation may be fitly applied: And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast: C.16.v. 51 and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the bloud of the Saints and

Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them bloud to drinke. The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flies, or stinging Waspes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leaprous scabbes; by haile and fire; by Grashoppers; by darknesse; after which Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence: moued the hardned

10 heart of the vnbeleeuing King no longer, then the paine and perill lasted, till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) flood vpon no condition: whereas before, hee first yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, referuing their bestiall; but hee was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the filuer, gold, and jewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being past) he suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when cuery one of the Hebrewes had (according to direction from Mofes receiued) flaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the Passeouer, (a Sacrament of the 20 most cleane and vnspotted Saujour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the dores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night smote every first-borne of £gypt, from the sonne of the King, to that of the becger and slaue: the children of the Ifraelites excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, Pharash being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is faid, to their departure. The Egyptians (faith Epiphanius) did in after times imitate this colouring with Epiphan, lib is bloud, which the Ifraelites vsed after the Passeouer; ascribing an exceeding vertue cont. Heref. to the red colour: and therefore they did not only marke their sheepe and cattell, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harmes.

Of PHARAOHS pursuit of the Ifraclites: and of their passage towards the red Sea, fo farre as Succoth.

CHAP. 2. S.5.

Ow, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God ) hee bethought him aswell of the honour loft, as of the shame remaining after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his pleople, and in despight of himselfe. And having before this time great companies of

40 Souldiers in readinesse, hee consulted with himselse, what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrie of the Philistims. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probabilitie of his Allies, hee suspected that Moses meant to finde fome other outlet, to wit, through the Defert of Etham; and there, because the Countrie was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceffe, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and cattaile, he thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape him that way. In the meane while having gathered together all the Chariots of £gypt, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; he de- exod. 1427. termined to set vpon them in the plaines of Gosen, which way soeuer they turned 50 themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with brode and sharpe hookes on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Brittaines vsed against the Romanes, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of Pharaoh, Iosephus affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Ios. ant. la.c.6.

Exod-14.7.

horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that Pharaoh intended long before to affaile the Hebrewesat their departure, or to destroy them in Gofen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an armie, to let on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, hee doubted two things, either that the Hebrewes might joyne themselues to his enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforst him at this time to give an affent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and Iosephus partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Egypt: which could not be done in haft. For Moses made but three daies march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrie, and to drive their cattell and sheepe with them, pestered with a world of women and children. was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull enemie at hand. Now, as Moles well knew, that he went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his enterprises : so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vfing the vnderstanding which God had given him, he left nothing vnperformed, becomming a naturall wife man, a valiant and a skilfull conductor; as by all his actions and counfailes from this day to his death well appeared.

Exed.1 3.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded 20 him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence : after hee had warned Israel of the Paffeouer, he appointed a generall Affemblie or Rende-vous of all the Hebrewes The territorie at Ramases, in the Territoric of Gosen; a Citie standing indifferent to receive from of Golen was af- all others parts of the Countrie the dispersed Hebrewes: and gaue commandement, terward called that every familie should bring with them such store as they had, of Dow and Paste, the name of not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on this Citie, as his way towards them. Which done, and having confidered the great strength of appeareth in Pharaohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence Moses was vtterly vnprouided (though as it is written, the Israelites went vp armed) hee marched from Ramafes Eastward, towards the Deserts of Etham, and incamped at Succoth; which 20 he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth Abib. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the yeare. Whether in former times they had been accultomed to beginne their yeare Exad. 23. v. 16. in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now recalled by Moses to the rule of their forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politike yeare, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed was confirmed. and still continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, vnto the beginning, middest, or ending of the yeare; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike years is not to bee neglected. Concerning the number of 40 daies in enery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeare, like enough it is that Moles himselfe in fourtie yeares space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of Babylon, I doe not finde. Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not. I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the Hebrew yeare: with the difference betweene them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

Of the solarie and Lumana yeares; and how they are reconciled: with the formes of the Hebrem yeare , and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named The first Moneth, Wifan, or Abib. The fecond, Jar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zim, al 2001 to The third, Siman, or Sinan, or Sibin. Smooth win to agreement wang, Marie ix or The fourth Timuz, quino Talira ones, continue on the fourth Timuz, quino Talira ones, continue on the fourth of th The fourth, Granuz. 42 MO TOLLE ME. 4. MIN.

The fifth, Ab. 5. Miles 5. Miles 6. August. The seuenth, Tyfri, or Ethauin, or Ethanim. 7. September. The eighth, Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or Bul, or, with Tofeph, Marfonane. 8. October: 1. Ani. e. 6. The ninth, Chillen, or Callen.
The tenth, Teheth, or Thobeth. 9. Nouember. The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath.

The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.

10. December

11. Innuarie.
12. Februarie. 10. December 12.Februarie.

E Adar was an intercalarie Moneth, added, some yeares, vnto the other twelve; to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeare agree; which (befides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Sommer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to bee regarded

of the Hebrewes, because of the divine precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts Dout.16. to be celebrated precifely in such a Moneth of the yeare, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Monerh; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have so beene kept; if either the day of the 30 Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe beene

found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time; and to ascertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeares vnequall, by adding fometimes, and fometimes abating one or motedaies; as the errour committed in foregoing yeares required. The errour grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made up a compleat yeare. For though by the continuall course of the Sunne, causing Sommer and Winter duly to succeede each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most sauage of all people, when a yeare hath 40 passed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to bee numbred by a shorter talie, makes this long measure of whole yeares insufficient for the smaller fort of more daily affaires. Therefore men observed the monethly conspicuous revolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeare into twelve parts, Subdividing the Moneth into 29, daies and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes, of time are sentible and easily discerned rso the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderstanding. Twelue renolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by eleuen daies orthereabout, than the year clie course of the Sunne, through the Zodiack, in the space of sixteene yeares, euery Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the 30 yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeare, making it to confift of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearelie renolution by any fet number of whole daies; neither did the Moone

). VI.

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CHAP. 3. S. 6.

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change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and leffer fractions were to bee observed by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wifedome and deepe art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yeras making an estimate at randome, the Athenians held the yeare to containe 360. daies, wherein most of the Greekes concurred with them. That 360 daies filled up the Gracian yeare (befides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which Plime directly affirmeth, telline of the Statues, erected in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were (faith he) 360. whilest as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of daies. By this account neither did any certain eage of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths, neither 10 could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places that must needes be shifted by little and little, from Winter to Sommer, and from Sommer to Winter, as the daies forgotten, to be inferted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnitie of the Olympian games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth Hecatombeon (which answereth in a manner to our Iune) they were carefull to take order; that this moneth might ener beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding fometwo daies to the last moneth of every yeare; those games being held once infoure yeares. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which 20 caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeare, which was the second of the moneth Badromian ; (agreeing nearely withour August ) fometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to infert another for it into the fourth Lunarie yeare, accounting by the Moone; after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their moneth of Iune would every yeare have growne colder and colder, had they not fought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth yeare one whole moneth, which they called the second Posideon, or December; which was the deuice of Harpalus, who also taught them to make one moneth of 29 daies, another of 30 and so successively through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, vnto the high 30 way of the Planets; but these markes which they observed, were found at length to be deceiptfull guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 24. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian, who not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth yeares intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone having 235, times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past shee had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and paffing 40 from Greece to Rome, was there inferted into the Kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoided the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had beene vied; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19. yeares, all was fo euen, that no fenfible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeare could not be perceiued, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus denised a new Cycle containing foure of Metons, that is to fay, 76. yeares, and afterwards Hipparchus, a noble Astrologer, framed another, containing foure of Calippus his Periods, each of them finding some errour in the former observations, which they diligently 50 corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which Iulius Casar made, who by aduise of the best Mathematicians, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenlie bodies, reduced the yeare vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and fixe houres, which houres in foure yeares make

vp one whole day, that is intercalated enery fourth yeare, the 24. of Februarie. The correction of the Iulian yeare by Pope Gregorie the 13. Anno Domin. 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall confent; it was indeede, but as a note added vnto the worke of Cafar : yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sunne, which at the time of the Nicene Councell, Anno Dom. 324 entred the Æquinoctiallon the 21. day of March, was in the yeare 1582, ten daies sooner found in that time, Pope Gregorie strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of October, so that in steade of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feafts depending on the Sunnes entrance into Aries, were a-To gaine celebrated in fuch time, as at the Nicene Councell they had beene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of Trent ordained, that from thence forward in enery hundreth yeare, the leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred : because the Sunne doth not in his yearelie course take up full fixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth fo many minutes; as in 400. yeares make about 3. whole daies.

But the Cycle of 19. yearcs, which the Hebrewes vsed, was such as neither did neede any nice curiolitie of houres, minutes, and other leffer fractions to helpe it; neither did in summing wo the daies of the whole yeare, neglect the daies of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fellout fo, that 20 alwaies the Kalends or first day of the moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festivall, they were very carefull aswell to observe the short yeare of the Moone, paffing through all the 12. fignes in one moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue to Nilan their first moneth, which is about our March or Aprill, 30. daies; to Iar their second moneth 29. daies; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. daies, 12. hours, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact daies, which made up 7. moneths in 19. yeares, to 6. of which 7. 20 were commonly given 30 daies; to one of them 20 daies, or otherwise as was found requifite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the seuerall daies of each moneth) contained 354. daies, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole daies, with some fractions of time. But these daies, and other broken peeces, howfoeuer they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the Cycle of 10. yeares were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the yeare; moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had beene at

the beginning of it 19. yeares before. Divers have diverfly fet downe the forme of the Hebrew yeare, with the man-40 ner of their intercalations. Sigonius tells vs, that every second yeare they did adde Sig dere, Matri a moneth of 22. daies; enery fourth yeare a moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. 13.6.1. daies and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sunne. But herein Sigonius was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. daies: and therefore to have added fo many daies to the end of the years. had been the way to change the fashion of all the moneths in the yeares following, which could not have begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. Genebrard faith, Goneb, chan, that enery third years, or lecond years, as neede required, they did intercalate one 4.2. moneth, adding it at the yeares end vnto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was ( if it be worthy of confide-50 ration) me thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euenneffe untill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as erregrosly) some there are who fay, that after three yeares, when belides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each yeare; then did

the Hebrewes adde a moneth of 30. daies , keeping three daies, as it were in pluffage

vnto the next account. The like, fay they, was done at the end of the fixt yeare; at which time, besides the intercalarie moneth, remained fixe daies, namely three surmounting that moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, belides the three formerly reserved. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeare; at which time they have 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeare make vp a moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all euen.

Whether this were the practife, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet furely it must needes haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare euery moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconvenience by fuch a reckoning was vnauoidable. Wherefore, 10 I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth fuch diflocation of the moneths. by fetting downe a more conuenient way of intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. daies remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th yeares, added vnto the 22. daies, arifing out of the Epacts of the 7th and 8th yeares, doe fitly serue to make vpa moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two daics is fo farre from causing any disorder, that indeede it helps to make the yeares enfuing varie the leffe from the proper seafon of euery moneth. This may fuffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and Yeares, by which they guided their accompts.

#### d. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succeth towards the Red Sea: and of the divers waies leading out of Agypt.

Rom Succeth in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Desert of Etham, to recour the mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wilderneffe, though he intended nothing leffe then to goe out that way, of all other the nearest. But being affured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himselfe 30 from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he rested backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance be-

tweene it and Succoth being about eight mile. That he forbare to enter Arabia being then in fight thereof, it feemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third divine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moles tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which Moses led, consisting of aboue a Million, if not two millions of soules, (for as It is probable it is written Exed. the 12. Great multitudes of fundrie forts of people went out with them) that all those could not possibly passe over those defert and high mountaines with so great multiathers brought tudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastby the Hebrews neffe he should have ouer-taken them, and destroied the greatest numbers of them. to the know- For these his owne wordes. They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them God, followed in, doe shew his hopes and intents; which Moses by turning another way did fru-Moles at his de- strate. Secondly, Moles by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the East fide of the land of Gofen, or Ramefes: from whence (miffing Mofes there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better fecured from the ouer-hearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses confidence in the all-powerfull God was 50 fuch, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glorie of his deliuerance and yistorie to almightie God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wife conduction, or valour. The third

day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the Valley of Pihacheroth, 16. mile distant; and fate downe betweenetwo ledges of mountaines adioyning to the Red Sea; to wit, the mountaines of Etham on the North, and Balzephon towards the South : the same which Oferius calleth Climax : on the top whereof there stood a Climax is rather Temple dedicated to Baal. And, as Phagius noteth, the word so compounded, is as so called in remuch to fay, as Dominus specule, sine custodie, Lord of the watch tower. For the Agyp- fact of a pattians believed, or at least made their stance below that items of them of them of the past items of them of them. tians beleeued, or at least made their flaues beleeue, that if any of them offered toe-downe, than scape that way into Arabia, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to that it is any returne to their Lords and Masters. For the Agyptians had Gods for all turnes. Proper name, 10 Ægyptij Dijs fæcundi; The Ægyptians were fruitfull in Gods, saith St. Hierome. But Moses who incamped at the foot of this mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceine, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower afleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Agypt into Arabia vpon the firme land Moles refused, as well that of Pelusium and Caliotis, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of Iudaa, as the other by Etham; from which he reslected, for the Exed. 13, 12.19. reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the valley of Pihacheroth, between the mountaines, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharaoh made so great speede with his horsemen and chariots, as hee gaue the He-20 brewes no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gat sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brincke and wash of the Sea: insomuch as the Hebrewes being terrified with Pharaohs sudden approch beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to have taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, faith the booke of Wifedome, is the be- c.17. 11. traying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods for-

mer promises, and to be forgetfull of their ownestrength and multitudes.

### Average at & VIII.

Of their passage oner the Red Sea : and of the Red Sea it selfe.



Vt Moses who seared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath never abandoned those, that assured the tribing of the confortable and resolved, speech, Fewernet, See. for the Egyptians whom yee have seene this day, yee shall exad 14. v.13, never see them again. The Lord shall sight for you. After which Mon

fes calling on God for fuccour, received encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in these wordes. Wherefore stiest thou anto me: speake anto the children of 1st Exad. 14. 2.16. 40 rael that they goe forward; and lift thou up thyrod, and firetch out thy hand woon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Ifrael goe on drie ground through the middleft of the Sea. Moles obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the fands vncouered, past on towards the other side and coast of Arabia: two purts of the night being spent ere hee entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible

Easterne winde, and by Moses rod to prepare. . Pharaoh followed him eyen at the heeles, finding the fame drie ground which Mofes trod on. Therefore ast is written, The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behinde them: also the piller of the cloud went from before them, and foodbehind them; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his im-50 mediate power, or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his desence between the Hebrewes and their enemies; to the end that the Agyptians might hereby bee 10/1014.07. blinded, in such fort, as they could not pursue ifrael with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch Moses seised the other banke of Arahia side: and Pharaeh (as the dawne of day beganne to illighten the obscureaire) finding a beginning of the

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Exed, 14, v.37. Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his owne coast: but Moses stretched forth bis hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is; the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with unrestitable furie and swiftnesse, and ouerwhelmed the whole Armie of Pharabh, so as not one setaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheeles, that is; when the waters began to couer the sands, the Legyptians being strucken with seare of death, ranne one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had passon after the Hebrewer, their wheeles strucke salt in the mudde and quick-lands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

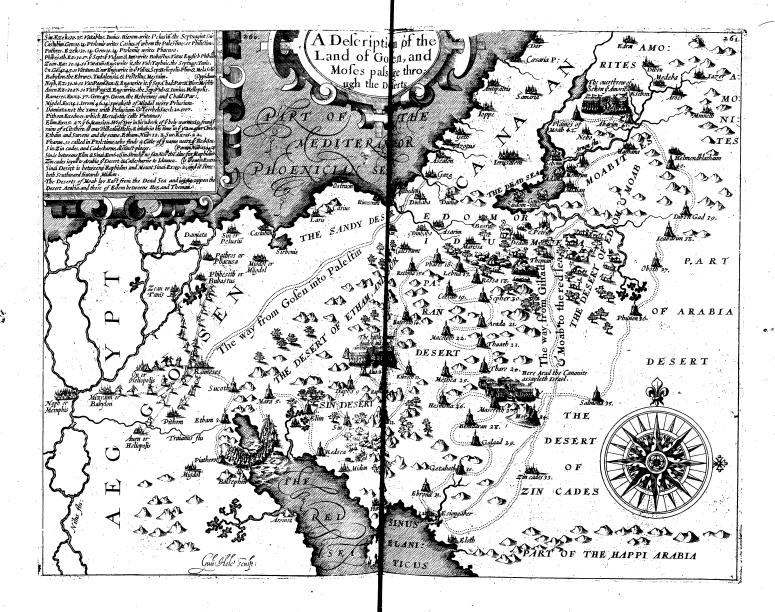
Lyranus vpon Exèd. 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of 10 the Hebrewes, conceiued, that after Moses had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearfull to enter it, Miniadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Inda first made the adventure, and that therefore was that Tribe ever after honoured about the rest, according to the prophecie of Iacob, Gen. 49.8. The fathers somes shall bow home unto thee. But Hierome vpon the 11. of Hosee condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Inda had the first place in all their marches in the Desert, and, as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (whereyon it may bee inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that Moses himselfe was the conducter of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. Plalme; Thou didstead thy people like speep by the hand of 20

The Hebrewes haue also another fancie, that the Red Sea was divided into 12. parts, and that euery Tribe path ouer in a path apart, because it is written in the 13. Fishme, according to the Yulgar, Divisit maverubrum in divisiones; thee divided the Red Sea in divisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene field or parture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12. pillers, nor 12. armies of the Agyptians. It is written in the 77. Flalme, v. 16. Thy was in the Sea, not thy maies; and in the last of the booke of Wifedome, vers. 7. In the Red Seather was a way.

Now this Sea, through which Molespalt, and in which Pharach, otherwise cal- 30 led Chenchres, perished in the 16. yeare of his raigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea; though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a blewish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene Arabia the Happic and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abylins : the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolomie calleth Possodium, to the other land of Athiapia, hath not about fixe leagues in breadth: and the same also filled every where with ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. leagues from coast to coast: and it runneth vp betweene Arabia the Happie, and Arabia Petraa, on one side, and Athiopia and Agypt on the other, as farre as Sues, the vttermost end and in- 40 draught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his fleete of Gallies. The Cofmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Sues, and where Moles path, is called Heropolites of the Citic Hero, formetime Troy and of later times Sues. Plinie calls it Cambifu, by which name it was knowne, faith he, before it was called Hero many yeares. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Aleniticum: King Iuba Leniticum: others more properly Elaniticum, of the Port and Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call Elath: Ptolomie Elana: Plinie Lana: Iofephus Ilana, and Marius Niger Aila: there is alfo Ilalah in Affyria, to which Salamanaffer carried the Ifraelites captive Kings 2. c. 8. 11. which Ilalah in Affyria, the Septuagint call Elas and in the first of 50 Chron. the 5. Ala. But as for this red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diverfly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vaffals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of Meca, after the name of Mahomets Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea Erythraum . of a King called Erythras, or Erythraus : and because Ery-

Plm.1.6.c.29.

3. K. 9. 10f.Ant.S.c.2;



thres in the Greeke fignifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erythreus, the sonne of Perseus and Andromeda, yet it tooke the name of the red Sea, as Quin. Curtius coniectureth: which Arianus and Strabo confirme. But it seemeth to Arian, de get, me by the view of a discoucrie of that Sea in the yeare 1544, performed by Steuen Alex.mag. 18. Gama, Viceroy of the East India for the King of Portugall, that this Sea was so called Strabol. 6. from a reflection of rednesse, both from the bancks, clifts, and fands of many Ilands,

and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of Caltro, a principall commander vnder Gama (which discourse I gaue Mr. Richard Haclast to publish) that there is an Iland called Dalaqua, formetime Leques, containing in length 25. to leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, fands, and clifts, of which Iland, being of a reddilla colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it : and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from 24. degrees of Septentrionall latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunne beames, give a kinde of reddiff lufter to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and weeknow it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore; great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red

20 trees, faith Strabo, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadowes of these stones, sands, earth, and clifts, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the red Sea, because in so many places it feemeth to be fuch: which Iohannes Barros in his fecond Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from Blana, or Ezion Gaber adioyning, now Tore, called by the ancient Cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian or Midian, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward towardes Sues. fome three leagues or nine English mile ouer, and from this Port of Toro, to Sues, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. leagues, of which the first 26. haue 30 nine miles breadth as aforefaid, and afterward the lands both from Agypt and A-

rabia, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straighten it so fast, as for sixe miles together it is not about three mile over; from thence vpward the land on Egypt fide. falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Cone for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that Moles past it ouer, though others would have it to be over against Elana or Toro; but without judgement: for from Ramafes to Pihacheroth and Balzephon, there is not aboue 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which Moles past ouer in three daies: and betweene the land of Egypt opposite to Elana or Toro, the distance is about 80. 40 miles. For Ramases to which Citie Moses came (being the Metropolis of Gosen)

when he left Pharao at Zoan, and tooke his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of Septentrionall Latitude: and Migdoll, or the Valley of Pihacheroth, at the foote of the mountaine Climan, or Baalfephon, in nine and twentie and a halfe. which made a difference of flue and thirtie English mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

That the passage through the red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.



He Ægyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the Hebrewes have objected that Moles past ouer the red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tide, and that Pharao conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recouer the coast of Egypt, he was ouertaken by the floud 10

and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authoritie to men that beleeue not therein perswadeth nothing) I say that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselues, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from aboue or affiftance given from God himfelfe to Moles, and the children of Ifrael than ordinarie and casuall, then could not Pharao and all his armie haue perished in that pursuite.

For wheresoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there 20 doe, the waters fall away from the land : and runne downeward towards the Ocean : leaning all that part towards the land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to bee drie land. Now Moses entring the Sea at Migdoll vnder Balzephon (if hee had taken the advantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must have left all that end of the Red Seatowards Sues, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, teh or twelve mile farther into the Sea then Sues, much more was it made at Sues, and betweene it and where Moses past: who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleene or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring-tide discouered, when Pharae found the floud increasing, he needed not to haue returned 30 by the same way toward Agypt side, but might have gone on in his returne before the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground agains at the end of that sea, at Sues it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witnesse the contrarie, that is, That the fea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that Moles past on betweene two seas: and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharao by any returne of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to have beene a power about nature, and the miraculous worke of God himfelfe. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a sirong east-winde, doerather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that sea 40 doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and maine body thereof: the other part remained towards Sues, and the North. Which being vnknowne to Pharao; while he was checkt by that sea, which ysed in all times before to cbbe away: the floud prest him and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Infephus anoweth, that Moses was not only of excellent judgement generally, but alfo fo great a Captaine, as he ouerthrew the Athiopians in many battels, being imploied by Pharao, and wan divers Cities feeming impregnable: it were barbarous to 50 condemne him of this groffeneffe, and distraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardneffe of a mountainous paffage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon Pharao) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water.

For hee knew not the contrarie, but that Pharao might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it feemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaes approch, cried out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their fafetie : and when Moles praied vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God : Wherefore crieft thou unto me : speake unto the children of Ifrael that they goe forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and firetch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it : which proves that there was not at the time of Pharaos approch any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the fands discouered themselues betweene the sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moued not, and the sea which was towards the South on the right hand, fo that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the C.14. 0.22. left hand, that is, the waters fo defended them on both fides, as the Agyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as walls doe. as some of the Schoolemen have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Agyptians perceiued any fuch buildings in the fea, they would foone have quitted the chace and purfuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can thinke, that Pharash and the Agyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heauenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the sea, in his owne Countrie, on his owne coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented 20 Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of yeares experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their owne prosperitie, they least discerne it comming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Armie of the Egyptians had beene ouertaken by the ordinarie returne of the floud, before they could recouer their owne coast; their bodies drowned would haue beene carried with the floud which runneth vp to Sues, and to the end of that fea, and not have beene cast alhore on that coast of Arabia where Moles landed, to wit, vpon the sea-banke ouer against Baalzephon, on Arabia side: where it was that 30 the Ifraelites faw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinarie floud would have carried them : Which floud doth not any where crosse the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it must have done from Egypt side to Arabia, to have cast the Egyptians bodies there; but it keepes the natural course towards the end of that sea: and to which their carcases should have been carried. if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staied in the Countrie, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did euer after honour those Beasts. Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharaohs destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a God of that Plant or Roote, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be giuen elsewhere. Orosius in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans tells vs, that in his time, who lived some 400. yeares after Christ, the prints of Pharaohs Chariot wheeles were to be seene at a low water on the Agyptian fands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet foone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leave every man to his owne

CHAP.

# CHAP. IIII.

Of the iournying of the Hsraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a discourse of Lawes.

A transition, hyway of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, untill the Amalekites met with the Ifraelites.



 $^{\prime}$   $_{ extsf{T}}$  to goe on with the storic of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. Moles was borne in the yeare of the world 2434. Saphrus then gouerning Affyria; Orthopolis Sycionia, Or Peloponnesus; Criasus the Argi- 20 ues; Orus Egypt; and Deucalion Theffalie. He fled into Midian when he had lived 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the world 2474. and two yeeres after was Caleb borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Agypt, and wrought his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the yeere 2514. in the last moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the first

Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne setting, in the yeere of the world 2514. was the celebration of the Palleouer: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the sirst-borne slaine through 30 Ægypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited. The 15. day of the first moneth, of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeere of the world 2514. Moses with the children of Israel removed from the generallas-

fembly at Ramafes, and marched to Succoth. And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and journying from

Etham they incamped in the valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdoll, under the mountaine Baalzephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea : Pharaoh and his Armie perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. Moses hauing recourred the banks of Arabia, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliuerie of Ifrael; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Descrits of Arabia Petraa, called 40 Sur. But finding no water in that paffage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desert of Etham, which in Exod. 15.2.22. is also called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Ifrael prest with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses the second time; first at Pharaohs approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Mosestaking the branches of a tree, growing necre a lake of bitter water, and cashing the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plaine Type and figure of our Sauiour; who vpon the tree of the Croffe changed the bitterneffe of euerlasting death into the sweetnesse of cternall life. Plinie remembers these bitter fountaines in his sixth Booke and 29. Chapter. From whence to Delta in Agypt, Sefostris first, Darius after him, and laftly Ptolomie the second, beganne to cut an artificiall River, thereby by Boats and 50 fmall shipping to trade and nauigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Wilus. From Marah he remoued to Elim, the fixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue fountaines of fweet water, and 70. Palme trees, hee rested divers

S. II.

Exod.17.

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Atts.7.

70(ua.14:

2474

2514.

Exed-12.

7(um.33.

Exod.12.

Num.33.

Exed.14.

Num.33.

Exad.14.

Num.33.

Lxod.15.

Num.33.

Exed.15. Nu. .33.

Whether

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or Citie in Moles time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcitie of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly bee left unpeopled. William, Arch-Bishop of Tyre, in his Historie of the Holie Warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at fuch time as Baldwine the first past that way into Agypt, Ingressus (laith he) Helim, Ciuitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando will tyr. Lite familiarem; ad quam cum peruenisset, loci illius incola, Regis aduentu precognito, naui- cap.19. culamingredientes in mare vicinum (c contulerunt; Entring Helim a very ancient Citie); well knowne sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when he came, the whabitants, fore-10 warned of the Kings approch, tooke Boate, and Shisted themselves into the Sea, lying neare them. From Elim hee returned againe towards the South, and fate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the feuenth Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge

of Amalech, who prepared to restit his passage through that part of Arabia. And Moles who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor affured the minds of the rest, who encountring with the least miserie, were more apt to returne to their quiet flauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that paffage, or at this time to vidertake or fustaine so dangerous an enemie : hee therefore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fifteenth of the second Moneth called Zim, or Iiar : and made the eight Exed. 16. 20 Mansion in the Desert of Zin; where the children of Israel mutinied against Mo-

fes the third time, having want of foode. In the fixteenth Chapter of Exedus, Moses omitteth this retrait from Elim to the red Sea, but in the collection of every feuerall incamping, in the 23. of Numbers, it is fet downe.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quailes, as all the Countrie about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the fixteenth of their Moneth, which ferued them in stead of bread, Exed, 16: For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Agypt. And though they had great numbers of Cattle, and Sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselves with many of those: but reser-

30 ued them both for the milke to relecue the children withall; and for breede to ftore themselues when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two remoues of twentie mile; the one to Daphea, the other to Alm, distant from Raphidim fixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Agypt, where they rather contented themselves to bee fed and beaten after the manner of beafts, than to fuffer a cafuall and sometime neces-

farie want, and to vidergoe the hazzards and trauailes which every manly minde feeketh after, for the loue of God and their owne freedomes. But Moles with the same rod which hee divided the Sea withall, in the fight of the Elders of Ifrael, brought waters out

of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were fatis-

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon accasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and I ET HROES comming : who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.



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Nd while Moses incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approch, and gheffed that he meant to leade the children of Israel through their Countrie (which being barren of it selfe, would bee veterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattle) thought it most for their advantage to set vpon them at 10

Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man infeebled them. On the other fide Moses perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to Iolua, to draw out a sufficient number of the abiest Hebrewes, to incounter Amalech. Betweene whom and Israel, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equal hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of Moses praiers to God beene of farregreater force, and more prevalent, than all refiffance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitie of foode, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired 20 in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazard themselues.

After this victorie lethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either lethro forbare to conduct, or Moles to receive, till he had by this ouerthrow of Amalech the better affured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exodus, v. 1. When I ET HAO the Priest of Midian. Moses Father in law, heardall that God had done for Moses, &c. of which, the last deede, to wit, the overthrow of Amalech, gave lethre courage and affurance. he then repaired to his sonne in law Mases , at Sinai; where amongst other things. he aduised Moses to appoint Indges, and other Officers, ouer Israel; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of 30

people, full ofdiscontentment and private controversie.

This Iethro, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of Iudges v. 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is written. Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the sonne of IETHRO, the father in law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents untill the Plaine of Zasnaim, which is by Kedesh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, least hee should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of Sin Kadelh: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the faving of Mum. 24. v. 21! Balaam, speaking of the Kenites. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest 40 in the Rocke. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of Israel, when they came vp from Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the issues of Madian, one of the fixe fonnes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Agyptinto Midian, and married the daughter of Iethro, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made Jethroes Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede 50 of Abraham should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from Abraham himselse: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genef. verf. nineteenth these Kenites or Chusites are listed with

the Hittites and Perizites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergelites, and iebulites, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from A- Gen. 15. braham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, Heber the Kenite, which was of the children Judges. of Hobab, was departed from the Kenges, that is to fay, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Keneth or Kazells. Againe, Moles nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Midian, Orany of Abrahams other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better judgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation. and yelv.....

And as of the Kenites, fo we may confiden of the Madianites, parted by Moles in- Gen. 25.45 to fine Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathers; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards doftroied by Mofes. But the Madianites neare the bankes of the Redises, where Wofes married his wife Zipora, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of Amalech, seeme likewise not to haue beene corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites affilted Ifrael, and guided them in the Deferts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petraa, were by I/rael rooted out, when those adiovning to the Rea Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom lethrowas 20 Priest, and the other Cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For Mofes would not have fent 12000. Ifraelites, as farre backe as the Red Sea, from the Plaines of Moab, to have destroied that Madian, where his wives kindred inhabited: feeing himfelfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by Amalech, in that paffage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himselfe and israel had wandered

That lethro, or lethor, Raquel, or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the Vulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raquel; and our English Reuel; Exed. 2. 18. calls him lethro, or lother, Exed. 2. 6 v. 1.e. 4. v. 18.6 30 c. 18. 1. 6 6. 9. 10. 6 12. and in Numbers c. 10, v. 29. Hobab. Others take, Jethro and Hobab to be the fame, but not Raguel:

ð. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.



He rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515, were spent in the Defert of Sina, neare the mountaine of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth Mansion.

Eulebius thought that Sinai or Horeb were diffined mountaines: Here
rome, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many
Scriptures. For in Exad.3.v.1. it is called Horeb: and in Exad.4.v.16

it is written Sinai. In the 100. Pfalme v. 19. Horeb : in Exod. 19.11. Sinai. And fo it is called Galatians 4. 24. and againe, Deut. 4. 10. 6 15. 6 Deut. 9.2. Horeb. And fois it in the first of Kings 8. 6. and the 2. of Chron. 5. 10. and in Malachie 4.4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus the 48. 7. they are named as one. Which heardest (saith Ecclesiasticus) therebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgement of the vengeance: Somewhat they are dissoyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius: who in the yeare 1588 30 past out of Agypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and travailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by farre the higher hill. From the side of Horeb (faith he) there falleth a very faire fpring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and

C.15.v.16.

Sam.1.c.15.

Pet.Bel.lib.2.

excellent wine. These (faith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers. which paffe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neare Sinai in Moses time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: fecondly, because it is written Exod. 32.20. that when Moses had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which Aaron set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of 1/2 rael to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was given to Moles, where he staied a whole yeare, wanting some tenor twelve daies: for he removed not till 10 the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeare; and he arrived about the 45 day after the egression : the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Manfion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 20. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that booke; all in Legitions; and all in Numbers. to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omittherepetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vie thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way disjounced. he may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so 20 it pleased God to give thereby vnto Moses the powerfullest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his defired Port : fo is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in generall, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinewes of every estate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Minde without pas- 30 fion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the Ancient, though barbarous, efteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods, or as the sonnes of Gods and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritic for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesseliberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The Ifraelites, the Lacedemonians, and the Athenians, received their Lawes from one : as the Ifraelites from Moles; the Lacedemonians from Lycurgus; the Athenians from Solon; the Romanes sometime from 40 their first Kings, from their Decemviri, from their Senatours, from their Lawyers, and from the people themselues: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in

England, France, and in other Christian Monarchies and Estates.

### d. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.



He word Lex, or Law, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diverfly, and 50 in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of Grammer, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordi-

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.4. \$-3.

nance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word Law: of which E/ay, Woc anto them Efer 10. that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things. Likewise, the word is vied for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Aristotle also call lawes, though euill and vnfufficient. Mala lex eft, qua tumultuarie posita est; It is an Ethiclasest. ill law that is made tumultuoufly. So as all ordinances, good or enill, are called by the

The word Law is also taken for the morall habit of our minde; which doth (asit 10 were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call legem fomitis, is to be vnderstood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it : in which sense as \* elsewhere, \* Gen.6.56 this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the Item 8.2. heart : fo in St. Paul to the Romanes it is called a Law. But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captine onto the law of sinne. Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called a lawes, so a so visons farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a Lyon, to bee continuo less lefierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, doe often put positivarialeon the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, is; Where alprescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill com-noted that hee munitic. The rest, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not loynes legs & the common good for their end, but being leges inique, are by Thomas called violen-fadera together : as in the tiamagis quam leges; rather compulsions then lawes: And what soeuer is not just, Saint Scripture the Augustine doth not allow for lawes, how societies established: for he calls them iniqual called the cohominum constituta, que nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt; The vniust constitutions of ucanne. men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes. For faith ARISTOTLE, Legalia Arift. Etbic. 5. iusta sunt factiua, & conseruatiua fælicitatis; Iust lawes are the workers and preservers of cap. s. 20 happineffe : because by them we are directed advitam quietam, to a quietlife, according

to Cicero. Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law. faith Plato, is God and his worthip. Finis legis Dem & cultus eins: Lex, of the Law Plato in Dial, 12 is so called by the Latines a legendo, or a ligando, of reading or binding : Leges quie letta deleg. & ad populum late, faith Varro; For after Lawes were written and publiffed all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Enmologie, aligando, is no leffe agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called alfo a yoke, and a band: as confregerunt ingum, diruperunt vincula: they Hieren, 5 ce haue broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second Pfalme, dirumpamus vincula corum, & proviciamus à nobis funes ipforum 3 Let vs breake their bands pfalls. 40 in funder, and cast away their cordes from vs.

The Couenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God : and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the Septuagint, and the Epifle to the Hebrenes, vie the word audhum, a Testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our saluation. but in respect of the death of the Tellator, for without the death of the Tellator, the Tellator, the Tellator, the Tellament is of no force: as Hebr. 9. 17. it is faid, Tellament in inserting the

The Hebrewes call the law Thorah of teaching, begante enery man isthereby taught his dutie; both to God and Men. The Greekes call it Nomes of differibuting, 30 because it distributesh to every man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vito God himselfe. Imperiumlegis imperium Dei eft: The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God.

Law in generall is thus defined by the Philosophers : Lex est vita regula, pracipiens qua sunt sequenda, & qua fuzienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow

CHAP.3. \$.5.

Ifd.Etym.

2 (brom.19:6.

Exod. 22.11.

1.Reg. 2 43.

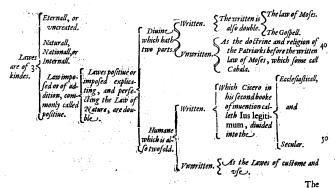
and what to shunne, or Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina; Law is the Queenc or Princesse of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wifedome of Nature : the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called Index (ui & curui, the demonstrance of it selfe, and of the crooked: fo is the law, the Judge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation; and though law as touching the substance and effence, consist in understanding: Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word Ins is also diversly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for 10 the law it selfe: as Ius Ciuile, of Ius gentium. Isidore distinguisheth the two generall words Iss and Fas: whereof Iss, faith he, hath reference to men, Fas to God. Fas lex diuina, Ius lex humana. To goe ouer an other mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans : and therefore in a thing out of controuerlie, Firgil vied both those words: as Fas & iura simunt: God and Men permit.

The word Iss or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Nowne influe, a bidding or commandement : or perhaps from the Greeke (we, which is the name of Iupiter: or of the Latine genitiue case Ionis: because as the Scripture speaks, the indgement is Gods. For as it is certaine that ins-inrandum came of louis-inrandum (for fo we finde it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which sensethe Scripture 20 calls it iuramentum Iehoua) fo also we may say, that Ius came of Ionis, quia Ionis est: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerents the Magistrates, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this Ius the iust are denominated, iustus à iure, and iustitia à iusto : The right gives name to the righteous : and instice takes her name from the inst.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

Vt because lawes are manifold, and that enery kinde hath a proper 30 and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I meane those forts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne : leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternall is thus defined by T HO MAS. Lex aterna est aternus diuina sa- P.2.99.art.1. pientia conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso pracognitarum : The eternall law is the eternall concept of Gods wifedome, as it is referred to the gouernement of things foreknowne by himfelfe. Or Lex aterna est summa atg. aterna va- 16,9.93. art. 13 tio diuina (apientia: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, vit illis iuxta conditionemipfarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is the high and eternally eafon of diuine Copience : as it directeth all things in fuch fort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their feuerall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same divine understanding directeth all these to their proper ends; to fo it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, fo it is called a law.

Of this eternal law Cicero tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, o ad recte faciendum impellens of a delicto auocans : que non tum incipitlex elle cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente dinina : quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad inbendum er ad vetandum ratio est recta summi Iouis: That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from eaill, did not ( faith he then beginne to be a law when it was written; but when it had. Being being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princesse 20 to command and forbid is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we confider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heavens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent : another law to men : another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counfaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deritted, as from the rule vinuerfall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the fecond to the first.

The eternall, and the divine Law, differ only in confideration; the eternall dire- Tho. & Aug. ching more largely, aswell enery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall : but the divine law to a supernatural end only : the Naturall law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason : from which if it differ, it is then impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition: and only borrowerh the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected : aswell Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, 40 and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the univerfall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour : as Praise him all ree his Angels : praise yee him Sunne and Moone; all Platis; bright Starres : heavens of heavens; for he hath established them for ever and ever: Hee hath made an or dinance which shall not passe: Praise yet the Lord from the earth yee Dragons and all depths: Fire, and haile, frow, and vapours, flormie winds, which exequate his Word: mountaines, and hils : fruitfull trees and all Cedars : Beasts , and all Cattell, &c. Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie proposed vinto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) fo all other 50 naturall things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it: without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end propofed. For beafts are led by fense, and naturall inftinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauie to fall downeward: things light to mount voward, &c. and fire to heate whatforner is apposed. This

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cap.6.

7cbn,18,20.

Снар.4.5.6.

kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature : others to fate; a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other then Gods generall providence: for as it is truly sa d of God, that he is omnia super omnia: so are all things which appeare in themselves, thence derived: there-vnder subjected: thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the confideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and mat-10 L.1. delib. arb. ter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. A VGVSTINE. Lex aterna est, quainstumest out omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. Augustine vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of Free-will the fixth Chapter. For the law of Moles which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the Padagogia of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired: which time of expiration some thinke our Sauiour noted to be come, when on the Croffe hee faid, Consummatum est. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauiour to have no other 20 fignification, then that now the prophecie of their giuing him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For so S. John expounds it, when he saith v. 28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this alfomight be fulfilled, faid I thirst: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law cerimoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospell of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe: but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance; of which the Wifedome of SALO-MON. And being one sheecan doc all things, and remaining in her selfereneweth all.

Q. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

Aug in Epift.ad nanz. Joh tract.

F the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is confidered in man, it is called the impression of dusine light, and a participation of the eternall law in thereaso-nable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio dustri luminis in nobis, ep partici-patio legis aterna in rationali creatura. V LPIAN defines the naturallar 40

& Investment to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; Insnaturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit : and he afterward addeth, Ius istud non humani generis proprium, fed omnium animalium qua terramarig, nafcuntur, anium quoque commune est; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures : as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall law in things of life.

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is diamum lumen in men, inlightning our formall reason: so is it more then sense in beasts: and more then ve- 50 getation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first fight, and without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their lines: feeing that Bulls and Horses appeare unto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs: and yet the Harcand Decre feedeth by the one, and flieth

from the other, yea though by them neuer seene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempefluous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Riuers, and not on any other part of the tree, or ellewhere: to faue their egges and yong ones from the Monkies, and other beafts, whose weight fuch a twig will not beare : and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may bee given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the semale of the Pal-10 mitto, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in fight. But this they doe by that law which the infinite and vnfearchable wifedome of God, had in all eternitie provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double: corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt where the reason of man hath made it selfe subject, and a Vaffal to paffions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt where time and custom hath bred in mena new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not Supra \$.4.00 by the law of Nature incorrupt, which St. Augustine calleth the law of reason, but by lace and Rom. 7. a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of Lycurgus it was permitted to men to vie one an others wife, and to the wo- Theod Lo. de cua men to choose them others besides their hulbands, to beget them with child: which randis affet: law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The Scythians, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawfull to burie with them the best beloued wives : as also they have many other customes remembred by G. Valentia, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse to prouide for our selues by another mans destruction: that injuric is not done to him that is willing: to destroy Nemointenathose whom we feare : and the like. For taking the definition of natural lawes , ei- tura cum alteri-30 therout of St. Augustine or Aquinas, (the one calling it the impression of divine light; watermento lies the other, the dictate or sentence of practique reason) the same can teach vs, or incline debes. vs to no other thing, then to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, faue that which wee would bee content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the law of nature to the minde, as the cie is to the bodie; and that which according to David sheweth Pfalm.T. vs good, that is, the observation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption 40 is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and understanding, which God hath given vs, are abilities within our felues, fufficient to give vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the Gentiles (faith S.P A V L) which have not the Law, Rom, z.ver, 14: doe by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselues. Now, to loue God by whom wee are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we defire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. To In arce altissimarationis quies habitat; Therefore, the Gentiles (faith S. PAVL) which Roma, ver. 15. show the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for witnesses of those

And it is most true, that who so euer is not a law vnto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the aduantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the

effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

betraying of his owne foule, by craftie vnrighteoufneffe, purchaling eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eie, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them : fome Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, Sed flosille, dum loquimur, arefeit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them. That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our selues, and become searefull witnesses of our secretest cuils, did that reverend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept. Wil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipfum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, saith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thin owne heart : but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conscience. And this may bee a pre- 10 cept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him :to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable : as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obay the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the budde of the hearbe which feedeth feede, &c. and the Beaft, 20 which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obay. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to give light, and to serue for lignes and sor seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darkenesse, and con-

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Caine perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murther of Abel: for he not only feared the displeafure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that what socuer 30 he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this judgement of well and cuill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written : Moses in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. the fourth. If thou doewell shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne

The schoolemen are large also in this question of the natural Law: the same being opened amply by Remerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose

to write a volume of this subject.

But this law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an act of reason taken properly, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason : they divide into 40 indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuerfall propolitions. Againe, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be defired as good, or to be avoided as cuill (as of the first to defire to line, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this confideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites Too. 4.94 arts. that are in vs. For in enery man there are three forts of appetites, which answere the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to bee that which we are; in which is comprehended the defire, both to liue, and to preferue our being and life, also the desire of iffue, with care to prouide for them : for the Father after his death lines in 50 hischildren; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needes no proofe, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to liue in their iffue, when they cannot in themselues. And as

man is a being, Ens or Res: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to defire things agreable to their owne natures, which is, to defire their owne good. And fois Good defined by Ariftotle, to be that which all defire. Lilie Li Li. Which definition Basil vponthe 44. Plalme approueth: Recte guiden Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things defire.

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs., as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with 10 excesse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, cuen by the law of nature, that the fensitive appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beafts) wee may well fay, that Nature hath given divers lawes vnto them: In which sense the Civilians define Naturall right, or Ius natural, to bee the fame which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the Schoolemen admit not. that the inflincts of beafts can be properly called a Law, but only a Ius, or Right. which is the matter, and aime of every Law. For so they diffinguish it; where plpian affirmeth, that Ius naturale is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (faith Valentia) Ius is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matto ter of the Law. And yet where Vipian also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one Ius nature, the other Ius gentium: the Divines understand the law of nature more largely. that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a lining creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our felues; and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our reli-

CHAP.4. S.6.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature 30 answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of nature but one law, according to Aquinas : first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motive facultie, which is but one, ftirring vp to good, and declining the contrarie: fecondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill anoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the fame last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tune fit quod seri- Basil. 40 ptum eft, Adueniente mandato peccatum reuixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it tame to passe, which was written by S.P AVL, When the Commandement came, sinne reuined. Neither is it a finall warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the fame, are faid by S. PAVL, To be delivered over into a reprobate fense (or minde) Rom.1,28; to doe those things which are not convenient : and againe, that their consciences beare wit- Rom.2.15. neffe, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and what soeuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said DAMA-SCENE; homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (faith L.2.Fid orthe, he) are made euill, by declining unto that which is contrarie to nature : and S. Avgystine, 6.30. 30 Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature fo streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequalitie of portions, according to vnequall merit:

Gen. .

Iob.c.28,

by taking from the euill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of justice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things beer effored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this her law shee suffereth to be broken: as to denie a madde man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was fober. But the vniuerfall principles can no more bee changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. PAVL, abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himfelfe.

2.Tim.2.

Aug. de Cinit.

### VII.

Of the written Law of God.



Fter the eternall, and naturall, the law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine, and Humane. Againe, the divine positive law is double; the old and new: The old was giuen vnto Moses in Mount Smai or Horeb, at such time as the world had

stood 2513, whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere when as Afeatades or Ascades gouerned the Assyrians, Marathus the Sycionians, Triopus the Argines, Ce- 20 crops Attica, and Acherres Agypt : to wit, after the promise to Abraham 430. yeeres. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word Nomes, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the Grecians : no not in Homers time : who lived after the fall of Troy 80. yeeres at least : and Troy it felfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after Moses led Israel out of Agypt. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his express will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the comming of Christ: and that so these children of Israel, though bred among an Idolatrous people in £gypt, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the Elders of families might eafily without any written law instruct their owne children : and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had belides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, for a simuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne euery finne in particular: nor fufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue enery day leffe authoritie than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the eies of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The Schoolemen, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necesfitie, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded upon this place of DAVID, The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, gining wifedome to children. For the humane law, faith St. Jugufine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away formething feeming necessarie, and hinder common profit : but the diuine law written, forbiddeth enery euill, and therefore by Dauid it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men, can 50 only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no leffe cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words converting our foules, added by David: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the Cabalists. Actiones

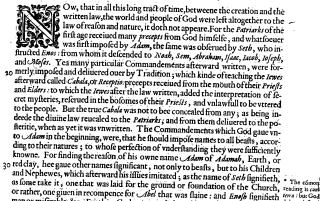
Снар.4.5.8. of the Historie of the World.

hominum nulla essent, nist prius in mente dicerentur; The actions of men (lay they) would benone at all, were they not first conceined in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among fundrie Nations, wee cannot bee affured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said DAVID, That the testimonie of the law of God is faithfull giving wifedome to children.

### d. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the Patriarks by Tradition.



Mother. That murther and crueltie was also forbidden, both before the law written, and to lawing, Gen. 40 before the floud it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare; that it was 4.1. Item 44.4. one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the general should. For especially, see God faid vnto NoA, An end of all flesh is come before mee : for the earth is filled with ingthesewords crueltie through them : and behold I will destroy them \* from the earth. That offence are but a reperhance of the control of the shortest for this destroy them the control of the shortest for this destroy. therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknowne to all that perished: Gods which is faid, mercie and inffice interpoling betweene the vntaught, and reuenge. This com. 27. Delebromandement God repeated to Noa, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. finterers. Who so sheddeth mans bloud, by man shall his bloud be shed: for in the Image of God hath he Gen. v. 6.

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our parents, was observed among the 50 faithfull, and the contrarie punished by the fathers curse: as, Cursed be Canaan, a servant Gen 3 25. of servants shall be be unto his brethren. Againe, we finde that the vinatural sinne of the Sodomites was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The sinne of Adulteric and Rauishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for Dina's forcing and by the Gm.34.35.

or rather, one given in recompence for Abel that was liaine: and Enolo lignmeth and another man or milerable; &c. Further, God commanded Adors to till the ground, and the carth; and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the for- why may not bidden, and in Adam also was marriage first instituted : all men thence-after being this prepolition on in this place commanded to cohabite with their Wines, rather than with their Father and hauethe fame

. judgement which Iuda gaue against Tamar, That shee should be burnt: and by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced, Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken : for sice is a mans Wife. To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beafts, of Circumcifion, of the Brother to raife p feede to his Brother that left a Widdow childleffe, and divers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being delinered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the law of Moses containeth that which is called The old Testament, may be faid, not only to have beene written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to have beene to given in precept to the Patriarks. For as S. Paul witnesseth of himselfe, I knew not (inne, but by the law: so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the Angels intuitiuely; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary rie motions, without sense or perception,

Of the Morall, Indiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

Ow as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforefaid, hath divers fignifications, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and reftraine : so this Law, called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by S. Paul diversly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, Now we know what sour the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets, and Psalmes, it is there 30 taken for the five Bookes of Moles. For fo Saint Luke hath diftinguished them; as, All must bee fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the P(almes.

When it is opposed to the Gospell, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, Therefore we conclude, that a man is instifted by faith without

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremitie of law, and summum ius: as, For yee are not under the law, but under grace.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonics or signes are ta- 40 ken for the things fignified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like: then it fignifieth but shadowes and figures; as, The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by IESVS Christ.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christs comming, it signifies the whole policie of the Iewes Common-weale; as, Before faith came, wee were kept under the Law, &c. or the law of the order and institution of the Aaronicall Priesthood; as, All the Prophets, and the Law, or the Priests, prophecied unto IOHN. And if the Priefthood bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priefthood, must needes bee changed.

The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, 50 Authoritie, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.

But the Written Law of Moses, or the Lawe of the Old Testament, of which wee now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into

the mindes of men by God, and afterwards written by Meses, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to Saint Iames, Who soeuer shall keepe the whole; and faileth in lames 2,16; one point, is guiltie of all. The definition vsed by the Shoolemen, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus given. Lex divinaest divinum detretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium vi apie peruenire possint ad supernaturalem heatitudinem, quaest vitimus humana vita finis; The diuine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessarie meane, whereby they may aptly attaine supernato turall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

CHAP.4.§.9.

The law of Moses hath three parts : Morall, Ceremoniall, and Indiciall. The Morall part commaundeth this or that good to be done, and this or that suill to be auoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose fake it is to be done; as Doetlis for I am the Lord, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generally Against the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of divine feruice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vuto God is called Ceremonie) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the Iewes, and prescribeth orders for instice and equitie. And therefore was it faid of Saint Paule, The commandement is suft, ho- Rom, 113

20 ly and good: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall; holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall, good, or honest to the Morall. The Indiciall part is touching the gouernment of the common-wealth of the Iewes, in which manie things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holie things, Sacraments, and Obferuances. To Sacrifices belong beafts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veffels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumcifion, the Passeouer, and such like. For the Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to eate the bloud and fat of beafts or in some other 30 outward things; as in washings, purifyings, annointings, and attire, as matto weare mixt garments of Linnen and Wollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Alle, or call mingled seede in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbiddeth crueltie euen to beafts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroied without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, Thou halt not kill the bird fitting on her nest, nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Moles , but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of Christ. For 40 the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away : saving in the abilitie of iultifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to loue and worship Godand to vie charitic one towards another : which for euer shall bee required at our hands. Therein also are wee in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life; it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other,

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it foresignissed. For the shadow is not destroied, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides; it fill liueth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimonie of Christ, and in that it 30 giueth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy lignification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before Christs comming, and in a farre leffe degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and vniuerfall equitic thereof.

Bb 2

INC.24.44.

Rom.3.v.19.

Rom.3.28.

Rom, 6.4. Gal. 3.13.

Jobn 1.17.

Gal 3.23. Luc.16.6.

Heb.7.13.

Ø 10.1.

Rem. 3.3; Rom.7,13.

Gal.3.v.6.

But the Morall faileth in the point of instification, the Ceremoniall astouching the vse and externall observation (because Christ himselfe is come, of whom the ce. remonies were fignes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the Iewes Common-weale, and policie.

# A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.



S for that which remayneth in the generall confideration of the divine written Law, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine

- 1. The dignitie and worth of the law.
- The Majestie of the law-giuer.
- 3. The propertie and peculiaritie of the people receiving it.
- The conveniencie of the time in which it was given.
- The efficacie and power thereof.
- 6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
- 7. The end and vie of the Law.
- 8. The sense and understanding of the Law.
- d. The durance and continuance thereof.
- 1. The dignitic of the Law is sufficiently proued by St. Paul in these wordes. Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and inst, and good : which three attributes are referred, as aforefaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and In-
- 2. The Majestie of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who as hee hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he only gave the law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankinde: but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministerie of Angels: as it is said. And the law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour : and in the Acts, He gave the law by the ordinance of Angels.
- 3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared : Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diffeuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promife made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and scuered they were, because of Gods choise and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promife was made by God vnto Abraham, and his feede: not vnto his feedes, as to Efan and Iacob, but to his feede, as to Iacob, or Ifrael fingularly, of whom Christ. Now to ABRAHAM and his feede were the promifes made : he faith not to the feedes, as feaking of many, but to thy feede, as of one, which is Christ.
- 4. The convenience of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Augufine: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the law written in the Commandements, received by Moses in the worlds yeare 2514. continued to the Baptisme of Iohn: from which time begunne the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniencie are formerly given.
- 5. The fifth confideration is of the efficacie of this law, the same being a dispofition to, or figne of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sinnes forgiven, who takethaway the sinnes of

the world: and therefore S. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law beggerly and weake, Gal.4. beggetly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgine and infline. The bloud Hob.2. of Goates and Bulls, and the albes of an Heifar could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of Christs bloud, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the Gal 2. law could instifie, then Christ died in vaine.

of the fixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.



CHAP.4.S.II.

He old and new Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to faluation; as the old by workes, the new by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object and remote end, they agree:

which is, mans happinesse and faluation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witnesse. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the 20 waies of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to bee abrogated: In that he faith the new Testament, he hath abrogated the old. For the old Heb. c.8. v.15; law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and delivered with wonderfull mira-

cles, yet was it constituted in a policie perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an euerlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the Apocalips, a Testament and Gospell for ever during.

The old Testament is called the law, because the first and chiefe part is the law of Moses, of which the Prophets and Psalmes are Commentaries, explicating that

The new Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part there-30 of is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles or Letters of the Apostles, and the Acts or Storic of the Apostles, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word Euangelian fignifying a joyfull, happie, and prosperous message, or (as Homer vsed it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victorie, or other pleasing successe, as by Xenophon. In the Scriptures it hath three fignifications · First, for glad tidings in generall, as in Esay the 52. v. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained to signifie that most joyfull message of saluation, as in Luc. 2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for the Historie of Christ: and so wee understand the foure Att. Gospels.

40 Lastly, for the Preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as Cor. 1. 9. 2. 14. and Cor. 2. 8. v. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volumes) is by Danaus comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the fubstance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and instification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God; and therefore both one Testament and will of God in Substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church: 50 fo was there one couenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end : even the saluation of our soules : which according to S. Peter is the end of our faith. For although it bee faid, that Moses did promise

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by observing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honie, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleffings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to affure the Fathers of those spiritual bleffings by Christ, for by the earthly hee raised their minds to the hope of heauenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselues strangers, and pilgrimes, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem: according to this place of the Hebrewes: All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but law them a farre off and believed them : confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth. To Lib. de Civit. Dei which purpose also S. AVGVSTINE: Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissaterrena aterna promitti. Few (faith hee) doe understand the old 10 law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And S.HIEROME: Woluit Deus pascere Iudaos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, vet Iudai somniant: God would not feede the Iewes as beafts with corporall gifts and riches as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego fum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; Iam thy God and I will bee your God. For the wordes . I will be your God.

> God created both bodie and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncared for, which liueth cuer. The agreement betweene the Old and New testament in substance, inferres also 20 the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the Apofiles and Prophets: in whom all the promifes of God in the Old and New, are affured : the fathers having eaten the same spirituall foode, which we

proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them

this promise; but in respect of the future : to wit the safetie of their soules. For as

eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our finne and miferie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, ferueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the law seruing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their finne and miseric, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospell, the cf- 10 fects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesseby workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth : the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; Moses accuseth, Christ desendeth : Moses condemneth; Christ pardoneth. The old restraineth the hand, the new the minde. Data est lex qua non fanaret (faith St. Avgvstine) sed qua agrotantes probaret; The law was given not to Homil ad Rom. helpe but to discouer sicknesse : and S. CHRYSOSTOME, Data eft lex, vt fe homo inveniret, non vt morbus sanaretur, sed vt medicus quareretur; The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection : not that his difease was thereby holpen : but that he might then seeke out the Phisitian. For Christ came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as Moses was but a scruant, and Christ a sonne, so the 40 greatest benefit was referued to be brought, as by the worthiest person, faith Cyril: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Heb. 7.

## ð. XII. Of the rest of the points proposed.

He seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to Christ: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne works, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and so rtmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteous field, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. Curfed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.

Leuit, 18:5.

The second end of the law, is to render vs in excusable before God: who know-

ing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene faid, to fend vs to Chrift, and his grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearefull tempest, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to deligne, and preserue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of Christ: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world. These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremonial law, is

to confirme the truth of Christ, and the new Testament. The vie of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we must conforme our selucs.

The fense and understanding of the law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worlhip and seruice of God: by the spirituall the figures

and mysticall fore-speakings of Christ.

CHAP.4. \$.12.

Laftly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being vntill the paffion of Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the Gener 49: 10. old and the new were in force. But after that the true facrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Crosse, then the Lewish facrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and final lada, nor 20 figures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shadowes) ceased to binde the con- a Lawe-giver figures of Christ (Christ Christ Body of those made in Specification being now by Christ and in him from between ficiences any longer: the mysteric of our redemption being now by Christ and in him his feete, varill finished. In token whereof the vaile of the Templerent asunder; noting that the shile come. ceremoniall vailes and shadowes were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise then that it had not power to condemne according to the Iewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by Christ himselfe severely commanded : our love towards God being thereby to be witneffed. And herein Danid so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus (um, sicut in omnibus dinitijs; Ihane becne delighted 30 in thy law as in all manner of riches: And againe. The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God (faith S. IOHN) that wee keepe his John 1:5. Commandement. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in Deuteronomie witnesseth. This Commandement Deut.30.11,12. (faith he) which I command thee this day is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is 13.0-14. not in heaven that thou shouldest say who shall goe up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and 7.8. cause us to heare it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say,

who shall goe over the Sea for us, and bring it us? Goe. but the word is very neare unto thee.

even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (faith Moses) I have fet before

thee this day life and death; good and enill, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiest line, &c. Neither is it faid in vaine in S. MATTHEW. Si Cafes. v.17. vis ad vitam ingredi serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements: and in S. Io HN: Scio quiamandatum eius vita aterna eft; I know that his Commande- c.12.v.so. ment is life everlasting. And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainely he is but a lyar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (Christ only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly confider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Com-30 mandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow libertie, and rather let

flip our affections, and voluntarily loofen them, from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath sastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the love of God , that wee keepe his Commande-

Pfal.35.18,

ments, and his Commandements are not grieuous. 1. IOHN 3. verf. 12. and if wee examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easie perswafions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vie it against our plcafing defires.

#### A. XIII.

Of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our

Or by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue feeing enery reasonable man may conceine and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites: and that it is of necessitive that by this almightie V nitie, all things have beene caused, and are

continued. And if brute beafts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his prouidence he hath also prouided for every of them, which giveth to beasts their foode, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the begin-Glossa in verb, ning, seeing this is generally true. Omnia mala exempla bonis initis orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keep the memorie of men samous for their vertue : vntill (saith Lactantius ) the Deuill crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that having life and reason, implore their helpe, which have 30 neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisedome of SALOMON)

but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iourness of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hathno power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee praieth, be more senselesse: David maketh a doubt. For (faithhe) they that make them are

like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.

The breach of the third Commandement is neither perswaded by worldly pleafure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, vnlcsse the hate of good men, and 40 Gods curfe, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except everlasting forrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornefull advantage over vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft gives satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to couctousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it given no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabath day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moles teacheth in the reason of the law : as in Exod. 23. 12. And in the seuenth day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Affermay rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after Godgaue vs life and being, have begotten vs, and borne vs, cherilhed vs in our weake and helpleffe infancie, and bestowed on vs the haruest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, curling of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, have made difference between flaughter cafuall, 10 and furious. Affectio enim tua (faith BRACTON) imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is. And certainely who soeuer cannot forbeare to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne

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The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie have beene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who Nuotie repleme in all ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chast to the grave: terram, Virginia It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the dishonour and injurie, which we offer to others by fuch a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God. and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living whom the defire of beauag tie and forme hath so constrained, but he might with case for beare the prosequution of this ill: did not himselfe give sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robberie had beene vsed in Moses time, which many Ruffians practise nowa-daies in England, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in England, than in any Region of the world among Christians, out of doubt, he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detefted Thecues, who to maintaine themselues Lord-like, assault, robbe, and 30 wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Braucric, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men fometime have laboured for all their lives: impouerishing whole families : and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might eafily be observed, it would soone appeare, if Princes would refolue, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hellhounds. And if every man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false wit-40 nesse: from which if men could not forbeare, all suretie of estate, and life, were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment.

which he fought by falshood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupifcence, or their goods for defire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections : and yet if wee judge hereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconfiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our suddaine passions, yet 30 we may restraine and hinder their growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word Coneting reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For Concupiscentia, according to some, Est effrenatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having : And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our naturall frailtie, or vnaduised error;

But, as I suppose, the word Concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled cuill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later fort : which is, Attus imperfeitus, id est, non deliberatus ratione quaest principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action. And fure, it may feeme, that so long as wee relist such motions they harme vs not: as they say, Quamdin refragamur ninil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as wee give no affent unto them, it is thought by somethat they hurt us not : and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to beare sway. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been 10 forbidden in the other: for in every Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward affent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with affent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without affent. For so even the Morall Philosopher can tell vs, that the Continent man hath cuill defires, but without affent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good defires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The euill defires when they are accompanied with affent, are in enery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act : and therefore, if wee will have any thing proper to this 20 Commandement, we must needes say, that the cuill desires of the Continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though hee that bridleth his cuill desires, be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them : yet fuch a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Ariflotle himselfe makes Continentia, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his cuill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing hee ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinitie delivereth touching this matter. For, as he faith, that in the Continent man the having of these euill desires, though he result them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the 30 having of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of Divinitie to give the true reason of this doctrine : which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the enill desires of the Continent man, that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be finne: feeing fuch defires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vsknow, that by our faithfull indenours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our loue toward himselse: wee may not fafely giue libertie to our vanities, by cafting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath given vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and com- 40 mandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as he is accursed (saith St. Hierome) that anowes that the law is in all things possible to bee obscrued: so hee bath made this addition. Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum pracepisse; Accursed is hee that (aith that Godhath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to bee vnderstood, that we should without cuasion, or without betraying of our selves, doe our faithfull indeuours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, Dauid witnesseth. Enter not into indgement with thy servant, for in thy sight no slesh that liveth shall bee 50 suflified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that sinnethnot: And againe, Who can say I have made my heart cleane? But seeing there is no sinne grieuous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restraine himselse in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandement upon paine of loffe of his love, to performe some service : if the lablect neglecting the fame, feeke to fatisfie his Sourraigne with shifting excuses, out of doubt fuch a Prince will take himfelfe to be derided therein.

### 8. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be observed.



Nd if we confider aduitedly and foberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of Moses gaue vnto his Commandements, which you by the mercifull proudence in the people, it will appeare that fuch was his mercifull proudence in the choise of them, as were there neither pains income profit adjoyned to the

observing, or not observing of them, were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne fakes striue to obferue these lawes; all societie of men, and all indeuours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away: and enery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and diffolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a bleffing : to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that 20 cuery man might enjoy the fruits of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men; that by inflice, order, and peace, wee might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of civill men, and not of faluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, Let vs see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these

As first, what would the iffue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater harred, warre, and bloud-field follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diversitie of interpretation, harh already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead fromes, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loffe of time, and an impossibilitie to receive thence-from, either helpe or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disaduantage, and ill to man, that who foeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may justly

The obleruing the Sabaoth holy, giveth reft to men and beafts, and nature her felfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeares require comfort and helpe

If murther were not forbidden, and feuerely punished, the races of mankinde would be extinguished: and who soeuer would take the libertie to destroy others, grueth libertie to others to deftroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could fay vnto himselfe, this is my fonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no indeuour by vertue and vindertaking to raife families: murthers and poisonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed : and every man subject to most filthic and vircleane difeafes.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankinde would shortly after perilh, or line as the faluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And flich is the mischiefe of robberie, as where Moses for leffer crimes appointed reflicution foure fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

Pfal.143. C.8.v.46. Pre.20.4.9.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and painefull labourer; all triall of right were taken away, and inflice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wines or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our sclues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be de- 10 prined of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilizie of the earth, with all the bleffings given vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie condition

# δ. X V.

Of humane Law, written and unwritten.



Vmane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first divided into two, viz. Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten confifts of vlage, approued by time : which Isidore calls Mores : and hee defines Mores to be Consuctudines vietus are probate, to be customes approved by antiquitie or unwritten lawes. Now cultome differeth from vie, as the cause from

the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a law: but yet 30 there where the law is defective, faith Isidore.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the cufromes of Burgundie, and Normandie: the ancient generall custome of England, and the customes of Castill, and other Provinces.

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the Duchie of Cornewale comprehending 40 also the Stannerie of Deuon, as touching Tin, and Tin causes, are written in Deuon, but not in Cornewale. But how soeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, In Reg. Imin.v.a yet ought euery custome to be rationabilis, as well as prascripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (faith V LPIAN) quod ab initio vitio sum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that every custome, which is against the law, had his 50 beginning from euill deedes, and therefore not without the former confiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tollcrated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have beene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto mo-

VIP.1.29.

ued. For non [u+ficit jimplex toleratio. And it is in this fort ouer-ruled in the law; Per populum consuctudo contra legem induci non potest, nist de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est; The people cannot bring in a new custome, against law : saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the Law a common precept; the adulement of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isidore to calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Gouernement and common profit: And more largely, Omneid quod ratione confifit; All that

stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, Greg. de Vales agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall discourse of Thodaga art.34 those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie observances to the subject. That every law ought to bee a righteous decree, S. Augustine teacheth, faying : Mihilex effe non videtur, que instanon fucrit ; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust : and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law instand legitimate (faith S. Augustine) which the Law-20 makers have not derived from the eternall. Nihil instrum atque legitimum eft, quod L.t. delib. Ath non ab aterna lege sibi homines derinauerint.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguilhed from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Gouernement of what kinde socuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called Violentia, or iniqua constitutiones : Violences, or wicked constitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure A. Parts. 30 conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: fo every particular of the humane law may be refolued into some principle or rule Tho. 4.9.5. art. 4. of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall under it. For according to THOMAS, Alia lex IVLIA de Adulteris, alia CORNELIA de Sicarijs; Thelaw of IVLIAN against Adulterie is one, 40 the CORNELIAN against Ruffians, is another. Now the humane law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of Nations,

and the Civill. The Law of Nations is taken leffe or more properly; leffe properly for eucry law which is not of it felfe, but from other higher principles deduced : and so it seemeth that V. pian vnderstands it : for he defineth Ius gentium, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations : but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that dictate, or sentence, which is drawne from a very probable, 50 though not from an euident principle, yet so probable that all Nations docaffent vn-

to the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadours be granted betweene enemies,&c. which Nationall law according to divers acceptions, and divers confiderations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, fometime of the Humane.

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Ius Civile, or the Civill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is : For it is partly deduced out of fuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or casily affent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and doe not fit all estates. In Leg. 6. ta.ff. Hereof V L P I A N., Ius civile, neque intotum à natural & gentium recedit, neque per omde Iufinia Iure. nia ei seruit : itag, cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile efficiences; The Civil law (faith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature. and nations, nor yet in all points obay it : therefore, when we adde ought to , or take from the

Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civill Law.

The law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in Rome: and was first written by the Decem-viri, 303. yeares after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded as well out of the Atherian, and other Grecian lawes, as out of the ancient Romane customes and lawes Regall, The Regall lawes were denised by the first Kings, and called Leges Regia, or Papyriana, because they were gathered by Papyrius, Tarquin then raigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritie were abolished, with the name : yet those of Servius Tullius, for

Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common vtili-C. sigen. Lt. out tie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelve Tables. To these of Pomponius. lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by 20 the Senate, called Senatuf-confulta: those of the common people, called Plebifcita; those of the Lawyers, called restons a prudentum and the Edicts of the Annual Magistrate; which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by Iulian, and presented to Adrian the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes: and the Volume stilled Edictum perpetuum : as those and the like Collections of Justi-

nian afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the French call Regiements, confifted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soueraigne authoritie (be the soueraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one ) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but Inssum Magistratus, vn- 30 leffe by authoritic it be made a law) hath end with the officer, who made the fame, faith VARRO. Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt; They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeare: Though Isidore doth also expresse by the word Constitutions or Edicts, those Ordinances called Acts of Prerogatiues: as Constitutio vel Edictumest quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the Humane law is divided into the Secular, and into the Ecclesiasticall, or Canon. The Secular commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquilitie of the Common-wealth: the Ecclefiasticall the spirituall good, and right Gouernement of the Ecclefiasticall Common-wealth, or Church, illud naturalegem, hoc divinam 40 spectat; That respecteth the Law of nature, this the law of God. And so may Ius Civile be taken two waies: first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the Secular, and divers from the Ecclesiasticall. But this division of the Schoolemen is obscure. For although the Civill be the same with the Secular, as the Civillis a law, yet the Secular is more generall, and comprehendeth both the Civill, and all other lawes not Ecclesiasticall. For of Secular lawes, in vse among Christian Princes, and in Christian Commonweales, there are three kinds; the Civill which hath everywhere a voice: and is in all Christian estates (Englandexcepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of England called Common, and the Lawes of custome or Provinciall. In Spaine besides the Law Civill, they have the customes of 50 Castill, and other Provinces. In France besides the Civill, the customes of Burgundie, Bloys, Berri, Niuernois, and Lodunois, Ge. Tous lieux fitues & asiis en Lodunois, seront gouernez selon les costumes du dit Pays; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall bee governed according to the customes of that place.

There are also in France the cultomes of Normandie, and these of two kindes: Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three estates. The Charters of confirmation of these ancient cuitomes, before and since their reformation have these wordes. Nos autem, registrum pradictum, vsus laudabiles, & consuetudines artiquas, &c. Laudamus approbamus & authoritate Regia censirmamus: The Register as ore aid, laudable vsc, and ancient customes, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme. The common law of England is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine Maximes by those customes of the Realme approued. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the Chancerie, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small

These ancient customes of England have been approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age : as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disfeifed, nor otherwise destroied, but he must first be put to answere by the law of the land, was confirmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custome of England that the eldest Sonne should inherite without partition : In Germanie, France, and elsewhere otherwise; and by partition. In Ireland it is the custome for all lands (that have not beene refigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third 20 eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of Tanistrie. For example, if a Lord of land have foure Sonnes, and

the eldest of those four chaucalso a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne, ihall after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers lands before the Grandchild: the custome being grounded vpon the reason of necessitie. For the Irish in former times having alwaies lived in a fubdivided Civill warre, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were inforst to leave fuccessors of age and abilitie to defend their owne Territories. Now as in Normandie, Burgundie, and other Provinces of France, there are certaine peculiar, and pettic customes, besides the great and generall custome of the land, so are there

30 in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the Acts of Parliament: lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are Acts of choise, and selfe desire. Leges nulla alia VIp. ff. de Leg. causanos tenent quam quod iudicio populi recepta sunt 3 The lawes doe therefore binde the Lis.32. Subject, because they are received by the indgement of the subject. Tum demum humana le- Aug deverareges habent vim suam; eum fuerint non modoinstitute, sed etiam firmate approbatione communitatis; It is then that humane lawes have their strength, when they shall not only bee de-dist. 4 cum in

us (ed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, 40 that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrie; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which Modestinus comprehends in two: to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds vs by feare, to avoide vice: the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to CICERO. Legem oportet effe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemá, virtutum; It behoueth the law to bee a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes; and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare 50 of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of

those two powers, to wit, Coactine, and Directine. The second of these two effects remembred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incouragement to vertue, as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being fuch as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and for-

P/al. 26.

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bidding, vrge vs to well-doing: laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding euill, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter : and in which Dauid comprehendeth the whole body and fubstance thereof: saying, Declina a malo, & fac bonum; Decline from enill, and dee

That only the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in

Ow whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soucpowers of the law, as aforefaid, the one Directive, the other Coattive: to the power Directine, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth.

For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudiciall 10 iudgement against himselfe; and if equals have not any power over each other, much lesse have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authoritie and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much aboue the lawes, as the foule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and fenfeleffe carcaffe. For the King is truly called, Ius viuum & lex animata; An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themfelues, and conserue it, and therefore was it said of Bracton out of Ivstinian. Merito debet Rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei : nam lex facit vt ipfe fit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King, for it is the 20 law that doth make Kings.

But whereas Bracton ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes divine : and by humane lawes only declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawiers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who

are to give an accompt of their actions to God only.

Tibi soli peccaui, faith DAVID; Against thee only have I sinned: therefore, the Prince cannot be faid to be fubicet to the law. Princeps non Subjectur legi; For feeing according to the Schoolemen, the law humane is but quoddam organum & instrumen- 40 tum potestatis gubernatiua: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsavis potestatis humana non pertinet : sed vis potestatis humananon se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa refidet. Ergo neg, lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law (say they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold off: but the governour himselfe, in whom the governing power dothreside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power becontrolled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe : for every active abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfere- 50 fides. And feeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the Brez de Valen- law : Ergo etiam potest insemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliner himselfe from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus

Bratt.1.2.

Plal.50.

CHAP.4. S.16. of the Historie of the World.

concluded. Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, Princeps verò sola voluntate sua. & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessitie of compulsion, but the Prince only by his owne will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politique lawes, given by Moles to the Nation of the Ifraclites, whether they ought to be a President, from which no civill institutions of other people should prefume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a queition for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater abilitie. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to feeme wifer than God himfelte,

10 who hath told vs that there are no lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their seuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to gouerne aprly; one and the same law very hardly were able. The Roman civill lawes did indeede containe in order, a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconvenience, after fuch time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall customes of the fundrie people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as Aftrologers more willingly grant) some in-

20 fluence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plentie made the Sybarites luxurious: want and opportunitie to steale, makes the Arabians to bee Theenes) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of Congo vnhappily discreted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furie rejected, because pluralitie of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, mee thinks, it were not amisse to consider, that the high God himselfe permitted somethings to the Israelites, rather in re-

20 gard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first persection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the law, given by Moses, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neare as may bee, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained, a vicious, yet not intollerable habite, with folong and fo publique approbation, that the vertue oppoling it, would feeme as vincouth, as it were to walke naked in England, or to weare the English fashion of apparell in Turkie: there may a wife and vpright Law-giner, without prefumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of Moses his law required;

40 euen as the good King Hezekia did, in a matter meerely Ecclefiasticall, and therefore the leffe capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord bee mer- i.chron.eap.36; cifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to feeke the Lord God, the God of value. his Fathers, though he be not cleanfed according to the purification of the Sanctua-

rie: which praier the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor Willet, that the morall Judicialls of Moles doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tied to the same severitie of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by Moses: Christian 50 Magistrates ruling under Christ the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mer- 1316. cie, may abate of the scueritic of Moses law, and mitigate the punishment of death.

but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauie; for to shew more rigour than Mofes, becommeth not the Goffell.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subject of

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many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly fay, that the defence of it hath alwaies beene very plaufible. And furely, howloeger they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and only law; yet shall wee hardly findeany other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence vpon doubts, ariling out of any Law besides it. Hereof. perhaps, that Judge could have beene witnesse, of whom Fortescue that notable Bulwarke of our Lawesdoth speake, complaining of a judgement given against a 10 Gentle-woman at Salisburie, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to alhes: the man who acculed her, within a yeare after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grieuously lamented : but this Iudge, faith the fame Author, Sapiusipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquamin vita sua animum eius de hoc facto ipfe purgaret; He himfelfe often confessed unto mee, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the Metaphyliques, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of sciences, which out of the sci-20 ences themselues cannot be proued, may justly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the Metaphysiques, which is, Ens quaterus Ens; Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the Ens Entium, The being of beings, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose scare is the beginning of wisedome. To which purpose well faith Saint A V G V S TI N E. Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens illam ip sam con-Sulit aternam, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if he bee good and wife, doth therein confult the law eternall, to determine of which there in no power given to any foule. And as well Prince Edward, in

for the power guess to any founce. And as well Prince Earward, in fig. Fortefice his difficurity. Nomo potest melius sut disulfumdum-damentum ponere, quam positi Dominus; No man can lay a better or another soundation, than the Lord half.

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Снара

CHAP. V.

The Storie of the Ifraelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.



HEN Moses had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the Arke and Sankinare; hee mustered all the Tribes and Families of Israel: and having seen what numbers of men, fit to beare armes, were sound in every Tribe, from 20. yeares of age vpwards; hee appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole armie was 603550 able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which

followed them out of Egypt. This great Armie was divided by Moses into foure 30 groffe and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of sudah, ssachat, made Zabulon. In the Tribe of sudah were 74600 fighting men, led by Nasson: in Sabulon 57400 led by Eliab. All these marched vinder the Standard of the Tribe of sudah, who held the Vantguard, and was the first that moued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignitie.

40 The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of Reuben, had ioyned vnto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were 46500. vnder Είπεων: in Simeon 59300. vnder Shelumiel: in Gad 45650. vnder Eliasuph. These had the second place, and incamped on the South side of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were joyned the Regiments of Manasse and Beniamin; who, joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500 under Elishama: Manasse 32000 under Gamliel: Beniamin 35400 under Abidam.

The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, containing 157600 able men marched vnder the Standard of Dan; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of Nephtali and Alber. And these had the Rereward, and moued last, incamping on the North side. Dan had 62700 vnder Ahiezer: Asper 41500 vnder Pagiel: Nephtali 53400 vnder Ahira.

Belide

Belides these Princes of the seuerall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against Moses, Numb. 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against Moses 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelue Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names Num. 1. is made manifest.

The bleffing which Israel gaue to his children, tooke place not only in the divifion of the Land of promile, and other things of more consequence, long after fol- 10 lowing; but even in forting them under their feuerall Standards in the wildernesse it was observed. For Iudah had the precedencie and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the fonnes of Lea, Iacobs wife. Reuben having loft his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother Simeon, who had vidergone his Fathers curse; and with Gad, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. Iofeph, who in temporall bleffings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the yonger (according to Iasobs prophecie) taking place before the Elder. He was affifted by Beniamin, his best beloued brother, the other sonne of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest sonne of Jacobs Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Ar- 20 mie, according to Iacobs prophecie. Hee had with him under his Standard none of the children of Lea, or Rachel, but only the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, fur-rounded by the Leuites. Neare vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approch, by reason of these source powerfull Armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of Israel to come nearest, who were not of the Leuites, to whom the charge was committed. So facred was the moueable Temple of God, and with fuch reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8,80. had the peculiar charge, according to their seuerall offices and 30 functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the Leuites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; The Geshurites on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of Ephraim, ouer whom Eliasaph commanded, in number 7500. The familie of Cohath on the South fide, guided by Elizaphan, within the Armie of Reuben, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of Merari, ouer whom Zuriel commanded, in number 6200 and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of Dan; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which Iudah led, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their chil-40 dren, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other Leuticall families, was Eleazar the sonne of Aaron, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of Ifrael, and of their incamping and marching: the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. Thereuerend care, which Moses the Prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Arke and Sanctuarie, witneffed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and eueric, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in 50 the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying vp and preserving the holic Veffels; the folemne remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-sine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

Anabaptist, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Poperie, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churthes into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministerie (robbed of all dignitie and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-Gouernement, left to newnesse of opinion and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within England: 10 enery contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; infomuch as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after die away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of Germanie cause of this answere to those that perswaded him to become a Lutheran, Sime adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs : si me alijs adinngo, à vobis condemnor ; Quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo; If I adioyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I toyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should avoide I fee, but I know not what I should follow.

ð. I I.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: The Passeover of the second yeare: The departing of IETHRO.

🛪 Ow when Moses had taken order for all things necessarie, provided for the feruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Armie, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all forts: The twelue Princes or Comman-

ders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, Num. 6. fixe couered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabornacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the San- The Hebrewé ctuarie excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sonnes Gerah waighof Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conucied the other parts of the Tabernacles and Veffels thereto belonging, were deli- Gerals of filuer

ucred to the Leuites for that service, namely to the sonnes of Gershan and Merari. Besides these Chariots each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, ling the Side offered vnto God, and for his service in the Temple, a charger of fine siliner, waigh- of the Santinaing 130. sheckles: a silver Boll of 70. sheckles: after the sheckle of the Sandwarie: pounded Exed. 40 and an incense-Cup of gold of ten sheekles: which they performed at the same time 30.13.) contejand an incentes cup or gold of ten incentes; which takes performed they marched from the Altar was dedicated vnto God by Aaron and before they marched from the Santhuries Sinai towards their conquest: besides the beasts which they offered for facrifice, ac- sicle of silver is cording to the law Geremoniall, the weight of all the twelve filter chargers, and about 2. groats twelue filuer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. flicekles of filuer: and the waight of gold the comon siin the incense-Cups, to 120. sheekles of gold: which makes of sheekles of silver 1200 so much, towit, euery sheckle of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which it is vsually exthey offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twentic pound sterling, pouded all oghi This done, Moses, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gane order for Villalpandius la. the celebrating of the Paffeoner: which they performed on the fourteenth day of that the com-50 the second Moneth of the second yeare: and on the 20. day of the same the cloude mon and the was lifted up from about the Tabernacle, as a figne of going forward; Mofes begin- santhurie siele were all one. ning his march with this indocation to God, Rife up Lord, and let thine enemies bee Num.9. v.5. scattered, and let them that hate thee, flie before thee. Then all the people of Israel re- Num.10.11. moued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine Sinai; towards Param Num 9.17.

the Armie, or great squadron of Iuda, led by Nashon, taking the Vantguard, followed by Nethaneel, and Eliab, Leaders of the Tribes of Islachar and Zabulon: after whom the rest marched as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through fo many Defarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: Moses leaving nothing vnforethought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom in the tenth of Numbers he calleth Hobab, to accompanie them in their journey towards Canaan: promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man as hee was of great vnderstanding and judgement (as appeared by the counsaile he gaue to Moles for the appointing of Judges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those 10 parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian or Madian: and (as it scemeth) a man of great yeares and experience, for he was then the Priest or Prince of Madian, when Moses fled first out of Agypt, and married his Daughter: which was 42. yeares before this request made. And though Moles himselfe had lived 40. yeares in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to trauaile : yet the better to affure his paffage, and so great a multitude of soules, which could not bee so few as a Million: it was necessarie to vse many guides and many conducters. To this request of Moses it may seeme by the places, Exod. 18.27. and Num. 10.30. that lethro, otherwise called Hobab, yeelded not : for it is evident that he went backe from Indic. 1.16. 64 Moses into his owne Countrie. But because it appeareth by other places of Scrip- 20 11. Alfo1. Sam. ture, that the posteritie of this Hobab was mingled with the Ifraelites: it is most like-15.6. And 2. ly that this his returne to his owne Countrie was rather to fetch away his familie: and to take his leaue of his owne Countrie, by fetting things in order, than to abide

Icr. 35.

### ð. III.

The voiage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the red Sea.



Fter this dismission of Hobab, Ifrael beganne to march towards the Defarts of Paran: and after three daies wandring, they sate downeat the Sepulchers of lust, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio: by reason that God confumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers, which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23.day of the same Mo-

neth. And from this 23. day of the second moneth, of the second yeare, they rested and fed themselues with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of Sman or Iune: whereof furfaiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called Thamus, answering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth: where Miriam 40 the lifter of Moses was stricken with the leaprosie, which continued upon her seuen daies, after whose recouerie I/rael removed toward the border of Idumaa: and incamped at Rithma, neare Kades Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the Territorie of Canaan: both to informe themselues of the fertilitie and strength of the Countrie: as also to take knowledge of the Waies, Passages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For Arad King of the Canaanites surprised divers companics of the Israelites, by lying in ambush neare those waies: through which the difcouerers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discouerers of Cades, the wrath of God was turned against Israel; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his fo many benefits, fo many remiffions, fo many mira-50 cles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the Agyptian slaucrie, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible Wildernesse ( for so Moses callethit ) with the victorie which hee gaue them against the powerfull Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee

Num.11. & 33. Num.12.

Num.21.

Dest. 1. v. 19.

led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be flaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported vnto them, by the fearthers of the Land, That the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers, and Castles: that many of the people were Giantlike (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of Anac there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre over-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now as this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an Electo) to carrie them backe againe into Agypt: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soule of the whole multitude (10/11a and Caleb excepted) who being confident in Gods promifes, perswaded the people to enter Canaan, being then neare it, and at the mountaine foote of Idumea: which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof: and affuring them of victorie. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense: they threatned to stone these encouragers to death: accounting them as Num.14.10; men either desperate in themselues, or betraiers of the liues, goods, and children of all their bretheren, to their enemies, but God relifted these wicked purposes, and interpoling the feare of his bright glorie betweene the vnaduiled furie of the multi-20 tude, and the innocencie and constancie of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence: threatning an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a confuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth in- wante, with furrection and rebellion, which they had made, fince God deliucred them from the flauerie of the Agyptians. But Moses (the mildest or meekest of all men) praied vnto Num.12. 0.3. God to remember his infinite mercies: alleadging that this fo seuere a judgement, how deservedly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations: and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of Ifrael failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no leffe just than mercifull, as God is flow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming 30 fire: the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude : and therefore, as with a hand leffe heavie than hoped for, he fourged this iniquitie, fo by

the measure of his glorie (euermore jealous of neglect and derision) hee suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished; referuing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, hee was pleased to preserue, and in them to performe his promises, which have never beene frustrate.

#### IIII.

Of their unwilling neffe to returne : with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the returne.



Ow when Moses had reueiled the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them : they beganne to bewaile themselves, though over-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then

when God had left them to themselues, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, They would needes amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie agains to the aduise of Moles : who affured them, 50 that God was not now among them: and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by his direction, who could not erre: and that the enemies fword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leffe sharpe than death: and in the handes of the Amalekites, and Canaanites no leffe cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie

them to their owne destructions: so the Hebrewes after they had for saken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered : and might then have entred Indea before their enemies were prepared and joyned : did afterward, contrarie to Gods commaundement, vndertake the enterprise of themselues; and ranne headlone and without adulfe into the mountaines of Idumaa. There the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joyned and attending their advantage, fet on them, brake them. and of their numbers flaughtered the greatest part : and following their victoric and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight euen vnto Hormah : the Amalekites in reuenge of their former loffe, and ouerthrowe at Raphidim: the Canaanites to preuent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which power- 10 full affemblie of those two Nations (affisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne Mofes, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hec commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the deserts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe : in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer Iordan there were consumed 38. yeares: and the whole number of the fixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of Agypt (Moses Ioshua and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholy worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children : which were increased to 600000. and 20 more. For belides the double fault both of refuling to enter the Land upon the returne of the discouerers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it feemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping Moloch, and the Host of heaven. For although Moles doth not mention it, yet Amos doth, and so doth the Martyr Stephen; as also that the Israelites worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is proued out of fundrie

Amos c.4. v.25. 2.Kings c.17. v.16.0 cap. 21. v.3.0 c.23.v.4 2.Cbro. c 33.v.3 Hierem. c. 19. v.13.6c.

Num.33.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at Cades, Moles, according to the commaundement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from 30 Cades or Rithma he removed to Remmonparez, fo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence hee went on to Librah. taking that name of the frankincense there found. From Librah hee crost the valley, and fate downe at Ressa neare the foot of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at Ceelata: where one of the Hebrewes, for gathering broken wood on the Sabaoth, was stoned to death. After which, Moses alwaies keeping thevalley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desert of Sin, and those of Pharan) crost the same from Ceelata; and marched Eastward to the mountaine of Sapher, or Sepher: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to Harada; then to Maceloth; 40 and then to Thahah; and so to Thara or Thare: the foure & twentieth mansion. Where while Moses rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinic, of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram: who for their contempt of God and his Ministers were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured, others euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with Korah were consumed with fire from heaven; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against Moses, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence : one of the greatest meruailes and judgements of God, that hath beene shewed in all the time of Moses his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would have vsurped Ecclesiasticall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the earth with their fami- 50 lies and goods; even while they fought to overthrowe the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gonernment both of his Church and Common-weale of his people. And the bet-

terto assure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his servant Auron, by the twelue roddes given in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which Moses received one of enery Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on enery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and Aarons on that of Leui; it pleased God, that the rod of Jaron received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Arke one night, had on it both Buds, Bloffomes, and ripe Al-

10 From Tharab the whole Armic removed to Methra; and thence to Elmona; and thence to Moseroth, (or Masurit after S. Hierome) and from Moseroth to Beneiacan; and so to Gadgad, which therome calleth Gadgada; thence to tetabata, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certain fountaines of water gathered in one, Adrichomius maketh a River, which falleth into the Red Sea, betweene Madian and Asiongaber.

Now although it be very probable, that at Asiongaber, where Salomon furnished his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though Herodotus Halls. maketh mention of a great River, in Arabiathe Stonie, which he calleth Corrs, from whence (faith he) the Inhabitants conneigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of Arabia relieued the Armie of Cambyles: yet is A-20 drichomius greatly deceived as many times lie is, in finding these springs at Gadgad, or Ietabata, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Maniion. For it was at Punon, that those springs are spoken off, which in Dent. the 10.2.7. is also called letabata, or Iotbath, a Land of running waters, and which by all probabilitie fall into the Riuer Zared, the next adioyning. And that these springs should fall into the Red Sea at Asiongaber, or Eloth, I cannot beleeue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in Belonius, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandie parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke up by the hot and thirstie fand, before they can recouer the bankes of the Red Sea.

From Ietabata, Moses directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at Hebrona; and from thence to Estongaber: which Citie in Iosephias time had the name of Berenice; and in Hieromes Essa. From thence keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the North; as he was by God commanded: Estorigaber Down. being the farthest place towards the South-east; that Moses transiled in that passage.

It feemeth that Estongaber or Astongaber, Estothand Madian were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is Raid, That the Lord Spake wate Moses Numero, wis and AARON in the Mount Hor, neare the coast of the Land of Edom; so as the Mount Hor was at this time in the South border of Idumea. And if Effongaber, and the other places neare the Red Sea, had at this present beene subject to the Idumaans, Mo-40 ses would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the fuiture the Idumans obtained those places : for it is said. And they grose out of Midian, 1. King 11.16. and came to Paran, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed yong Adad of Idumas into Ægipt, when he fled from Isab. Likewife it is faid of Salomon, that he made a nauie of ships in Esiongaber besides Eloth, in the Land of Edom.

Of Moses arrivall at Zin Kades: and the accidents while they abode there;

Rom Estiongaber he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wildernesse of Zm, which is Kadesh or in Beroth; of the children of Jacan; where they fate downe in the first Monethrof the fortieth yeare after they left Egypt. For at the next Mansion Laron died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; the nine and thir-

Nam.20.1. 1. Hm. 20 3. tieth yeare taking end at Esiongaber. And at this Citie of Cades (for so it was thought to be) or neare it, died Miriam or Marie, Moles fifter, whose Sepulcher was to bee scene in Saint Hieromes time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine Hor, all the people murmured most violently against Moles, by reason of the scarcitic of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen: by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth, by the suddaine pestilence which often feifed them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and fatisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they fuffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they mur- 10 mured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngratefully on Moles all their miladuentures; yea though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deferts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in fight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end; he commanded Moses to strike a Rocke adjoyning with his rod; and the waters iffued out in a great abundance, with which both themselues and their cattaile were fatisfied. Neuerthelesse, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in 20 Moles and Aaron, at this place": therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promifed, whereto perchance their worldly defires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trausiles of Aaron at the Mountaine Hor, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of Hor, Jaron was despoiled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his

Of this Mountaine called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deuter. 10. verf. 6. those Horstes tooke name, which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Some there are 30 which make Mofera, which was the seuen and twentieth Mansion; and Mofera which they write Moferoth for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manfion, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places : because Moses in passing from Cadesbarne towards Eliongaher, incamped at Molera, after he departed from Helmona, and before he came to Beniagean. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came vnto after he left Cades, where Miriam, Moses sister died; the first being the feuen and twentieth, and the fecond being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should have beene written, Hor iuxta Mosera; Hor neare Mosera: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horebare: whereof the West part Moses calleth Mosera, and the East 40 part Horeb. By the West part Moses incamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards Moab : as in the description of Moses his passage through Arabia, the Reader may perceiue.

Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended

the Mountaine; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Moles sent Messengers to the Prince of Idumaa, praying him that hee might passe with the people of Israel through his Territorie into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the Citie of Kadelb, where Moles then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his iourney by the Rivers of Zared, Arnon, and Iordan, hee might have runne into many hazards 50 in the passage of those Rivers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of Idames hereinto, Moles remembred him, that he was of the same race and familie with Ifrael: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

CHAP.5. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

Edomites and Ifraelites were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, Ifaac; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to favour and respect them, than hee had to affait the Canaantes; against whom Efau his Ancester had made warre, and drinen out the Horites (who were of their ancient races descended of Cham) out of the Region of Seir, calling it by his owne name Edom, or Edumaa. Hee also making a thort repetition of Gods bleffings bestowed on them, and of his purpoles and promiles; affured Edom, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or walte his Countrie, but that hee would restraine his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high waies, paying money for 10 whatsoeuer he vsed, yea euen for the water, which themselues or their Cattaile should drinke. For Moses was commanded by God not to prouoke the children of E/au. But the King of Edumaa knowing the strength of his owne Countrie, Dent. 2.4. the same being neare Canaan, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and with all suspecting, as a natural wise man; that 600000 strangers being once entred his Countrie, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them pasfage, and deliucred this answere to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to en- Num.20.20.20 ter that way, he would take them for enemies, and refift them by all possible means. 21. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his countrie together, and showed himselfe prepared to defend their 20 paffage. For as it is written : Then E D O M came out against him (to wit, Moses) with Numero, much people, and with a mightie power. Whereupon Moles considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of Seir or Eduman, and that the Land promifed was that of Canaan: like vnto himfelfe, who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, he refused to aduenture the Armie of ifrael against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but

ð. V I.

a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the seate of their mountainous

Countrie, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to have conque-

> Of their compassing Idumea, and travailing to Arnon; the border of Moab.

red the rest.

E therefore leaving the way of Idumea, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deferts of Moab. Which when Arad King of the Canaanites understood, and that Mofes had blanched the way of Edumea; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom, which If rael aimed at, he thought it fafeft, rather to finde his enemies in his

neighbours Countrie, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might have done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had Moses beene enforst first to have made his way by the fword through Idumea, and thereby, though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being refolued to make triall, what courage the Ifraelites brought with them out of Agypt, before they came nearer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defert, he set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattle that they 50 draue with them, could not incampe so neare together, but that some quarter or other was cuer-more subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he flew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessour, which Dd 2

Num.20.9.

2553.

Num22.

Nm.14 45.

ioyned his forces with the Amalekites, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses would haue entred Canacan from Cadesbarne. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the Canaanites, because in the first of Deuter. 44 the Amarites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are said to haue beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Anad, if he were the same that had a victoric ouer Israel, neare Cadesbarne, or if it were his Predecessor that then prevailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses purpose to compassife Moses, determined while he was yet in the Desert to trie to the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites tetrely destroied the Canaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the streatines. But it is to be vinderstood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the

Neither is their coniccture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that Arad did not inhabite any part of Camain it selfe, but that his Territorielay with. 20 out it, and neare the Mountaine Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Eclom, and not of Camain. And it was in the South of the Land of Camain, that Arad dwelt: which South part of Camain was the North part of

time of Iofna. For had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the pursuit of Arad,

hee would not have fallen backe againe into the Deferts of Zin and Moab, and

haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compasse, by the Riuers of Zared and

Againe, Horma (for so farre the Israelites after their victorie pursued the Camanites) is seated in the South of Indea. There is also a Citic of that name in Simon, But there is no such placeto the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victorie, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in Iosua his time, and not at the instant of Arads assaulted for had the Israelites at this time 30 fackt the Cities of Arad, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of Iosua, that the Israelites tooke their reuenge, and after they had past Iordan: Iosua then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his Citie so called; and with him the King of Horma: to which place the Israelites pursued the Cananites. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished and put to death.

Now after this affault and furprife by Anal, Mose sinding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compasse Identage and the 4p Dead Ses, and to make his entrance by Annon and the Plaines of Mosb, at that time in the possession of the Annonies. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, beganne againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fire Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venome inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their errour, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount Hor, Moses leauing the ordinarie way which lieth betweene the Red Sea, and Caelefyria, incamped at Zahmona: and thence hee remoued to Phunon, where hee erected the Brasen Serpent; making these iournies by the codes of Edumea, but without it. For Phunon was sometime a principall Citie of the Edomites. Now where it is written in Numbers 21. Vers. 4. That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the Israelius turned backe towards the Red Sea;

neither did they march (according to Fonseca) per viam, que hatet a lateremare rubrum; By the way that fided the Red Sea, but indeed e they croft, and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitiu, and the Countries of Moub, to the Red Sea, that is, to Elongaber; Eloth, and Midian: which way, as it lay North and South, fo Ifrael to thunne the border of Edom, and to take the vtmost East part of Moub, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth; where they entred the Territorie of Month, adioyning to the Land of Suph, a Countrie bordering on the Dead Sea; and from thence 10 to Abarim, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of Moab; From thence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the River of Zared, which rifeth in the mountaines of Arabia, and runneth towards the Dead Sea, not farre from Petra the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the Cities of Moab; which Hieremie the Prophet c. 48.v.22. calleth the House of Diblathaim, the same which afterward was destroied among the rest by Nabuchadneffar. From thence they came to the River of Arnon, and incamped in the mountaines of Abarim: though in the 22. of Numbers, Moses doth not remember 10 Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh of his remoue from the River of Zared, immediately to the other fide of Arnon; calling Arnon the border of Moab, betweene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrie at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by Sehon, King of the Amorites: even from the Predecessour of Balac Peor then raigning. From Diblathaim, Moses sent Mcssengers to Schon, King of the Amorites, to delire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he defired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. Mo/es also in sending messengers to Seon observed 30 the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successours, for a law of the war, namely in Deut. 20. v. 10. in these wordes, When thou commest neare vato a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries onto thee, and ferue thee, but if it refuse, &c. thou shall Smite all the Males thereof with the edge of the Sword. Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

### ð. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are loft.

Ow concerning the Warre betweene If rael and Sehon, Mose seemeth Numac.s.v.j.d. to referre a great part of this Storie to that Booke entituled Liber bellorum. The booke of Gook battailes; and therefore passet the necessary of the second part of this place. His wordes after the Genevatranslation are these. Wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did not the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon. The Vulgar copie different not in sense this is juid Numat. The word of the battailes of the lord the sense of the lord the lord the sense of the lord th

the Greeke Soptuagini varie. For the Greeke writes it to this effect; For thus it is faid Num.at.

50 in the booke: the lVarte of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnan.

Orthococlimities for the Red Sea, which is in the Geneeuan and Fulger Edition, names the Region more Chap. to of \* Suph, a Countrie bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as he coniceturerth. d. + 1. 2.

The Text hereadeth thus. Ideric distiplet in recensione believum I E H O v 2, contra and of the force

VAHEBVM in Regione SVPH: & contra flumina Arnonis; Therefore is it Suphalto chap;

Dd 3 \*

Joken 18. 52.





(poken in repeating of the battailes of IEHOVAH, against VAHEB in the Countries of SVPH: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon. In which wordes he vnderstands, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites. there was in those times a famous memorie in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of Sehon against Vaheb, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrie neare Arnon, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this Vaheb was the immediate Predecessour of Balac, who lived with Moses: though it be written that this Balac was the sonne of Zippor, and not of Vaheb. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the fuccession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not successive. And as Iunius in this translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the bat- 10 tailes of the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special booke be meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of Indges. Siracides c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by I o s v A. Who was there (faith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few wordes, referring the Reader to other bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the feuerall victories by Ifrael obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Ifraelites, were particularly and largely writ- 20 ten. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many o-

weel dexie, and by Tertullian. That worke also of the Patriarch Abraham, of Formation, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The bookes remembred by Iofua c. 10. v. 13 and in the second of Samuel c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of Talber, or Tustorum, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middest of the Heavens is 20 recorded, and how they stood still, till Ifrael had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also David tooke the precept, of teaching the children of Juda, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

ther Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or

baue beene destroied by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the

bookes of Henoch, howfoeuer they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore

now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of Thaddens, and cited by Origen

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predefination, in which the just are written, according to the 69. Pfalme v.28. where it is faid, Let them be put out of the Hieron in quest, booke of life, neither let them be written with the righteous. HIEROME thinks, that fuger lib Regum. David by this booke understood those of Samuel; Rabbi Salomon, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the inst Abraham, of Isaac, Iacob, and Mofes, are written; others, that it was the booke of Exodus; others, as Theodoreius, that it was a Commentarie vpon Iofua by an vnknowne Author.

The booke of Chozai, concerning Manaffe, remembred in the second of Chron. Hieron.in annot, 33. v. 18. v 19. Of this booke, alfoloft, Hieronne conceines that the Prophet I/ay was the Author.

> The fame mischance came aswell to the Storie of Salomon, written by Ahia Silonites, who met with Ieroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of Israel from the sonne of Salomon: as to the bookes of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Teedo the Seer, remembred in the second of Chron. c. 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of Shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the second of Chron, c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of Jehn the sonne of Hanani, of the acts of Jehos Japhat, cited in the second of Chron.c. 20. v. 24. Also that booke of Salomons which the Hebrenes 50 write Hascirim, of 5000 verses, of which that part called Canticum Canticorum only remaineth, 1. Kings 4.32. and with this divers other of Salomons workes have perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. Kings 4.33. with the reft remembred by Origen, Infephus, Hierome, Cedrenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith Nebuchadnessar burnt the Temple of Hierusalem. But let vs returne thither where we left.

# ». VIII.

of Moses his sparing the issue of Lot: and of the Giants in those parts: and of Sehon and Og.



Hen Moses had past Arnon, he incamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, oppolite to the Citie of Webo, leaving the Citie of Midian on his left hand, and attempting nothing vpon the Moabites on that side. For Moab did at this time inhabite on the South fide of Arnon, having

lost all his ancient and best Territorie, which was now in the possession on of Sehon the Americe. For Moses was commanded by God not to molest Mondy, Dent. 2. 1.9. 6 neither to prouoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children 10.11.612. of Lot; the same which was anciently possess by the Emins, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the sonnes of Anae.

God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise were and descended of Lot: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the Ammonites called Zomzummims. For it feemeth that all that part, especially to the East of Iordan, euen to the Desert of Arabia, as well on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of Gilead, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the Israelites did not at any time passethose Mountaines to the East of Basan, but left their Countrie to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We findealfo, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of Cansan, and the Land it felfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the Ana- 10/15.0.13.6. kims dwelt in Hebron, which sometimes was called the Citie of Arbah, which Arbah 14.0.15.

30 in Iosua is called the Father of the Anakims; and the greatest man of the Anakims. There had also beene Giants in the Land of the Moubites, called Emims: and their chiefe Citie was Aroer or Ar, neare the River of Arnon. To the Giants of the Rephaims, the Ammonites game the name of Zamzummims; which were of the fame ancient Canaanites: and their chiefe Citie was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They were also called Zuzims, which is as much to say, as Virirobulti, horrendig, Gigantes; Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of Aroer.

Now Moles having past Arnon, and being incamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to Schon, as he had done to Edom, to pray a paffage through his Coun-40 trie, was denied it. For Sehon being made proude by his former conquest vpon Vaheb the Moabite, which Nation the Amorites esteemed but as strangers and vsurpers, (themselves being of the sonnes of Canam, and the Moabites of Lot) refused to grant Israel any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter Moses with as much speede as he could, because Moses incamped in the Countrie of his new conqueste, to wit, the Plaines of Moab; the two and fortieth and last Mansion? which Moses wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattle. Towards him therefore hasting himselfe, they encountred each other at Iahaz: where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomfitted; and the victorie so pursued by Moses, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and 53 Children of the Amorites, which he found in Effebon, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were: and descended of Emoreus or Amoreus : for Moses calleth the Basanites also Amorites. Dest. 1. 18. And although Ifrael might now have taken a ready way and paffage into Iudea : being at this time, and after this victorie at the banks of Iordan: yet hee knew it to bee

perilous

perilous to leaue fo great a part of that Nation of the Amorites on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of Bafan or Traconitis : and therefore heled on his Armie to inuade Og : a person of exceeding strength and stature : and the only man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the mountaine of Hermon (which mountaine faith Moles, the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir) and the River of Iordan. And it befell vnto the King of Balan ( who attended Moles comming at Edrei) as it did vnto Sihon: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this Moles with-drawing himselfe backe agains to the mountaines of Abarim, left the persequution of that warre vnto Jair the sonne of Manasse: 10 who conquering the East parts of Basan, to wit, the Kingdome of Argob, even vnto the Nations of the Gelluri and Machati, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name Hauoth Jair : of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of Ma. nalle posses the North part as farre as Edrei, but the East part that belonged to Sihon the Amorite, with the mountaines of Gilead adjoyning, was given to Ruben and

### ò. I X.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses his death.



Fter these victories, and while Israel sojourned in the valley of Mosh, the Madianites and Moshites (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that Balae King of the Moshites then commanded in chiefe) sought, according to the adult of Nations. cording to the aduife of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue

their Idols, to divide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beat them out of Moab, and the Countries adioyning. The Ifraelites as they had euer beene inclined, fo were they now eafily perfwaded to thefe cuill courses, and thereby drew on 30 themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000, persons: befides which punishment of God the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the fword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that Phine as the sonne of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbia Daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appealed. For such was the love and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of Phineas in prosequating of Zimri (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes became an Idolater) as hee forgaue the rest of Israel, and staied his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that Mofes caused the people to be numbred the third time: 40

terprife, he appointed 12000, to be chosen out, to inuade the Cities of Midian, who together with the Moabites practifed with Balaam to curse Israel: and after that

fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worthip of the true God, to

and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601 730. of which as his last en-

the service of Beth-Peor: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatric. Ouer which companies of 12000. Moses gave the charge to Phineas, the sonne of Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the fine Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately beene, the vaffalls of Sehon, as appeareth by Iofuab. These fine Princes of the Midia-Isf.c.13.v.31. nites flaine by Eleazar were at this time but the vasfalls of Sehon the Amorite, to wit,

Cap. 12. 31.

men, male-children, and women : fauing fuch as had not yet vsed the companie of men, but those they saucd and disperst them among the children of Israel to serue And Moles having now lived 120. yeares, making both his owne weakeneffe of Dest. 31.0.2.

Eut, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the Dukes of Sehon, faith Iosua. Hee slew also all the 50

body knowne to the people, and his vnabilitie to trauaile: and also that he was fore- Dent. 31. v. 2. warned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: Hee hastned to settle the Gouernement in Iosua: whom hee perswaded with most lively arguments to prosequate the conquest begunne; assuring him of Gods sauour and affiftance therein. And so having spent these his later daies after the Conquest of Og and Sehon, King of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to S. Augustine) ving both arguments, praiers, Aug 1.4. de 2011and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to con-rabiaur. Serne. 10 firme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and service, of the all-powerfull God: Hee Deat. 33.

bleffed the twelue I ribes, that of Simeon excepted, with feuerall and most comfortable bleffings: praising the greatnesse and goodnesse of him, vnto whom in his praiers he commended them: Hee also commanded the Priests to lay up the booke of the Law, by the fide of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Prophoticall Song, beginning: Hearken yee Heauens and I will speake, and let the earth heare Deat 32.1. the word of my mouth: and being called by God from the labours and forrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land Dest. 34. v. 6; of Moab, ouer against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the yeare of the World 2554.

Observations out of the Storie of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.



Ow let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundrie of the great euents, which have beene mentioned in this Storie of the life of *Mofes*, for (excepting Gods miracles; his promife, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the *medium* of mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we thall find

that the feare which Pharao had of the increase of the Hebrewes, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the forrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the Ægyptian Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and vngodly pollicies to cut off and leffen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the Hebrewes to be flaine, God (whose prouidence cannot be resifled, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and faluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of Pharae's owne Daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wife, and of all men the most gentle and milde,

40 the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed Brethren, and the ouerthrow of Pharae, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under and burie them in the dust. The griefe which Moses conceived of the injuries; and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrewes in his owne presence, moued him to take revenge of the Agyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to difcouer the slaughter of the Agyptian, moued him to slie into Midian: the contention betweene the sheep heards of that place, and Iethro's Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of othose Sisters: and in that solitaric life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre

from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heards-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he first suffered him to live many yeares, the better to know the waies and passages through which he purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land

Снар.6. §.1. of the Historie of the World.

promifed : and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and divine Pleasure for his returne into Agypt. The like may be said of all things else, which Moles afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of Israel before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeares after, when the occasions are either not confidered, or forgotten.

# CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Hraclites had dealing after their comming out of Ægypt; and of the men of re-nowne in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Iosva, with the summe of the Historie of I osva.

How the Nations with whom the Ifraelites were to have Warre, were diners waiés, as it were, prepared to be their



N like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their comming out of £eypt, had to doe, either in the Wilderneffe, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the iffue of Canaan, or at least of Ham : and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ismaelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: 40 whereas the Ifraelites still continued strangers, and separate from them : and fo partly in this respect, and

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partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversitie in Religion, Eastlide of tor- were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Ifraelites: and so to serue dan about Ba- for fuch purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more mafan: where they nifeft, we must vnderstand that this part of Syris, bounded by the mountaines of Liof Hussin which banus, and Zidon on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the both 10b dwelt, Springs of Arnon on the East: by the way of Agypt, and the Red Sea on the South: iffue of Hus the and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nati-Sonne of Wa- ons, the one springing from the sonnes of Cham, the other from Sem: but those of 50 the and Ellin, bern, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but his fried which. is called a Bu- with \* one familie, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other git. See here- for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and Possessor those Territories: by processe of time divided into severall families and names: whereof

\* It feemeth alfo that Hus, the Sonne of Nachor, & Bax his Brother

some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummins, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, lebusites, Amorites, Heuites, Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of Canaan, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still

As for the Hebrewes which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of an other familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the Israelites, and this was some cause that the Cansanites did not affect them, or indure them: no more then 10 the Philistims did, who descended also of Cham by Mizraim. For though Abraham himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Iordan: yet now even they which descending from Abraham, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those partes, were alienated in affections from the Ifraelites: as holding them itrangers and Exedentions intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Cananites, and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whomethey dayly contracted affinitie: than of their olde petigree from Abraham.

True it is that these Nations descended of Abraham, or of his kindred, who had Dua.e.11.v.s. lincked themselues and matched with the Cananites and others, had so farr possest 20 themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee a quall in strength to the bordering Cananites, if not superiour. For of Los came those two great families of the Moabites, and Amonites : Of Efauthe Idumaans: of Madian the Madianites: of Ismael, the eldest sonne of Abraham came the Ismaelites, with whom are loyned as of the same nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because Esau had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have bin otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to pronoke the Edomites, of doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwife A- Dentes 1. v.s. malek was curfed and endlesse warre decreed against him : but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. 0.3. Of Ismaels eldest Sonne Naboth spring the Arabians of Exedent, with

20 Petras, called Nabathai. Now even as Abraham befought God to bleffe Ismael, fo it Gen, t. pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene Hauilath vpon Tigris, and Sur which is the West part of the Desart of Arabia Petraa. Yet howsoeuer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from Abraham, were great: yet it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the Ifraelites into Canaan, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and 40 contended for Dominion : yet fearing a third more strong than themselucs, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne presernation, to joyne themselves together against Israel: though they did it nothing so malitiously and resolvedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumaans only denied the Hebrewes a paffage : which the Moabites durst not denie : because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselues had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the Amorites : and as for the Ammonites their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of Schon and Og Kings of the Amerites, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong by reafon of the mountaines which divided it from Basan. Againe, that which moued the sements, odd 30 Moabites in their owne reason not much to interrupt Ifrael, in the conquest of Sehon

time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, that themselves might recover against

their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the moun-

taines of Arabia and Iordan: But as soone as Sehon was slaine, and that the King of

the Amorite, and of Og his Confederate: was that the Moabites might hope after such

GCH.25.

Gen.27.

Gen.36,

Gen.33.14.

Mondy, Balac, perceived that Moles allotted that valley to the Tribes of Gad and Ruben, he beganne to practife with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the Daughters of Median, as aforefaid, to allure them to Idolatrie and thus at length the Moabites by speciall occasion were more and more stirred up to enmitte against Ifrael. And as for diners of the rest that were descended from Abrahams kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted fome enmities to be as it were prefages of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the easier incensed, by the memorie of old grudges; and withall by some disdaine from the elder in nature to the yonger. For the I/maelites being descended from the eldelt sonne of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest sonne of Isaac, Iacob, be- 19 ing but a fecond fonne, of a fecond brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being natural men, might scorne to give place, much leffe to subiect themselves, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a more aggravation the issues of Efau Princes of Edumea, might keep in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by Iacobs taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Fathers bleffings also by him: and that Iacob after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into Seir or Idumaa.

So also in the posteritie of Ismael, it might remaine as a seede or pretense of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the infligation of Sara, cast out into the Defart, with his Mother Hagar: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell 20 to relieue them. If mael also had an Agyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and Amales was also an Horite by his Mother : which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumaans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For Efau tooke two Wines of that Nation : one of them was i dath, the Daughter of Elou, the Hittite, and the other Aholibamah, the grand-child of Zibeon the Heuite, Lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Efau, and called

after his name Edom or Edumaa.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the 30 conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married: only a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof Iethro was Prieft, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-liuing God.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Israelites.



F the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek 40 may be thought to be of a better Petigree) wee finde foure named by Moses : and one and thirtie remembred by Iosua; though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other

The

Dominion. These Canaanites in a generall consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of Cham by Canaan, as the Hittites, Jebusties, Amorites, Gergesites, Heuites, &c. and so here wee viderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Countrie of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promife: for God had appointed that the feuen principall Pamilles should berooted out; and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and 50 Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Iordan, on the East, and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrie, and in the choisest places thereof, those Canaantes which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemor Gen. 34. of the Heuites, whom Simeon and Leui flew, together with his Sonne Sichem, in reuenge of their Sifters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the Dead Sea; the same which surprised Israel, as they incamped in the Wildernesse in the edge of Edu- Num. 21.1.

The third named was Sehon King of Effebon, who before Mofes arrivall had beaten the Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Petraa or Nabathea, and thrust them 10 ouer Arnon into the Defarts, the same whom Moses ouer threw in the plaines of Monb: at which time he tooke Effebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Iof.o.lofeph.ant: Presently after which victorie, og was also slaine by Ifrael, who commanded the 116.4. c.s. North part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines Traconi or Galaad and Iordan, Num. 1.35. who was alfo a King of the Amorites.

The fift was Adonizedek King of the Iebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Iofunnameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of Hebron. Piram, King of Jarmuth. Japia, King of Lachis: and

Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Amorites ouerthrowne in battell and hanged towarto. by Iofua. After this ouerthrow Iofua nameth Iabin, King of Hazor, and

Iobab, King of Madon: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities; and this Jabin seemed to have some Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, For HAZOR before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

lofus. 11. v.10. After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feete, of 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who after Inda and Simeon had vsed the same exequiti- Inda.1.10seph.lib. on vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a suft reuenge of God: this King was car- 5.cap.a. ried to Hierusalem where he died.

The last King named is labin the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt by Iofua. For at fuch time as he imploied Sifara against Ifrael, whom hee opprest twentie yeares, after the death of Ehud, He inhabited Hazor. This Iabin, Barac Iud.4. (incouraged by Debora) ouerthrew; and his Captaine Sifara had by Iael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite, a naile driven into his head while hee flept in her Tent: Iabin 1ud.4. himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The Madianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Moa- 10seph.15.6.6. bites: and they held a corner of Land in Nabathea: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abrahams sonne by Cethura. Raguel surnamed Gethegleus or lethres, faith lofephin, called lethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of Judges, Exodis. 40 the sonne of Dathan, the grand-child of Iexanis, or Ioksham, the great grand-child of Abraham by Cethura, was Priest or Prince of the Madianites by the Red Sea: whose cedion, pag. 34. Daughter, or Neece, Mo/es married : and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This Iethroif he were not the same with Hobab, must be his Father: and this Hobab had seuen Daughters. Hee guided Moses in the Wildernesse: and became one of the Ifraelitas: of him descended the Kenites so called of his Father Raguels surname Jud. 1. of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Iabin the second, euen now remembred.

At fuch time as Saul invaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Kenites to Ifrael, gaue them warning to separate themselves : and yet the Kenites had 1.5am.15.6. 50 strong seates, and lived in the mountaines of the Defarts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named were thefe.

20

1. Hemor the Heuite of Sichem Arad of the South parts Sebon of Essebon
Og. of Basan.
Admixedek the sebusite, King of Hierusalem. lof. 10. Hoham of Hebron Piram of Iarmuth Iapia of Lachis 9. Debir of Enlan 10. Iabin of Hazer lo∫.zī. II. Iobab of Modon 12. Adonibezek of Bezek and 12. Adonibezek of Bezek and
13. Iabin the fecond King of Hazor. Of the MADIANITES thefe.

\* These five first were all at Rekam or Recem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petras fo called by the Greekes: one time Kings and by Efaicap. 16. verf. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra: and so also it is called of feueral por-2. Reg. 1 4.7. where it is also called lokiheel. tions of the

Madian tes: Zur flaine by Phi-Hur and wehas and the 12000. which Reba hee led against T Oreb them. Num 21. Zeb Thefe foure Zebah last were like-Salmunna wife at one time, flaine in

After the death of Barat, Indge of Ifrael, the foure last named of these Madianite the puriante of Kings, vexed Ifrael feuen yeares: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them sie. Jud.e.7. to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and flaine by the Ephraimits, at the paffage of Iordan, v. 31.6 cap. 8. as in the 6. 7. 6 8. of Indgesit is written at large. Afterward in the pursue of the rest Gedeon himselfe laid hands upon Zebah and Salmana, or Salmunna, and exequu- 30 ted them, being prisoners, in which expedition of Gedeon there perished 120000. of the Madianites and their Confederates. Of the Idumaans, Meabites, and Ammonites, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

### ð. III. Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

Gen.17.20.

Ind. c.7.

F the Kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I finde few that arenamed, and though of the Ismaelites there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to 40 the promise of God made vnto Abraham) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianites were numbred among them, were more re-

nowned in Mofes time than the rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they when Saul gouerned Ifrael. For Saul purfued them from Sur vnto Hauilah, to wit, ouer agreat part of Arabia Petras, and the Defart. The reason to me seemeth to be this : That the twelve Princes which came of Ismael, were content to leave those barren Defarts of Arabia Petraa, called Shur, Paran, and Sin, to the iffue of Abraham by Cetura, that ioyned with them (for fo seeme the Amalekites to have beene, and so were the Msdianites:) themselves taking possession of a better soile in Arabia the Happie, and about the Mountaines of Galaad in Arabia Petras. For Nabaioth the eldest of those 50 twelue Princes planted that part of Arabia Petraa, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the Defart, in which Mofes wandred, afterward called 2 Nabathea: the same which neighboureth Indea on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in Arabia the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changed into (P).

CHAP.6. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Kedar, the second of Ismaels Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the East part of Basan, or Batanea, which was afterward possest by Manasse, so much thereof as lay within the Mountaines Traconi, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Plinie Cedraans.

Adbeel, sate downe in the Desart Arabia, neare the Mountaines which divide it from the Happic: and gaue name to the Adubens, which Ptolomie calleth Agu-

Mibsam; was the Parent of the Masamancuses, neare the Mountaine Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happic.

The Raabens were of Mishma: who is yned to the Orchens, neare the Arabian gulfe, where Ptolomie setteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dum.eans, betweene the Adubens and Raabens: where the Citie Dumeth sometimes stood.

Of Massathe Massani, and of Hadar, or Chadar the Athrite, who bordered the Napatheans in the same Happie Arabia,

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian Mountaines, where also the Citie of Thema is seated.

Of letur the Ituraans, or Chamathens: of whome Tohu was King in Dauids

Of Naphri the Nubcian Arabians: inhabiting Syria Zoba: ouer whome Adadezer Plin. Le. c. 28. commanded, while Danid ruled Ifrael.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ifmaels sonnes, was the Ancestor of the Cadmonaans:

who were afterward called Afita: because they worshipped the fire with the Baby- Innina.

The Analekites gaue their Kings the name of Agag, as the Agyptians the name of Pharaoh to theirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretas, as names of Honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he past the Red Sea: Exoding. when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

20 Afterward they joyned with the Canaanites, and beate the Ifraelites neare Cades- Num.14. barne. After the Gouernement of Othoniel, they joyned them with the Moabites: after Barac with the Madianites: and invaded Israel. God commanded that as soone as Ifrael had rest, they should roote out the name of the Amalekites: which Saul exequuted in part, when he wasted them from the border of Agypt, to the border of Chaldaa : from Hauilah to Shur.

In Davids time they tooke Siklag in Simeon: but David followed them, and furpri- 1. Sam. 30. sed them, reconering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after David became King, 2. Sam. 8.12. they againe vexed him, but to their owne loffe.

In Ezekias time as many of them as joyned to Edimaa were wasted and displanted 1. Chima. 40 by the children of Simeon.

# à. IIII.

Of the instauration of civilitie in Europe about the setimes, and of PROMETHEVS and ATLAS.



Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous, aswell in bodily strength, as in all forts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and Civilitie (bred and so thered farte off in the East, and in Egypt) beginne at this time to difcouer a paffage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring Asaand Indaa. For if Pelafeus besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine

Снар.б. §.5. of the Historie of the World.

and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before lived for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby judge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falfly those Nations haue vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not only with civill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both Aug.1.18.c. 8. de Eusebius and S. Augustine have observed, that Prometheus flourished . Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia Doctor fuisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisedome: and to Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to PROMETHEVS, Activiting rom. Ad inventa (apientia pertinere : To have reference to wife inventions : and Aschylus affir- 10 meth. That by the stealing of Iupiters fire was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him. that hee had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom heeliued had nothing elfe worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that siction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the Hill Caucasus, his entrailes the while deuoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and rest.

leffe defire hee had to inueffigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of L. Fines ex Hes. Heavenly bodies, for so it is said : Ideo altisimum ascendisse Cancasum, vt sereno calo quam longissme astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That hee ascended Cau- 20 casus, to the end that hee night in a cleare skie discerne a farre off the settings and rifings of the Starres: though Diodorus Siculus expound it otherwife, and others

# Of this mans knowledge Æ S CHYLVS gives this testimonie.

Ast agebant omnia Vt fors ferebat : donec ipse repperi Signorum obitus , ortufg, qui mortalibus Sunt vtiles : & multitudinem artium Hisrepperi : componere inde literas ; Maremý, Musarum auxi ego Memoriam Perutilem cunčtis, &c.

But Fortune gouern'd all their workes, till when I first found out how Starres did set and rise: A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like vse I did deuise: carect base dishborb As letters to compose in learned wife I first did teach : and first did amplifie The Mother of the Muses Memorie.

Africanus makes Prometheus farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after Aug lib.18.e.3. Ogyges. Porphyrius saies that hee lived at once with Inachus, who lived with

> There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Promethew, both being the Sonnes of Igpetus, of whome though it bee faid, that they were borne before Moles daies, and therefore are by others effected of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Befides these Sonnes of Tapetus ... & Schylus findes two other, to wit , Oceanus, and Helperus, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Euening, and so to the

cuening Starre. Also besides this Atlas of Lybia or Mauritania, there were others, which bare the same name : but of the Libyan, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those Mountaines which crosse Africa, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hea, with the Sca adioyning tooke name, which memorie Plate in Criticas bestowes on Atlas, the Sonne of Neptune.

Cicero in the fifth of his Tusculan questions, affirmeth that all things written of Prometheus and Atlas, were but by those names to expresse diume knowledge. Nec verò ATLAS sustinere caelum, nec PROMETHEVS affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus CE-PHEVS cum Vxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen corum ad errorem fabula tra-10 duxisset; Neither should ATLAS be saidto beare up heaven, nor PROMETHEVS to be faltened to Caucasus, nor CEPHEVS with his Wife to be stellified, unlesse their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest Time by Prometheus, sometime hee tooke him for Saturne; as Rheaconiux alme Prometheu. But that the Storic of Prometheus was not altogether a fiction: and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them Eufebius and S. Augustine have not doubted, For the great sudgement which Atlas had in Altronomie, faith S. Augustine, were his Lib.18.cap.8.da Daughters called by the names of constellations; Pleiades and Hyades: Others attri- Ciuin. Dei. bute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which Archas the sonne of 20 Orchomenus challengeth the innention. Of this Areas Areadia in Peloponesus tooke name, and therefore did the Areadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. Et Luna gens prior illa fuit: which is to be understood, faith Watalis Comes, Onid defaller, before there had beene any observation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there bee that bestow the finding out thereof vpon Endymion : others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon : yet Isacius Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities gaue it Atlas of Lybia: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vn-

had the ground of his Philosophie.

# of Deveation and Phaeton.

equalled and incomparable strength : from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is said,



Of whom ouid:

Nd in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deutstion raigned in Thessalie, Crotopus then ruling the Argines. This Deutstion was the Sonne of Prometheus, faith Herodotus. Abollowing the Sonne of Prometheus, faith Herodotus. Strabo. Hesiodus gaue him Pandora for Mother, the rest Clymene: Homer Strabo. lib. 5, in the fifteenth of his Odyfees makes Deucalion the Sonne of Minos . but

40 he must needes have meant some other Deucalion; for else either Plyses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Vlyfles after his returne from Truy fained himselfe to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was sonne to this later Deucalion, the sonne of Minos : but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken : (for Idomeneus served in that Warre) and this Deucalion the Sonne of Prometheus, who lined at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalions time happened that great inundation in Theffalie . by which in effect every foule, in those parts, perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in Thessale, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impictic of men is the forcible attractive of Godsvengeance, 50 fo did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and crueltic of all mankinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud Vniuerfall. Only Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice, and of Religion.

Non illo melior quifquam, nec amantior aqui-I'ir fuit: aut illa reverentior vlla dearum.

No man was better, nor more just than hee: Nor any Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that Prometheus fore-told his sonne Deucalion of this ouer-flowing: and aduised him to prouide for his safetie: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calls Cibotium : and others Larnax. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out 10 of the Doue, to discouer the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Storie had beene but an imitation of Noahs floud deuised by the Greekes, did not Augustine with others of the Fathers and reverent Dei. 1.18. 6.10. Writers approue this Storie of Deucalion. Among other his children Deucalion had these two of note, Hellen of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas, and Melantho on whom Neptune is faid to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, forenowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no leffe strange and meruailous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton: not only in Athiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italie, and about Cuma, and the 29 Mountaines of Vefunius: of both which the Greekes, after their manner, have inven-

ted many strange fables.

### δ. V I. of Hermes Trismegistys.

Vt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen. Many there were of this name: and how to diffinguish, and fee Many there were of this name : and how to diffinguish, and set

them in their owne times, both S. Augustine and Lactantius finde it difficult. For that Mercurie which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wreftlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that Mercurie, of whose many

workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certaine of the Greekes reckon fine Atlas, which lived while Mofes was yet yong. And yet L. Vives vpon S. Augustine feemes to understand them to be the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus,

Mercuries. Of which two were famous in Agypt, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of Nilus, whose name the Agyptians feared to vtter, as the lemes did their Tetragrammaton; the other, that Mercurie, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying 40 into £gypt, is faid to have delivered literature to the £gyptians, and to have given tod. vives our them Lawes. But Diodorus affirmeth, that Orpheus, and others after him, brought of Citers in Aug learning and letters out of Agypt into Greece : which Plate also confirmeth, saying; de Chair, D. il. 8. That letters were not found out by that Mercurie which flew Argus, but by that ancient Mercurie, otherwise Theut; whom Philo Biblius writeth Taautus; the Agyptians Thoyth; the Alexandrians Thot; and the Greekes (as before) Hermes. And to Euleb Lt. c. 6.de this Taautus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the Warre of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But S. Augustine makingtwo Mercuries, which were both Agyptians, calls neither of them the sonne of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slaine Argus. For he finds this Mercuric, the flaier of Argus, to be the grand-child of that 50 and the rest have remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any Gracian Mereurie brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there bee

any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Agypt or Phanicia; and not out of Grecce, nor by any Grecian into Agypt. For they all confesse, that Cadmus brought letters first into Brotia, either out of Agypt, or out of Phanicia: it being true, that betweene Mercurius, that lived at once with Moles, and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus King of the Argiues, with whome Moses lived, and in whose time about his tenth yeare Moses died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus who raigned eleuen yeares; after him Danaus fiftie yeares; after him Lynceus: in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Bxotia. And therefore it cannot be true,

Снар.6. \$.6.

10 that any Mercurius about Moses his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Agypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Agypt, whom S. Augustine remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Moses found out Letters, and taught the vse of them to the lewes; of whom the Phanicians their Neighbours received them; and the Greekes of the Phanicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the lewes and the Phanicians had them first from him. For every Nation gave vnto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they receited the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercurie, vpon part of whose

20 workes he Commenteth, to have beene foure descents after Moles; which hee hath out of Virgil, who calls Atlas, that lived with Mofes, the maternall grand-father of Virgil, it. 4. A. the first famous Mercurie, whom others, as Diodorus, call the Counsailer and Instrueter of that renowned Isis, wife of Osiris. But Ficinus giveth no reason for his opini- ramand. Meron herein. But that the elder Mercurie instructed 1sis, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, and any trifmegiti, that such an inscription was found on a piller erected on the Tombe of Iss. Lod.Viner vpon the fixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of S. Augustine, De Or Sanche Cimitate Dei, conceineth, that this Mercurie, whose workes are extant, was not the nieths. See Eufirst which was entituled, Ter maximus, but his Nephew or grand-child. \* Sancha- feb, de prap. Eniaton, an ancient Phanician, who lived shortly after Moses, hath other fancies of this wang, lib.1. c.6.

20 Mercurie; affirming that he was the Scribe of Saturne, and called by the Phanicians, Vintintib.8.c. Tasutus; and by the Egyptians Thoot, or Thoyt. It may bee, that the many yeares 26. Aug de cinit. which he is faid to have lived, to wit, three hundred yeares, gaue occasion to some Dri. Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which haue collected the grounds of the Agyptian Philosophie and Divinitie, he is found more ancient than Moles : because the Inventor of the Agyptian Wisedome, wherein it is faid, that Mofes was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this Mercurie or Hermes doth in his Divinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which

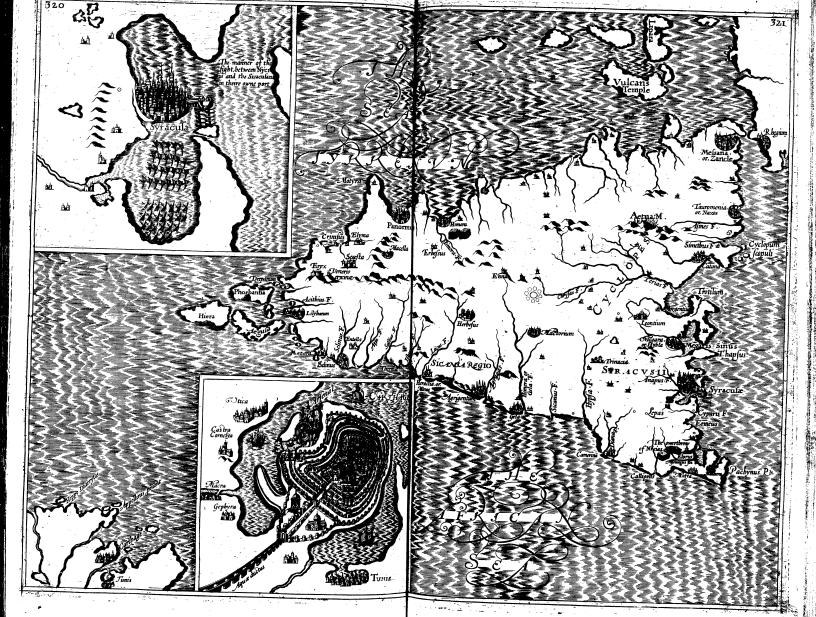
Mojes of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall reade him with an even indg-40 ment, will rather resolue, that these workes which are now extant, were by the Greekes and Agyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and Spirit deuised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those thinges which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (Moses excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and divine, vnto almightic God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two T reatises, now among vs; the one connerted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had beene found in all things like themselues: I thinke it had not beene perilous to haue

50 thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Moses himselfe; and that the Agyptim Theologie hereafter written, was deuised by the first, and more ancient Mercu- Massim, my, which others have thought to have beene lofeph, the sonne of lacob; whom, after the exposition of Pharaohs dreames, they called Saphanet phane, which is as much to say, as absconditorum repertor; A finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-ven-

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of L.z.c.6. fol.4. whom, who soeuer he were, Lactantius writeth in this fort. Hic scripfit libros, or quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus maiestatem summi ac fingularis Dei afferit, if demá, nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hee hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the maiestie of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe. The fame Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrarie are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the Agyptians and Gracians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, to that what soeuer is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipfo, & fub ipfo funt. Verbumenim ex eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opisex, &c. God (faith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his Word out of him elfe proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (faith Suidas) called Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est : in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens ; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one Godin Trinitie. Hit ruinam (faith FICINVS) presidit 20 prisca Religionis, his ortum noua fidei, his aduentum Christi, his futurum iudicium resurre-In Praf. Mercu. Etionem faculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This MERCURIE foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith: and of the comming of Christ, the future indgement, the resurrection, the glorie of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist. and by Volateran out of SVYDAS. Hactenus fili pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus er exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumá, post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis : Nam ad illam optimam beatamá, Ciuitatem regredior: ad quam universitives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibinama, solus Deus est 30 Summus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne, being driven from my Countrie. I have lived a stranger and banished man : but now I am repairing home-wardagaine in safetie. And when I shall after a few daies (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead. for I doe but returne to that belt and bleffed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a fweetnesse more than meruallous : in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than alife. The other and that which feemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense but 40 not in wordes with Svy DAS. O calum magni Dei sapiens opus, teg, O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vnigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; I adiure thee O heauen thou wife worke of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all thinges,

But Suydas hath his invocation in these wordes: Obtestor te calum magni Dei lapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmauit, obtestor te per unigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I befeech thee O heaven, wife worke of the great God, I befeech thee O voice of the Father, 50 which he spake first when he established all the World. I befeech thee by the only becotten Word containing all thinges, be favourable, be favourable.



#### ð. VII.

Of IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other that lived about those times.



Here were also in this age both Asculapius, which after his death became the God of Phylitians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Viues I. Viues in lib. 8

thinkes in his Commentarie vpon Augustine, de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 8. and August. de ciuit, also those two notorious Sorcerers, James and Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that euer haue beene heard of to this day: and yet " Moles himselfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with Deuills, or ill Spirits: words indeed that feldome came out of his mouth; how cuer by the Septuagint they are called Sophista or Venefici and Incantatores, Sophists, poisoners, and Inchanters: by Hierome Sapientes & malefici, Wisemen, and euill doers : and so by Vatablus, who also vieth the word Magi. I he Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall Magick: calling them papuanes, workers by drugges. The Exod.9.11.

Geneuan, Sorcerers and Inchanters: IVNIVS Sapientes, Prastigiatores & Magi. Magitians and Wisemen here by him are taken in one sense: and Præstigiators are such as dazell menseies, and make them feeme to fee what they fee not: as falfe colours, and 20 falle shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and superstition having one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of Moses, and of Pharaos Sorcerers appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to bee one and the fame art and gift of knowledge. For the Deuill changeth himselfe into an Angell of light; and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrarie euery worke which furmounteth the Wisedome of most men, is not to be condemned as performed by the helpe or ministerie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to naturall things, are such as where hee also bestoweth the know-30 ledge to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to paffe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the Cabalifts distinguished by these names; Opus de Beresith, & opus de mercana: the one they call Sapientiam natura; The Wisdome of nature: the other Sapientiam disinitatis; The wisedome of disinitie: the one Incob practised in breeding the pied Lambs in Mesopetamia, the other Moses exercifed in his miracles wrought in Egypt, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vsed to his glorie, that gaue them: affuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. Au-40 gaffine noteth that from the time that Mofes left Agypt to the death of Iofua; diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as Dionysius otherwise Liber Pater, who taught the Gracians the vie of the Vine in Attica: at which time also there were instituted Musicall plaies to Apollo Delphicus : thereby to regaine his fanour, who brought barrennesse and scarcitie vpon that part of Greece, because they relisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did Ericthonius institute the like games to Ainerua: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of Oile, in memorie of her that first prest it out of the Oliuc.

In this age also Kanthus ratisfied Europa: and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon, 50 and Minos, which three are also given to Jupiter by other Historians. To these Saint Angustine addeth Hercules; the same, to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, na- Lib.Decinit.De tiue of Tyrinihaa Citie of Peloponnefus: (or as others fay, only nursed and brought cap.12. vpthere) who came into Italie, and destroied many Monsters there; being neither that Hercules, which Eufebius furnameth Delphin; famous in Phanicia; nor that Her-

cules, according to Philostratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Agyptian: Manifestum fit, non Thebanum HERCVLEM, sed Ægyptinm ad Gades poruenisse, & ibi finem fatuife terra (faith PHILOSTRATVS;) It is manifest that it was the Agy. Philoft, l. 2. ptian HERCVLES, and not the Theban, which travailed as farre as the freights of Gades. and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while Moses wandered in the Deserts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But who foeuer they were, or how worthy foeuer they were that lived in the daies and age of Moses, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater thinges; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuer any 10 man more familiar and conversant with Angells; neuerany more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in Ifrael. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuerfall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatric, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Syracides calleth Moses the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blesfed. He made him (faith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the light of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caufed him to heare his voice, fanctified him with faithfulneffe and meekeneffe, and chofe him 20

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick: by Megastenes and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enioyed before the floud, remembred by Moles, Estieus, Hieronymus Agyptius, Hecataus, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Alexander the Historian, confirme. The vninerfall floud which God renealed vnto Moles, Berofus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others have teftified. The building of the Tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues. Abydenus, Estieus, and Sybilla haue approued. Berosus also honoureth Abraham. Hecataus wrote a Booke of him. Damascenus before cited speaketh of Abrahams passage from Damascus into Canaan, agreeing with the bookes of Moses. Eupolemon writeth 30 the very same of Abraham, which Moses did. For beginning with the building of Babel, and the ouerthrow thereof by divine power, he faith that Abraham, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called Camerina, or Vrien, excelled all men in wifedome : and by whom the Astrologie of the Chaldeans was invented. Is institia pietateg, sua (saith Eusebius out of the same Author) sie Deo gratus fuit, vt divino pracepto in Phanicem venerit ibid, habitauerit: For his iustice and pietie he was so pleasing wnto God, as by his Commandement he came into Phanicia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Siculus in his second Booke and fifth Chapter speaketh renerently of Moses: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the bookes of Moles, as Eulebius hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation to the Golbell, Chapter the third 40 and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some thinges in it commend this notable testimonie of Strabo, who writeth of Moses in these words. Moses enimaffirmabat, docebatá, Agyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemá, Afros & Gracos, qui Dys hominum figuram affinxerunt :

Strabe.l.16.

id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum & rerum omnium naturam appellamus : cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sana mentis, alicuius earum rerum, qua penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum. Moses affirmed and taught, that the Ægyptians thought amisse, which attributed unto God the Images of beafts and cattaile: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly 50 erred in giving unto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that only is God indeede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the world, and the nature of all thinges, who seimage, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out emto the likenesse of those thinges, which are among st vs: That therefore (all denising of Idolls cast aside) a worthy

CHAP. 6. S. 7. of the Historie of the World.

Temple and place of praier was to be creited unto him, and he to be worshipped without any

Now concerning the Egyptian wisedome, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Mofes, laying, That Moses was learned in all the wifedome of the Agyptians, Att. c.7.2.3. and was mightie in his workes and wordes; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Jamblicus, Philo Indaus; and Enfebius Cafarren's, and

divided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall. In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into Geometrie, Astronomic, Arithmetick, and Musick; the ancient Agyptians excelled all others. For Geometrie,

10 which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was vielull vnto them : because it confishing of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Ni-, were yearely ouerflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in

For the second part, to wit, Alronomie, the site of the Countrie being a level and spatious Plaine, free and cleare from cloudes, yeelded them delight with ease, in obseruing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetick alfo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied: because without it, in Geometrie and Astronomie, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But 20 of Mufick they made no other account, nor defired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnific their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisedome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripatetical Philosophie; teaching, that Materia prima is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the aire; that the Planets have their proper foules, &c.

The Divine part of this wiledome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and belee-30 ueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in Agypt, partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Countrie, where neither Winter with cold, nor Sommer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertilitie, that Wilm gineth in thosoplaces; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worship co by the names of Oficis and Iss, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and thers Images, because the true similitudes of the Godsisnot knowne; that many of the Gods have beene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankinde, haue beene Deisied;

40 that those beafts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victoric, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer, the Agyptian Dinines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worthip of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar fort, were ob-

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this latter Egyptian learning into three ciemstrately feuerall forts, viz. Epiflolar, which is vied in writing common Epiftles; Sacerdotall; which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabeticall in ob-

Jo scure and figurative wordes; as for example, where it is written: The this by the Hornet participateth the beautie of the Hawke; which is red thus : The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of divine beautie; the other symbolicall, or by signatures, which is three-fold, viz. Imitative, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitative, which defigneth things by cha-

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racters, like to the thinges fignified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or Transferent, which applies the divers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to fignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of Men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke fignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird Ibis signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulneffe: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: Ænygmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lyons body having a Mans head, was graven on their 10 Temples and Altars, to fignifie, that to men all ciuine things are Ærrygmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eie, and an Eare, fignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Gouerning all things. The Seythians are thought to have beene delighted with this kinde of writing. For Pherecides Syrius reporteth, That when Darius sending letters, threatned Idanthura, King of the Scythians, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdo me, vnleffe he would acknowledge fubication: Idanthura returned to him a Mouse, a Frog. a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which Orontopagas, Tribune of 20 the Souldiers, interpreted to fignifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings : by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their airc: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were fignified to be ready to be deliuered to Darius, as their Soueraigne Lord. But Xyphodres made an other construction, viz. that the King meant, That except Darius with his Men did haften away, as a Bird through the aire, or creepe into holes as a Mouse, or runne into the waters which they had pasfed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captines, till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by Herodotus:

The second Booke of the first part CHAP.6. \$17

Herod. 1.4.

The fourth and last part which is Morall, and Politique, doth containe especially 30 the Layes, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus denifed: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of Pimander and Asclepius, hath written so many thinges of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (faith Sixtus Senensis) of the Trinitie, and of the comming of Christ, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Tamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Agyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menatus, affirmeth that this Mercurie was not only the Inventor of the Agyptian Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the Wifedome of the Agyptians before remembred : and that he wrote of that 40 Subject 36525 Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fierie Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeffiall a thoufand; which because they were out of the Leyptian language converted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall Greeke, they seemed to have beene first writclem, Strom, 1,6, ten in that tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that among the Bookes of Hermes, to wit, of the Wisedome of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time 36. of Physick fixe bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of Astrologie foure.

ą. VIII.

d. VIII.

A Briefe of the Historie of Iosva: and of the space betweene him and Othoniel: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to losva: and of the breach of

Fter the death of Moses, and in the one and fortieth yeare of the Egrection, in the first moneth called Nisan, or March, sosuate the sonne of Nan, of the Tribe of Epinain, being filled with the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the Gouerneage of the state of the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the Gouernement of Ifrael: God gining him comfort, and encouraging him to paffe the Riuer of Iordan, and to possesse, and

divide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of Iosus rule St. Augustine dates with the raigne of Amintas, the Lib. 18. de cinit. eighteenth King in Affyria; with Corax the fixteenth King in Sicyonia, when Danaus Dei. c. 11.

gouerned the Argines; and Ericthonius, Athens.

Influe imitating in all thinges his Predeceffor, lent ouer Iordan certaine discouerers to view the seat and strength of Ierico, the next Citie vnto himon the other side of the River, which hee was to passe over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent backe by Rahab, a Woman of ill fame, because shee kept a Tauerne or Vitling house, made Iosua know, that the Inhabitants of Ierica, and those of the Countrie about it, 20 hearing of the approch of Ifrae! had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the re- 10(1.1.1).

turne of the Spies, which was the fixth day of the one and fortieth yeare after the Egreffion, Iofua remoued from Sittim in the Plaines of Moab, and drew downe his 10/3.1. Armie to the bankes of the River Iordan; and gave them commandement to put themselues in order to follow the Arke of God, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and 10/3.3. moued towards the Riuer: giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters 10(3.13. comming from about should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the Dead sea wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of Canan with drie feet.

Healfo commanded Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe of Manasse, to prepare 10(1.11). themselues (according to their Couenant made with Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deserts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Inda had performed. For these Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and the Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with inflice & equalitie, that Reuben, Gad, and the halfe of Manaffe should also allift their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the bankes of for dan they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first Moneth Wisan or March, they past over to the o-40 ther fide, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the middest of the River: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they let vp at Gilgal, on the East side of the Citie of Ierico, where they incamped the first night. At which place Iosuagaue commandement, that all borne in the last fortieth yeare in the De- 1054.19. ferts should bee circumcifed, which ceremonic to that day had been comitted. Of 10/5.5. the neglect whereof S. Augustine giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Aug. 43. in Jos. Superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this sort; That the Ifraelites knew not the certaine Thompart 3, time of their remouing from one place to another: Damasten, That it was not need-question arts full by circumcifion to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they 4.ad.3. liued by themselues and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Ifrael celebrated the Paffeouer now the third time; first, at their leaning Egypt; secondly, at Mount Si- 193.10. nai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taske of the fruits of the Countrie, and having, as it were, furfeited on Man, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eate thereof.

And

10614.3.

Ief.18.

And as Mojes beganne to distribute those Regions beyond Iordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which og of Bafan, and Sihon held, so did Iofua performe the rest: and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition, and distribution, was not done at once, but at three seuerall times; first, by Moses to Gad, Ruben, and the halfe Tribe of Manasie, of the Lands ouer Iordan; Secondly, by Iofua, to the Tribe of Iuda, Ephraim, and the other halfe Tribe of Manasse, about the fifth yeare of his government: proved in the 14. of Iosua, v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at Shilo, where iofua feated the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

The victories of Iosua against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set to downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or Reguli of the Canaanites, had not so much understanding, as to vnite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custome of those cstates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdom and fore-fight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themseliues and to their owne defences: hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after fuch time as Ierico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities confumed; fine of those 31. Kings (all which at length 20 perished in that warre) ioyned themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themselves to Iosua. Only five (the rest looking on to see the succeffe) namely the King of the Jebusites, in Jebus, or Hierusalem, the Kings of Hebron, Iarmoth, Lachis, and Eglon, address themselves for resistance: whose Armic being by Iosua surprised and broken, themselves despairing to scape by slight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by 10sus drawne forth and hanged. In the profequation of which victorie hee also tooke Makkedah, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the reliefe whereof Floran King of Gezar hastened, and perished. After which Iosua possest himselfe of Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possess, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings, and People made duft the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the ouer-late counsailes of necessitie, vnited themselves, to make one groffe strength and bodie of an Armie: which Inbin, King of Hazor, practifed and gathered together, being at that time of all the Canaanite Kings the most powerfulls which Armie being by Iofua discourred, as the same rested neare the Lake of Meron, hee vsed such diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie ouer them he prosequuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities: of which he burnt Hazor only, referuing the rest for Ifrael to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that Iofua shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he yied the stratageme of an ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke the Armies of the first fine Kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon, by furprise. For he marched all night from his camp at Gilgal, and set on them early the next day; when they suspected no enemie at hand; as hee did also at Aleron, when he ouerthrew Iabin, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victorie, he affaulted the great Citie of Hazor.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River of Jordan at the Springs; so as the Armie of Ifrael past it with a drie foot; the fall of Ierico by the found of the Hornes; the shewers of 50 Haile-stones, which fell vpon the Amerites in their flight from Gibeon, whereby more of them perished, than by the fword of Israel: againe, the arrest of the Sunnein the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the Israelites had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow : a wonder

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God. Fourthly, out of the passage betweene losur and the Gibeonites, the Doctrine of

keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all cualion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that curning perfidiousnesse, and horrible deceit of this latterage, called Aquinocation. For, notwithstanding that these Gibeonites were a people of the Heures, express and by 16/9-7. name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and not with standing that they were liers, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride Iosua, and the Princes of Israel, by faining to bee sent as Embassa-10 dours from a farre Countrie, in which trauaile their clothes were worne; their bread mouldie, which they anowed to have beene warme for newnesse when they sirst fetout; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their facks rent and ragged : Yet 10/114 having sworne vnto them by the Lord God of 10/59 from the Israel, hee durst not, though vrged by the murmure of the people, to lay violent 5. to the 13.

handes on them; but hee spared both their Lines, and the Cities of their inheri-Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made,

Io/ua had it. For first, the commandement which hee received from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted 20 them. Secondly, he might justly have put these mento the sword, and have sackt their Cities; if there bee any cualion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the Gibeonites that hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they 1059.7. were of the Henites, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gaue faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of Ifrael had done in Agypt and ouer Iordan, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, 10, co valid which Israel made with these crastie Canaanites, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the Israelites accepted their tale, that is, beleeved 20 what they had faid, and counsailed not with the mouth, of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and serued those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they beleeved not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue serued himselfe by any cuasion or distinction, Iofua might iustly hauedoneit. For hee needed not in this case the helpe of Aquinocation, or Mentall Referuation. For what hee sware, hee sware in good Faith; but hee fware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtilitie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, 40 were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworneit, were worship-

pers of the Deuill. For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the lining Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee searchim not, and that we let him at nought and defic him. If hee that without Referuation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point 30 of Honour give the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promifeth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promile, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome; to breake those Contracts

W[.10:

Iof.10.

les.10,v 9.

Iof.3.v.13:

which have beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeares after Iosua, that Saul, even out of devotion, slaughtered forne of those people descended of the Gileonites : yet God who forgat not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of Saul and the Israelites had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a confuming famine; and could not be appeafed, #ll feuep of Saules fonnes were deliuered to the Gibeonites grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equinocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God. and to reserve in silence a contrarie intent : the life of man, the estates of men, the 12 faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassalls to their Lords, of Wines to their Hulbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne a funder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies. it is by oath that warres take ende, which weapons cannot ende. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth affure others that his wordes are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promifed ? I am not ignorant of their poore enafions, which play 20 with the seueritie of Gods Commaundements in this kinde: But this indeede is the best answere, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoener hath faith and the feare of God dares not doe it.

The Christians in the Holie Land when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not only loofe it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the Holie Land it selfe : by reason (saith William of Tyre, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that Almerick the fiftieth King after Godfrey brake faith with the Caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent, The Soldan Sanar', who being sodainely inuaded by Almerick drew in the Turke Syracon to their aide: whose Nephew Seladine, after he had made Agypt his owne, beate the Christians 30 out of the Hole Land; neither would the woodden Croffe (the very Croffe, fay they that Christ died on) give them victoric over Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge : seeing they had for sworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it bee a direction from the holy Ghost, That hee that (peakethlies, shall be destroied, and that the mouth which ottereth them, slaieth the foule: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the foule) to fweare a lie? It was Eugenius the Pope, that perfwaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungarie after his great victorie ouer Amurath the Turke, and when the faid King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the Turke to renew the warre, 40 And though the faid King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. Christians, and his ownelife. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Infidels, Turkes, or Christians of divers Religions. Lamentableitis, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkeable; That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the Canaanites vnconquered by Israel, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eies to proue them, Tudgi. o tudg. and to teach them to make Warre. For these Citties hereafter named did not only 50 remaine in the Canaanites possession all the time of Josua ; but soone after his death, the Children of Dan were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforft to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of Inda were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is writ-

Iudg.1.v.34.

Pfal.5.6.

W/[d.1.11.

ten in the Indges; The Canaanites had Chariots of yron. And those principall Ind. 1.v.19. Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto Iuda, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Ph. liftims : as Azzah, Gath, Afdod; out of one of which 10,11.2.19. Cities came Goliath, remembred in Samuel.

Neither did the children of Manasse ouer Iordan expell the Geshurites, northe

Maachathites: which inhabited the North parts of Basan, afterward Tracontis. Nor the Nepihalims possesses themselves of Bethipemish: nor of Bethanah, but they 10,13.0.13, inforst those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did Asher expell the Zidonians, northose of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, and Rehob, nor in- 18d 1, v. 31.

10 force them to tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kuron, and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: and among the 167.16.2.10. children of Manafe, on the West of Iordan, the Canaanites held Bethshean, Taanach, Judi.v.27. Dor, Ibleam, and Meggado; yea Hierufalem it selfe did the Iebufites defend aboue foure hundred yeares, euen till Dauids time.

Now lofua liued one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he gouerned

Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to coniecture diversly of the continuance. In fephius gives him fine and twentie yeares, Seder Ollam Rabbi the Author of the He-20 brew Chronologie eight and twentie: And Maffeus fixe and twentie: Maimonius cited by Massius, fourteene: Ioannes Lucidus, seuenteene: Caietanus, ten: Eusebius giueth him seuen and twentic : and so doth S. Augustine : Melancthon, two and thirtie: Codoman, flue and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeares from the deliuerance of Ifrael out of Agypt, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to Iosua only eighteene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwife, which to mee feemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approued

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeares from the departure out of Aeypt vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of errour, fuch as haue infer-

20 ted yeares betweene Iofua and Othomiel, of whome Eufebius finds eight yeare, to Eufeb. Prop. Ewhich Arius Montanus adhereth; and for which hee giveth his reason in his source mang, and twentieth and last Chapters vpon Iofua: Bunting reckons it nine yeare Bucholzer and Reusner bur one, Codoman twentic, and Nicephorus no leffe than three and thirtie: whereas following the fure direction of these 480. yeares, there can be no void years found betweene Josua and Othoniel, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed vnto Iosua by the accompt alreadic specified. The praises and acts of Iosua are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of Ecclefiafticus, where among many other things it is faid of him. Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battells of the Lord?

40 That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And I os v A wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God : which feemeth rather to have beene meant by the covenant which Iosua made with Israel in Sichem, where they all promised to serue and obay the Lord: which promise Tofun caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were Caietan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceine that the booke of Tofia was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled Liber Tuftorum: 1.15.12. remembred by Iosua himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of Samuel for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse. And I osv A wrote these wordes, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the

50 people had answered I o s v A: The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obay, it followeth that Iosua made a coucnant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

There lived at once with Iosua, Ericthonius in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And about

about the same time the fiftie Daughters of Danaus (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of Agyptus, all but Lynceus who succeeded Dan aus, if the tale be true. There liued also with Iosua, Phanix and Cadmus, and neare the end of Iosuas life. Iupiter is faid to have ravilhed Europa the Daughter of Phanix, (afterward married to After Lib.18.c.12.De rius King of Creta) and begat on her Minos, Radamanthus, and Sarpedon. But S. Augustine reports this rauishment to be committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more

commonly taken for the Sonnes of Jupiter. But it may be doubted whether Minos Homer, Oding was Father to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the war of Troy, and Sarpedon was in person a yong or strong man at the same Troian warre. And fo doth Neftor reckon up in the Councell of the Greekes, Thefeus and Perithous 10 for men of antiquitie, and of ages past: Minos being yet more ancient than any of thefe. But hereof elsewhere.

# CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phænicia, with sundrie Stories depending vpon those places.

The Proame to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of



H ε Storic of the Indges ought to follow that of Iofua, after whome the Common-wealth of the Jewes was gouerned by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall bee remembred when wee come to the description of Samaria: But because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth hath beeneaeted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographicall description 40 of those Regions: that all things therein performed

by the places knowne, may the better bee vnderstood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on cuery Tribe his proper portion : and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the Iewes obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at fundrie times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idolls of the Heathen. Diuina bonitas (faith S. Avgvstine) ideo maxime irascitur in hoc saculo, ne irascatur in futuro : & misericorditer temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne aternamiuste inferat oltionem; The divine goodnesse is especially therefore 50 anerie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully vie temporall seueritie, that it may not instly bring vponvs eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Storie of the beginnings, and ends of divers Kingdomes and Common-weales: and to helpe my felfe herein, CHAP. 7. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I finde fo great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because Canaan, with Palastina of the Philistims, and the Lands of Og and Silon Kings of Basan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessarie, first to divide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently ta- Pool Asia at the ken, imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea to the Red Sea: and therefore 10 were the Cappadocians, which looke into Pontus called Leuco Syrians, or white Syrians. Ptol. 5. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of Collicia, which is the North border, vnto Iduinaa towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne rifing, and the Mediterran Sea Westward: itthen containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldaa, Arabia the Defart, and Arabia Petraa, that Region also which the Greekes call Mesopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Riuers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for so Aram-Naharaiym is expounded: also Padan Aram: that is, Iugum Syria, because the two Rivers goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Aurogallia. Syria taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as Calesyria which the Latines 20 call Syria Caua, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus and Anti-lybanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others were seated. Then Damaseena or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seate of the Adades, the first Kings of Syria. Adiovning to it was the Province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, 1.K.11. Choba, or Zobal: ouer which Adadezer commanded in Salomons time. Then Phase Hered in Valya. micia and the people Syraphanices: and lastly Syria Palestina bordering Agypt: of Dian.Laz. which Ptolomic maketh Indea also a part: and to that Province which Moses call the Ptol. Asse. to 4. Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giveth the name of Syria Indaa.

Q. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching
this Land,



Vt that Land which was anciently Canaan, taketha part of Phanicia, and stretcheth from behinde Lybanus to the great Defarts betweene Idumes and Egypt: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of Hermon; Galaad, and Arnon towards the East: the fame Hills which Strabo calleth Traconi or Traconite, and Ptolomie Hip- Strab.Lio!

40 pus. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the Sonne of CHAM, & lingua appellata fuit CANAAN; The language was also called CANAAN, faith Montanus and after Hebraa of the Hebrewes: who tooke name from Heber, the Sonne of Sale, according caleb f.63. to S. Augustine. But Arias Montanus not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of Woahs Sonnes, which past ouer Euphrates towards the West Sca. For the word Heber, saith he, is as much as transiens or transmittens, of going or passing ouer. And because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called Hebrei, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of Eusebius Euses. Prep. Elong before them both. It had also the name of Indea from Inda; and then after- ung 17.6.3. 50 wards intituled the holy Land, because therein our Saujour Christ was borne, and buried. Now this part of Syria was againe divided into foure, namely into Edom, (otherwise Seir, or Edumaa) Galilee, Samaria, and Iudaa. Galilee is double, the fuperior

plaine in the Euangelists, though both of them belong to Phanicia.

called Gentium, and the inferiour: and that Galilee and Indea are diftinguilhed, it is math. Now Iba.4

Now besides these Prounces of Phanicia, and Palassina (both which the River of lorden boundeth; fauing that Phanicia stretcheth a little more Easterly towards Damafeus) that part also to the Fast of Iordan, and within the Mountaines of Hermon Gilead and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to the possession of halfe Manasse, Gad, and Ruben, and therefore are accounted a part of Cansan alfo: aswell because anciently possest by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Israelites, which Eastermost parts are againe divided into Basan or Batanea, into Gilead, Moab, Midian, Ammon, and the Territories of the Machati, Geffuri, Argobe, Hus. They are knowne to the later Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in generall; and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria, Batanea, &c. of which I will speake in their pro- 10 per places.

But where Moses describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh

no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Ruben, for these be his wordes. Then the border of the Canaanite's was from Zidon, as thou commest to Gerar untill Azzah (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text. And as thou goeff unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboijm, eucn unto Lasha: by which wordes Moses setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in Deuteronomie it seemeth to be farre more large. For it is therein written : All the places whereon the soale of your feet shall treade shalbe yours: your coast shalbee from the wildernesse, and 20 from Libanon, and from the River Perah, whto the vttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wildernesse for Gerar and Azzah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perah be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petraa, and the Defert as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Israelites neuer possest: nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive that by the River Perah, was meant Iordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosva: Behold I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Iordan with all the Nations that I have destroi- 20 ed, cuen winto the great Sea Westward.

23.0.4.

Deut. 11.24.

And though it bee true that David greatly enlarged the Territoric of the holy Vadian. Epitom. Land: yetas Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place bee taken for Euphratrium terie par-tium. cap. Pale-tes, then was it but per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so faire to the East as Assiria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the Ifraclites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territoric, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein and elsewhere to subject them vnto those Idolatrous Na- 40 tions, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also served and obased. And sure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were above the earth, was tied to those conditions both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent: which the Israelites

neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect: who know that all forts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while we perseuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of Deuteronomie, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition iouned to the prosperitie of Ifrael. For therein it is written: Therefore shall yee 50 keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that yee may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whether yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord (ware unto your Fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and

the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were about the earth. For if yee keepe Deut. 11. diligently, faith he, all thefe commandements, which I command you to doe, that is to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all thefe Nations before you, and yee Shall possesse great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, though it bee manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolattie of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely voide, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed : yet I cannot millike that exposition of Melanthon : For, faith he, oftendis promissionem pracipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; He sheweth that his chiefe pro-10 mile is not of actuil Kingdome. To which agrees that answere, which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierone that he ouerthrew the reputation of the Iewer Storie, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duntaxat viuentium terram que in cælis est; (that is) Only to that Land of the liuing which is in Heaven. Quomamtota Iudaorum Regio adeò angusta sit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones loca vrbes & oppida funt plurima, nunquam à Iudais occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrie of the lowes is so narrow in compasse that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the 20 Jewes neuer possest, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon Esay touching the bleffings promised vnto Hierusalem: where he hath these wordes. De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquamin Palastina Regione cap. 19.16 petendam: que totius Prouincie deterrima est : & saxosis montibus asperatur. & penuriam patitur sitis : itavt calestibus vtatur plunijs, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione Soletur : sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur festinauerunt structores tui; From whence faith he, we learne, that Hierufalem is not to be fought in that Region of Palastina, which is

the worst of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountaines : and suffereth the penurie of thirst : fo as it prescrueth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building Cesternes, but this Hierusalem is in Gods handes, to which it is said, Thy builders have halle-30 ned, so farre S. Hierome, where also to preuent mistaking, hee thus expoundeth himselfe. Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terra sudea, vt Hareticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historia veritatem : qua fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis sed vt decutiam supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagoge angustias latitudini Ecclessa praserunt. Sienim occidentem tantum fequuntur literam, & non spiritum vinificantem : oftendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (faith he) fay I this to disgrace the land of Judaa (as the Hereticall (yeophant doth belieme) or to take away the truth of the Historie which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beate downe the pride of the lewes: which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church : for if they follow only the killing letter; and not the quickening first, let them shew the Land of 40 promife, flowing with milke and honnie . hans som A.

By this it may also be gathered; how soeder it be willkely (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut 1 1.24 had his truth in the literall fense, that Euphrates or Perath; which is made the East bound; should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet neuertheleffe that Hieroms opinion inclineth to this jar if this Perath were not to be understood for Euphrates : and that the promise it selfe was never so large : much lesse the plantation and conquest of Ifrael. ... which being habited the

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Albers Nephtalim, and Zabulon, held the Northermost part; and were feated in Phanicia, I will beginne with these three, taking After for the first of which Tribe ver before

50 I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diners fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the viskisfull they may seeme divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversitie (as by those learned in the Hebren I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions

Deut. 11.

of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers confonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

## C. III. THE TRIBE OF SHER.

### The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

He Asherites descended of Asher the Sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the hand-maide of Lea, were increased while they abode in £gypt, to the number of 41 500, and odde perfons, all men aboue twentie yeares of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were multered by Moses at Mount Smai: all which number perishing in the Desarts, 20 there remained of their iffues, belides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the warres; which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phanicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, vnto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout; and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, befides the Balfamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Assen pinguis panis : concerning Affer , his bread shall be fat : And hee shall give pleasures for a

### †. I I. of Zidon.

Ant.Itin:

Gen.4.9.

"He first Citie seated on the North border of the Territorie of Asser, was Zidon, which Iofua calleth the great Zidon both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and Q. Curtius make Agenor the founder thereof : and Instine derives the name from the abundance of Filh found on those shores: whereof it hath been cal-Gen. 19. 10feph. led Zidona. But that it was farre more ancient Mofes, Iofua, and Iofephus witnesse, 40 the same being founded by Zidon the eldest of Canaans Sonnes : and so strong it was in Iofuas time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the Afferites, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the Indges and Kings, euen vnto the comming of Christ, a Citic interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the E(al. 23. Hier. 47 Prophets Efay, Hieremie, Ezekiel, and Zacharie, it was often afflicted both by the ene-Ezek. 28. 6 32. mies fword, and by the peftilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phanician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of Berythus, and the River Leontis: and to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat: which standeth betweene it and Tyre, 50 the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, Zidon and Tyre, Paleft. Seig. f. 19 is fourteene thousand paces, saith Seiglerns: but Vadianus makes it two hundred fur-Vadian. Phon. longs, and so doth Weisinburie in his description of the holy Land, and both from Strabe: which two hundred furlongs make fine and twentie miles. This difference

CHAP.7. S.3. +.2. of the Historie of the World.

of distance as well betweene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it over difficult to deuise any new scale to the Map and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till Agenors time there is no memorie: The Storie which Zeno the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and loft. It seemeth to bee more ancient than Tyre: which was also built by the Zidonians. For as Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Ziaon, neglecteth the memorie of strab. Lis. Tyre: because it was but a member of Zidon, and a Citie subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with Zidon for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From Zidon had Salemon and Zo-10 robabel, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all forts of learning, fo did it in all other Mechanicall Arts and Trades: the Prophet Zacharie calling them the wife Zidonians. The zacharie Citie was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea; which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of Agypt, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies besides that

of Tyre, into places remote: as vnto Thebes, and Sephyra, Cities of Baotia in Greece. Tyre, into places remote as vnto 2 neecs, and septyra, Chics of Baona in Greece. Plants 49.

Strabo and Plinie give the Zidonians the invention of \* Glaffe, which they yield to the teems. 20 make of those sands which are taken out of the River Belus, falling into the Medi- that cuen in terran Sea, neare Ptolomais or Aton: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter practice glaffe ofthose cleare Glasses which they make at Murans: of which S. Hierome and Plinie, making, whice ofthole cleare Gialles which they make at outrants of which S. electoric and those S. I.D. on a famous State D. D. on infigures artifex vitri: Z. I.D. on vitrary's officinis Nobiles; Z. I.D. on a famous State between the state of the state

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of is as much as Baal and Astaroth: which Idolls though common to the other of the issue of Canaan quarum, reades (as Pineda gathers out of 1. Sam. 31.10. and Iudg. 10.6.) yet especially and peculiar-fornaces virantly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares 1. Kings 11. 5. in the ftoteams, because rie of Solomons Idolatrie: where Asteroth is called the God of the Zidonians : and 1. these Fornaces

30 Reg. 16.33. in the florie of debab, the chiefe worthipper of Baal, where it is faid that were where the he marrying lezabel the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worshipped their ter, either for Baal. Divers Baals and divers Aftaroths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it the moving of BLAI. DILICES BLAIS and GHREIS Affarens in GHE POSSATE AND ASSAULTS. 10. and elewhere the believes by the plurall names of Baalim and Affareth, 1.32m, 12.10. and elewhere the forecothe for even the name Astaroth, as I am informed by a skilfull Hebritian, is plurall: the water, or for ofingular being Aftoreth: whence Ind.2.13. the Septuagint reade independent rais as upraise the necessian terms when the mecessian of this their multiplying of their Badis; are others that and Aftoreths, may be diverfly understood : either in respect of the diversitie of the take them for formes of the Images, or of the worthip in divers places, or of the flories depending falt pits, and other against former which (a Callest Good by more deather of in the against for the against former of the against form vpon them: which (as fables vse to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. Au- hot bath,

40 gustine quest. 16 in Judg. thinks Baal and Astarte to be Inputer and Inno. For the Car- The forme of thaginians (which were Tyrians) call lune by fome fuch name as Aftarte. Tullie, lib. 3. Afterit (or Ade Nat. Deorum, making divers Goddesses of the name of Venus; expounds the fourth to have beene to be Aftarte: whom he makes to be borne of Tyrus and Syria, and to have beene a freepe, to to be Aftarte: whom he makes to be bothe of 1/1 m and 2/11, the wife of Adonis: as also Macrob. 2. Saturn.cap. 21. faics that Adonis was with great Dut7-13, the word in the pla veneration commonly worshipped of the Affricans: and Hieromevpon Ezek. 8.44. word in the plu world in the pl notes that Thammaz (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is guifieth sheep: the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may seeme that in the worship of and this may confirme An-Aftarte, or Venus, they did bewaile her husband Adonis : as also the Gracians, did in guttimopinion, their fongs of A D O N Is. Mourne for A D O N Is the faire, dead is A D O N Is the faire, that Allaste was

50 Howbeit others in that place of Ezekiel not without good probabilitie, expound the forme of her mourning for Thammus, to be the mourning for Ofire in the facrifices of Ifis: whose husband ingliloffe of her hulband offries was as famous in the Agyptian Idolatrie, as with the was a Ramner Gracians, Venus Jolle of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutareh hath, de Ili- Radiars nather de of Ofride; that Ofris with the Agyptians is called Ammuz : which word may A'suris,

feeme to be the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But how socuer these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receine the Doctrine and Gospell of Christ after his Ascension, than the Iewes: who had beene taught by Moles, and the Prophets so many yeares, whereof our Saujour Math. 11. v.20. in Matthew and Luke. Weebe to thee Chorazin, Go. for if the great workes which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus, and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I say unto you it shall bee easier for Tyrus, and Zidon, at the day of sudgement than for

Tyr. 11. Bell. Sacr. 14.

Viriac.c.17.

Virgil.l.

Cap.23.

Cap.23:

Plin.l.5.c.19.

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of Tyre. But in the yeare of our Redemption 636. it fell into the handes of the Sa- 10 racens : and continued in their possession till Baldwinus the first, then King of Hierufalem, in the yeare 1111. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a fleete to vilit the holy Land, and tooke Port at Joppa, it was againe recoursed, the commandement thereof being given to Eustace Gremer, a Noble man of that Countrie. And againe in the yeare 1250 it was reedified and strengthned by Lodowicke the French King: while hee spent toure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Niger Postellus. Lastly, in the yeare 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in posses. fion of the Turke, and hath the name of Zai.

#### t. III.

Of Sarepta, with a briefe Historie of Tyre in the same coast.

 $S_{arepta}$ , or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next Citie Southward from Zidon, betweene it and the River called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a Citie very famous for the excellent Wine growing neare it : of which Sidonius.

> Vinamihi non funt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, Queg. Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine, Nor any for thy drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This Citic had also a Bishop of the Diocesse of Tyre: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the rest: and is now called Saphet, saith Postellus.

Not farre from Sarepta was fituate that fometime famous Citie of Tyre, whole fleets of ships commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the Mediterran Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the Tyrians erected Vtica, Leptis, and Carthage in Affrica, of which VIRGIL. Vrbs antiqua fuit Tyrij te- 40 nuere Coloni Carthago. And Carthage was therefore called Punica quast Phanicum, a Colonie of the Phanicians. In Spaine they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italie; Nola: Mercelin. 1.22. in Alia the leffe, Dromos Achillis, which Citie the Scholiast of Apollonius placeth neare

the River Phyllis, in Bithynia,

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Tzor : and so it is written in Tofua the 19. taking name from the lituation: because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end: Gelling, 1.4.c.6, the Latines, as it seemes, knew it by the name of Sarra: for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, oftrum Sarranum, by which name Iuuenall and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day: the place being fill knowne by the name of the ancient Tyre : and because it was a Colonie of the 50 Zidonians, the Prophet Esay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berofus by affinitic of name makes Thiras the Sonne of Japhet to bee the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient ( for so much the

Prophet Esay also witnesseth, Is not this your glorious Citie whose antiquitie is of ancient

daies:) yet, that Thir as the sonne of laphet set himselfe in the bosome of the Canaanites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade

But that new Tyrein after-times forenowned, seemeth to bee the worke of Age- Julin. 1.18. nor: and of this opinion was Curtim : and to sephus, and Eusebius make this Citie el-curtis. der than Salomons Temple 240. yeares : Cedrenus 361. who also addeth that Tyrus fullbin cross tool to the state of the sta the Wife of Agenor gaue it her name: but of Agenor I will speake more at large in cash the florie of their Kinns

For fireigth and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receive 10 Trade from all places, it was in this new crection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the middeft of the Sea, as Exeka8.3.7. fome reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee callethir vol/3fluate at the entrie of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the Mart of the Elaias. people for many iles : and Es Av a Mart of the Nations : and so Proude, Wealthic, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet Esay calleth the Merchants thereof 27.8. Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlot cloth: which, faith Iulius Pollux, was first found out by Hercules Dogge, who paffing alongft the Sca-coaft, and eating of the Fish Con-20 chilis or Purpura: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worthipped the

fame Idolls that Zidon did : fauing that Hercules became their Patron in after-times. For Alexander Musedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a crowne of gold, and other gifts, defiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that hee had vowed a sacrifice to Hercules, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancester of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hereules his Temple was in the Mountaine of old Tyre: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this availed not. For Alexander was not so superfitious, as ambitious, hee defired to enter the Towne, which being denied, hee as one whome no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many

30 ships as he could; and brought from Libanus so great a number of Cedars, and so many waightie Stones, from the old Citie of Tyre adioyning, as notwithflanding that his materialls were often washt away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he nener refted, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland : and having once approched their Walls, hee over-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the fword that relifted, after which he caused 2000 more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequation vpon cold bloud hee performed (as some Authors affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their

40 Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselves. This victorie of Alexander over the Tyrians, 10fephus remembreth: 10fephant. Bude. and how Sanaballet revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000. Soul- Lines. diers: who was the last Satrapa or Provinciall Governour, which Darius seated in Samaria: the same who having married his Daughter to Manasse, brother to laddus the high Priest of Hierusalem, obtained of Aexander that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines Garizim over Samaria: that the forces of the lewes being divided, Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law Manasse, whom the Iewes oppugned, for that: he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while Alexander belieged Debell for Lig

50 Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Gul. Tyrius calleth Sanabula, died. Long before this defolation of Tyre, by the crueltie of Alexander, it was attempted by Salmanasser the Assyrian King: when the growing pride of the Assyrians, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reft of Syria, became enuious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. He besseged it bor on the Land-side,

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port : to the end that neither any vi-Etualls nor any supply of men might enter it : but the Tyrians with twelve faile scattered that fleete, and tooke 500. prisoners of the Asyrians: notwithstanding, the In (ph Ant. lib.) Asyrian continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants five yeares, but with ill successe. And this siege Menander Ephesius, cited by Iosephus, made rer.Goil. Tyrius.de port of in his Chronicles, as hee found the Storie among the Annalls of the Tyrias. Bell. Sacr. 13.4. (which the faid Menander converted into Greeke) adding that Elulais, whom Tyrius tofeph dut lib. 9 calleth Helifers, was then King of Tyre, having governed the same sixe and twentic yeares. Soone after this repulse of Salmanassar, and about 200. yeares before the victorie of Alexander, Nabuchodonofor at fuch time as he destroied Hiernfalem with 10 the Temple, came before this Citie: who indeed gaue to Alexander the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For Nabuchodono (or had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawfey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Eqe.29.18. Efai.23.006.

Against Nabuchodonofor, for many yeares, the Tyrians defended themselves: for so long did these Babylonians continue before it, As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare, saith Ezekiel, who with the Prophet Esay had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeares siege or more, the Tyrians despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number 20 of thips, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches failed thence into Crprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: To as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to fatisfie fo many labours and perills, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof ( who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make Nabuchodonosor victorious ouer the Ægyptians: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint Hierome noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded'; who though they cannot hope by any laudable 30 worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserved for his Servants and Saints: yet fuch is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaieth them with many worldly gifts and temporall bleffings.

6.13.

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofors against Tyre, prophane Historians have Tofephant, 1.10. not been filent. For both Diocles, and Philoftratus (as Tofephus citeth them) the one in his fecond Booke, the other in his Phanician Vistories remember it.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of Babylon and Macedon: this Citie of Tyre repaired and recourred it selfe againe: and continued in great gloric about 300. yeares, even to the comming of our Saniour Christ: and after him flourished in the Christian Faith neare 600. yeares: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none 40 but to the Patriarke of Hierusalem only: who within his owne Diocesse had sourcen Gul. Tyr. bell fac. great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely Caipha, otherwise Porphiria, Acon or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cafarea Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthofia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus (or Tortofa) and Maracles. But in the yeare 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of Phanicia and Palastina, subjected to the cruell and faithlesse Saracen. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannie it

Gul.Tyr. I . Bell. facr.17.

In the yeare 1112, it was attempted by Baldwine King of Hierusalem; but in vaine : yet in the yeare 1124. by Guaremonde, Patriarke of Hierusalem, Vicegerent to Baldwine the second, with the affistance of the Venetians, and their fleete of Gallies, 50 it was againe recoursed, and subjected to the Kings of Hierusalem, and so it remained

fuffered with the other Palastine Cities 488. yeares.

Finally, in the yeare 1 189. Saladine having first taken Hierusalem, removed his whole Armicand fate downe before Tyre: drawing his fleete of ships and Gallies CHAP.7. S.3. 1.4. of the Historie of the World.

from Alexandria into the port, this cittie as then onely remaining in the Christian

The citizens finding themselues reduced into great famine, and many other miferies, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and fallying out refoluedly vpon his armie, flew fo great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with fuch furie, as that the Saracens for faking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeares after which victoric the bodie of that famous Fredericke Barbaroffa (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies ouer a River vnfoordable 10 perished by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedrallchurch of Tyre, necre vnto that glorious Sepulchre of Origen, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares before therein buried but in the yeare 1289, the Saracensagaine attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turks.

### , IIII. Of Ptolomais or Acon.

He third Cittie alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Assertes could not obtaine, on the fouth bound of Affer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereofafter Hierome, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from Acon the brother of Ptolomie. Pliny calleth it Ace: and otherwise the Colonie of Claudius, Plintibs sea 19 It had also the name of Coth or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos.

But lastly, it was intitled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Agyptian Ptolomies: which cittie also as it is 1. Mac. 11. an other of the Ptolomies infideliously wre- Ptolomeiu Phifted from his sonne in law Alexander, which called himselfe the sonne of Antiochus lometer. Epiphanes: the same Alexander having married Cleapatra daughter of the said Ptolomie not long before. Therein also was Ionathan Maccabaus treacherously surprized 30 and flaine as it is 1. Macc. 12.48. by the perfidiousnesses of Tryphon, whom soone af- 1. Maccab. 1.00 ter Antiochus pursued as it is in the Storie ensuing : and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrius one of the fonnes of Antiochus the great with whom Ptolomie joyned, ouerthrowne and treacheroufly murthered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he fled for fuccour: and his head presented vnto his father in law Ptolomie: who chioyed not the glory of his victorie and treason aboue three dayes, for God strucke him by death. I.Macr. 11, 18;

For the beautic and strength of this Citie, this Alexander made it his regall scate; two parts of the same being innironed by the Sea, and the Port for safetic and capacitie not inferiour to anie other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from Hic-40 rulalem some soure and thirtie miles: soure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre Antoni- Ant. tim. nus makethit two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middest of the Citie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of Bel-zebub: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the toppe whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, Herold, like vnto that called Pharus in Agypt : to give comfort in the night to those thips, which came neere and fought that part. It had in it a Bilhops scate, of the Dioceffe of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the yere 636. (a fatall yere to the Christian) flians in those parts ) it was forced and taken by Haomarus the Saracen. In the yeare 1154.it was regained by Baldwine the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of Genoa: to Grinbell, Gar.

1104.11 was regained by Adamine the hint, by the heipe of the Games of General to 50 whom a third of the renenew was ginen in recompence. Againe, in the yeare of holosopas. our Lord God, one thousand one hundred foure score and seauen Saladine King of bell farring. Egypt, and Spria, became Lord thereof. In the yeare of Christ, one thousand one & libertal beautiful and the state of the hundred ninetic and one, by Riehard King of England, and Philip King of Fraunce it was repossessed and redeliucred to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeare 1291. it

was by the furie of the Saracens belieged with an Armie of 1 30000. entred, fackt, and vtterly demolished: though in some fort afterward reedified, and it is now

# of the Castle of St. GEORGE.

Broch.

Flue miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of S. George Scatted, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name: And though for the credit of S. Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his owne beliefe: Of the place & yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record memorite of this death, See of that his memorable act, among many others; it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Succeffours Roially haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcitie of Saints in those daics, as that the English were driven to make such an erection vppon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by Adrichomius in his description of Affer, to have beene in the fields of Libanus: betweene the River Adonis, and Zidon his owne wordes are these. Hoe loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, nanlouge & Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem D. GEORGIVM, Regis siliam 20 abimmunessimo Dracone asseruasse : eamq mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuiusrei memorisam Ecclesia postmodum fuit adificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men fay that the famous Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, didrescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beast, delinered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there .: Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authors he citeth Lodonicus Roman. Patric. Wauje ationum, l. 1.c.2. and Bridenbach Itin. 5. The Valley vider this Castle sometime called Affer, was afterward called the Valley of S. George. If this authoritie suffice not, we may rather make the Storie allegoricall, figuring the victorie of Christ, than accept of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

### †. V I.

### Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

B Etweene Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the Sea coast, was the strong Citie of Acziba, or Achazib, which S. Hierome calleth Achziph, and to sephine Ecclippos, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it selfe against the Afferites. Belforrest findes Aczaba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

Iof. Bell. Ind. L.

The twelve scarchers of the Land which Moses sent from Cadesbarne, travailed Hieron, de Locis as farre to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Affer, which Rechob, as also Berotha which by Ezekiel cap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in Dauids time to the King Hedarhezer, as it may bee gathered out of the second of Samuel the 8. cap. and 8. verse, and cap. 10. v.6. and it defended it selfe against the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This Aphekit was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seuen and twentie thousand of Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had beene slaughtered by the Ifraelites, under the conduct of Ahab. Here Iunius finds that the Philistims incamped a little before the battaile at Gilboa, though in his Note vpon the first of Samuel, the 50 9. and 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue beene in Iuda. Of which 10f. 15. and 53. and in the second of Kings 13. 17. heereades, Fortiter, for, in Aphek. Where others convert it, Perculiens Syros in Aphek.

CHAP. 7. S.3. 1.7. of the Historie of the World.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it, when hee belieged Tyre: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sca, betweene Aczibs and Tyre : which Castle Baldwine the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeare of Christ 1157. when he vndertooke the recourie of Tyre.

Not much aboue a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull spring of water, which Salomon remembreth, called the Well of lining waters: from whence canta not only all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitfull by large pipes hence drawne : but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to tra-10 maile till it recouer the Sea, drineth fixe great Mills in that fhort paffage, faith with

Within the Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hofa: and 10/112.20 beyond it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the Citie of Achfaph, or Axab, or after St. Hierome Acifap, a Citic of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by Tofus, at the waters of Merom.

### , †. VII. Of Thoron, Gifcala, and some other places.

Arther into the Land towards lordan; was seated the Castle of Thoron, which T Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the Eafter most Hills of Tyre, in the yeare 1107. thereby to restraine the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adiopning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleafant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Storic of the Warres for the recouerie of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had init a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humphrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwine the third, King of Hierufalem, lieth buried: There were fine Castles besides this within the Territoric of Asser: whereof foure are seated all-30 most of equal distance from each other: to wit, Castrum Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or Saron) Castrum Regium, and Belfort. The first neare the Sea under the Hills of Saron: the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, fland more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother hood and Fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch Knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens possess the best part of the vpper Galilee) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Acon. The first Fortresse was for beautic and strength called Belfort, leated in the high ground vpon the River 2 yaar, neare the Citic Rama: of which in this Tribe 10f. 19.29 for which the Vulgar reades Horma: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowells: from the siege of this Castle of Herold. La. c.4. 40 Belfort, the great Saladine King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Armicrai- Continuations Belfort, fed, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong Citie of Alab (or Achlab) which S. Hierome calleth Chalab, one of those that defended themselves against Asser, as Roob (or Rechob) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Galala (which Herod, furnamed the Ascalonne rebuilt) making it of the Territorie of Chabol, Quod Syrorumlingua dispi- 10/4pb ant.13.21 cere fignificat (faith Weishenburg) fo called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with & is.io. those twentie Cities, seated hereabout, which Salomon presented vnto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke 50 this Chabol or Cabul, containing a circuit of those twentic Cities given to Hiram, to Iun. annut.in haue beene without the compaffe of the holy Land: though bordering Alber on the 1.883 9.11. North fide: as it is faid, 1. Reg. 9. 11. that they were in Regionelimitis: that is, in limite Regionis, in the border of the Countrie: for it was not lawfull, fay they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites howsocuer, that af-

Cap 26.

Matth, 15.

Marc. 7.

13.cap.8.

10/.21.30.

ter Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Ifraelites, it appeares 2. Chron, 8.14. And it seemes they were conquered by Danid from the Syri Rechobai, whose Citie Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Gifcala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed ouer lordan: Gifcala was made famous by Iohn the Sonne of Leui, who from a meane estate gathering together four hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the vpper Galilee : at fuch time as the Remanes attempted the conquest of Judea: by whose practise Josephus, who then commanded in the vpper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This 10hm betraying in all hee could 10 the Citie of Gifcala (whereof he was natiue) to the Roman State: and finding a relistance in the Citie, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it : who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground : but being by Iosephus authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to Titus by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Major, and \* Cades: (or Cedessa) of the first was that Syro-phanician, whose Daughter Christ delinered of the euili Spirit. Neare the other, they say, it was that Ionathas Machabaus ouer-threw the Armie of De-Maccab.11.73. lofethus Antiq.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of Assertioners; a Of which as on the South border, and neare the Sea, Messall or Misheall: within the Land \* Be- 20 vita (ara, b Bethdagon, and Bethemee, standing on the South border betweene After and Zabulon: on the North fide toyning to Syro-phanicia, is the Citic of Hethalon, or Chethwhich 19 19.27 lon, the vtmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is Chali, and then e Enoch supposed to bee built by Cain, and named of his Sonne Enoch, but 10/eph.ant.lib.1. without probabilitie, as I have formerly proued: there are others also besides these as Ammon or Chammon, of which Iof. 19.28 where also weereade of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, and Beton: the Cities of Alcath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Milheal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Afferites given to the Leuites. Ofothers held by the Canaanites, mention is made, Iudg. 1.30. to which out of Iofing wee may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no storie dependeth; and therefore I 20 will not pefter the description with them.

#### t. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountaines of Aser.

The rivers to the north of Affer, are Adonis, afterward Canis, to which Ziegler ioyneth Lyeus, Ptolomie, Leontis: both which fall into the Scancare Berytus: which River of Leontis, Montanus drawes neare vnto Zidon: finding his head notwithstanding, where Ptolomie doth, betweene Zidon and Tyre. It hath also a River called 40 fons hortorum Libani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus : for which he also citeth Plinie; and the first of Machabees the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities proue Eleutherus to be in Asser: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of Aradus: not farre from Balanaa, witnesse Ptolomie: and therefore Pine-Post Orthosam tus calleth it Valania, and Postellus Velana: which River boundeth Phænicia on the & Eleutherum North fide: to which Strabo also agreeth: but this principall River of Assert, Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Schrot out of the mouth and Papersof Peter Laiestan (which Laiestan in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) Nachal is ambiguous, either calleth the maine River Fons hortorum Libani: and one of the streames which runfor a Valley or neth into it from the North fide, Naar, and an other from the South-west Chabul: 50 for a River: but this word Ghe of the Citie adioyning of the same name: for Eleutherus it cannot be. There is also an is alway a Val- other River described by Adrichome, named Iepthael, which I finde in no other Auley, as in Gebin-thor, and for which heciteth the nineteenth of Iofua, but the word & Ghe which is added there to Jepthael, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley : and for a Valley

CHAP. 7. Sg. +. 8. of the Historie of the World.

the Vulgar, the Geneva, and Arias Montanus turne it. There is also found in Affer 10/10/10 lib. a. Bet. the River of Belus, remembred by Infephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, Inda, 3. faith \* Plinie : out of the fands of this River are made the best Giasse, which some . L 5. c 19. in time the Zidonians practifed : and now the Venetians at Murana. Arias Montanius Iofinia. 19.11 makes Belus to be a branch of Chedumim, which it cannot be: for Belus is knowne to the char, of which flow from out the Lake Cendeuia, as all Cosmographers both Ancient and Moderne, name many vn and the later Trauailers into those parts witnesse. It is true that the River of Chi-derstand an ofontaketh water from Chedumins: but not in that fallion which Montanus hath de- ther treame. scribed it: neither doth it finde the Sea at Ptolomais Acon, according to Montanus: running by Pe-10 but farther to the South betweene Caiphas and Sicaminum, witnesse Ziegler, Adricho-falleti into the

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of & divide th A. liuing waters adioyning to Tyre : and a Maserephot , or after S. Hierome, Maserephotmaim, whose Well filled by the floud of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabi-whereabout tants by feething the water make falt thereof, as at Nantwich.

The Mountaines which bound Affer on the North, are those of Anti-libanus, which citie Inwhich with Libanus bound Calefyria: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea nius takeths biof Phanicia, and Syria, extend themselves farreinto the Land Eastward: sourchun-place of 10 sur dreth stadia or furlongs, according to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the Valley but how focuser 20 of Carlefyria: which those Mountaines inclose: but Plinie gives them 1500 furlongs Shieher, 1613.3 in length from the West (where they beginne at Theipsophon; or Dei facies, neare bea Riverora in length from the west (where they beginne at Interpoposity, of Delpass, whether citie itspears Tripolis) to the Mountaines of Arabia beyond Damafeus: where Anti-libanus turneth citie itspears that this name towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part Traconitis and Basan, is found, both from the Defart Arabia, are called Hermon: which Moles also nameth Sion, the Pha- in the North micians Syrion, and the Amorites Sanir, neither is this any one Mountaine a-part; but holy Land. 10, a continuation of Hills: which running further Southerly, is in the Scriptures called 19.16. and in a continuation of Fills: Which running an unersystem the continuation of Fills: Which bold Galaad or Gilead: the fame being fill a part of Libarus, as the Prophet Haremie pro ueth: Galaad tu mihi caput Libani: noting that this Galaad is the highest of all those a See the mar-Hills of Libanus. Strabo knowes them by the name of Traconita: and Ptolomie by Hip- ginall Note a-20 pus. Arias Montanus calleth these Mountaines bordering After, Libanus, for Anti-li-cond Section banus, contrarie to all other Cosmographers, but hee giveth no reason for his opi- of this Para-

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops, because according to Ta- Plin lib. 5. 6.20: citus, the highest of them are couered with snow all the Sommer, the Hebrew word Deuter. 4. v. 48. citus, the mignert of them are concrete with thow antitie continet, the Aberta was of Strab. Lio.

Libanon (faith Weißenburg) lignifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of Pro. Asc. Tab. A. the Frankincense which those trees yeeld : because Ni Barwis is also the Greeke word

Niger out of Aphrodifeus affirmeth, that on Libanus, there falleth a kinde of honie wis person. dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard fugar, which the Inhabitants call Sacchar, from whence came the Latine word Saccarum.

The Rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour Regions are, Chrylorrhous, Iordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of Affer, are those Hills aboue Tyre, and the Hills of Saron, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with Libanus: for from Nebo, or the Mountaine of Abarim, in Ruben, Moles beheld Libanus three-fcore miles distant.

eft Tripolis.

Alie.Tab:4.

Plin.l.g.

locis.

Eufeb.8. De-

moxft. Volat.l.11.f 243

in Cobraim cal-

led Abil Me-

chola , and a fourth in Reu-ben called Abel-

the border. 1.Sam.6.18.

cap.10. 2.Sam.20.

1.King.15.

24 77.15.

### S. IIII.

## THE TRIBE OF . NEPHTALIM.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,



He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering Alber, was the voper Galilee : the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the Sonne of Jacob by Billa, the hand-maide of Rachel: who while they abode in \*\*gypt\*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbred at Mount \*sma\*\* all which leaving their

bodies in the Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twentie yeares of age. The Land of Nephtalim tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of Iordan, and the Hills of Libanus adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of Galilee, bounded on the Well 20 by Afher, and on the East and South-east by Iordan.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. On the North-side of Libanus, and adioyning to this Territorie of Nephtalim, did facri.l.9 c.15. Theodor A. Hills the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabite, in which Tract and under Libanus, was the Enclosing: the Amortes (or Lowentz) and handles are reclassed.

Sected of the Mountaines adioyning standowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. Postellus calls it Balbee; NIGER, Marbeels; and Leonclauius , Beallebeca. Joseph.in Plurib.

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two great Cities in Agypt: the first called On, by the Hebrewes, and the Chaldean Paraphraft, otherwise Bethsemes, or after the Latines, Solis oppidum, or Domus Solis ; The Citic of the Sunne : into which, faith Vipian, Also a third Senerus the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach: 30 and of this name Stephanus also findeth a Citie in Thrace, and Glycas in Phrygia.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to Wephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chaleis, of whom the Region towards Palmyrena hath the name of Chalcidica, ouer which

Sittim, also A. Herod, Agrippa, and Berenice the Queene commanded.

Abila a logaue name to the Region adioyning, of which Lyfanius the Sonneof bel Mitfraim, at the Foorde of the Foorde of Herod the clder, became Tetrarch or Governour: whereof Ptolomie gaue it the additiit feems) in the on of Lysany, and called it Abila Lysany. Volaterran names it Aphila, of which hee notes that one Diogenes a famous Sophister was native, who by Volaterran is intituled which in that Aphileus not Abileus. After that this Citie of Abila or Aphila, had received the Chriwhich follows stan Faith, Priscillinus became Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our British Maxi- 40 wee may adde mus at Treuer. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought abel-Magnam, to be the same) it is to be remembred that in the Tribe of a Manaffe, ioyning vpon the Name as the bounds of the Tribe of Nephtalim, there is an other Citic of the same name, saa Citie, other- using that it is written with an (E) for an (1) and called Abela, remembred in the 20. wife called Bath Chapter of the second of Samuel. The same Infephus calls Abelmachen, and Hierome border of the Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel for distinction sake it is written, Abel Beth-Mahaca Philiftims, or (for belike it was the Towne of Mahaca, the Wife of Macir, the Sonne of Manafe, according to the Father of Gilead) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-Maym. This Citie Ioab beliegreat stone in ged: because Seba the sonne of Biehri, who rebelled against David, sled thereinto for fuccour: but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast Seba 50 his head ouer the wall, Josh retired his Armie. The same Citie was afterward talofech ant. 1.7. ken by the King of Damaseus, Benadad: and after a while by Teglatphalasar.

The word Abel may bee expounded, either to fignific bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no meruaile, that many Townes (with some addition for di-

### CHAP.7. S.4. +.2.3. of the Historie of the World.

- 4 9000 Walter Contract

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finction fake) were thus called: for even of bewailing many places tooke name, as Bochim, Iudg. 2. 4. and so doubtleffe \* Abel-Mifraim, Gen. vo. 11. and yet Iunius in his \* And Abel note rpon Num: 33:49. thinkes that Abel-Sinim, was fo called, rather by reason of Magnam. the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Landof Moab) and fo perhaps Abel-Mebolah 11467.24 & 1. in the Tribe of Ephraim: the Towne of Elishathe Prophetsallo Abel Vinearum of the Rig. 19.15. Ammonites, whither lephta purfued them.

†. I.I.

of Hazor.

N this Tribe of Wephtalim, was that famous Citic of Jahin, in Infuns time called Afor (or after the Chaldaan Paraphraft, Hafzon) by Iosephus Afora, by Iunius \* Chatzor: \* Of two which Laioftan mames Hefron : the Regall Citic and Metropolis of Canaun : feated in ther Cities of the West part of Mephalim, towards After. In this Citie was that great Rendenous, takes came in and affembly of those foure and twentie Kings against losus: who being all ouer 9. 6. 1. of a throwne, flaine, and scattered, this their powerfull Citie was by Iofua taken and fourth in Beaburnt to dust. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a second King Jabin, 137. yeares after the death of this first Jabin, inuaded the Ifraelites: in this place of contributing twenty, 17 y, yeares after the death of the internal against them, and a fish in this Tibe of Nethheld them in a miserable seruitude twentie yeares: till Debora the Prophetesse ouer- talim, called threw Sifera, Jahins Lieutenant, and his Armic, neare the mountaine Tabor. This Hen: Chat or Citic Salomon restored at such time as he also reedified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of Æ- 19.37.10 which gypt, with a Megido, Bethoron, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell wee may adde into the handes of Teglatphalafar, King of the Affrians. It is now, faith Adrichomins, in the vermost called Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. There is an other Ci-North East of tie of this name in the Territorie of Beniamin, feated on the confines of Afcalon, cal- Manaffe, oner 

In Simeon, ceat-go Citic of Simeon, fol. 19.3, a King. 1.9, b Hieron.loc. Hebr. I.E. Out of Nebem: 11.33. as it teemes.

### t. III.

### Of Cafaria Philippi.

THere was also on the border, and within the Territoric of Nephralim, that renowned Citie of Lais, or Laifch, as Iunius writes it, or Lefchen; which Citie the 111d, 18.27. children of Dan (being straightned in their Territorie vnder Inda) inuaded and ma-10/110 47: fired and gaue it the name of their owne Parent Dan and by that name it is written 40 in Gen. the fourteenth, at which place Abraham surprised Chedorlaomer and his confederates: and followed his victorie as farre as Sobah, formerly remembred in the diuision of Syria, otherwise called Sophena. And after the possession of the Danites, it had the joynt-name of Leschem Dan. Weisenburg writes it Lacis, the Geneua Laish, Iosephys, Dana; Beniamin, Balina; Breitenbach, Belena: but the now Inderit. Inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day: witnesse Neubrigensis, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monke, and Postellus: who also taketh this Citie to bee the Tame, which in Matthew the 15. v. 39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan, for which Chap. 8.10. the Greeke Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Marke, speaking of the same storie; Dalmanutha. At such time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it see-30 meth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the Zidomans, or else subject vinto the Kings thereof: for it is written in the eighteenth of Indees: And there was none to helpe, because Law was farre from Zidon: and they had no businesse verses. with other men, for it was about thirtie English miles from the Medite ran sea, and from Zidon.

Plan. 1.5. c. 15.

In after-times when these Regions became subject to the State of Rome, it had the name of Paneus, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore Ptolomie ueg. la. v. 35. calls it Cafaria Pania. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, faith Weissenburg : but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in Hegelippus let out by Badius, it is written Paneum without an (R): and at such time as Philip the sonne of the elder Herod, brother to Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, became Gouernour of Traconitis, sometime Basan, this Citie was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memorie to his owne name, and to \* Of another flatter Tiberius Cafar, he called it \* Cafaria Philippi: and so it became the Metropolis. cefaria (or Ce- and head Citie of Traconitis: and one of the first Cities of Decapolis. And being by

Jares, caused to grappe in the succeeding age greatly adorned : by him in honour of Nero, it was cal-See hereatter led Neronia, or Neroniada . But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the in the former memorie of his impictic: so in S. Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their for-Of Discefarea mer Panens, and forecalled it, with the Territoric adjoyning by the ancient name, fee Sephoin in Of this Citie was that Woman whom Christ healed of a bloudle issue, by touching

1.7.c.14. Niceph.1.6.c.15

dia North-east

distant 120. ffa- and twentieth chapter.

the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who afterward as shee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse Eufeb. bifl. Seel. gratefull for the fame, as Eufebius and Nicephorus report, caused two Statues to bee cast in pure Copper : the one representing Christ, as neare as it could be moulded : the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her handes towards him. These shee mounted vpon two great Bases or Pedestalls of the same Mettall, 20 which shee placed by a Fountaine neare her owne house: both which (saith Enfebius) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time: which himselfe had tosephus in seene, who lived in the Raigne of Constantine the Great. But in the yeare after Christ the Booke of 363 that Monther Iulian Apolata, caused that worthie Monument to be cast downe 18. Sith, that and defaced: setting up the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his Philip the Te- was with fire from heaven broken into fitters : the head, body, and other parts, funtracheatchatte dered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time lining. The ration foundamines, truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sozomenus Salaminius, in his fifth booke

This Citie built by the Danites was neare the ioyning together of those two Ri- 30 which Chaffe uers which arise from the springs of Ior and Dan, the two apparent Fountaines of vader ground Iordan in a foile exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant, for as it is written Iude. 18. It is a wascast vp ap place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie, gaine at Panik it was that S. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was by it is conic. answered, Tu es PETRVS & Superhane Petram, &c. After this Citie received the Stured that the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune fait spring of with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the Saracens, and Christians: under this Fountaine Fulch the fourth King of Hierusalem, and after the death of Godfry of Bullion, the King called Phiala, of Dama cus wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them againe it was tor and Dan re- recouered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subjected to the 40 ceiue their wa. Turke .

### t. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, Capharnaum is not the least: so A often remembred by the Enangelists, This Citie had the honour of Christs presence three yeares : who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which hee first Preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable pro- 50 phocie of Esay 9. The people that walked in darkenesse have seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the Shadow of death, upon them hath the light Shined.

Capharnaum was seated on Iordan, even where it entreth into the Sea of Galileo: in an excellent and rich foile : of whose destruction Christ himselfe prophecied in

CHAP. 7. S. 4. +. 4. of the Historie of the World.

these wordes. Ind thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt bee brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie : for it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in S. Hieromes time, as himselfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long fince seene it, as Brochard, Breidenbech, and Saliniae affirme, that it then confifted but of fixe poore Fisher-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called Decapolitana or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Marke, and Luke, also remembred; Manh 4. 10 but I finde no agreement among the Cosmographers, what proper limits it had: and Markafo Plinie himselfe confesset : for Marius Niger speaking from others, bounds it on Niger comment. the North by the mountaine Casius in Casiotis: and endeth it to the South at Agypt Asa. 4 5.503. and Arabia; by which description it imbraceth Phanicia, a part of Calesgria, all Palestina, and sudaa.

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he num-Plinie s.c.18. breth foure of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three Damaseus, Opotos, Raphana, then Philadelphia (which was first called Amana, faith Stephanus, or Opotos a Citie as I gheffe Amona rather because it was the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, knowne francisis in the by the name of Rabbah, before Pto. Philadelphus gaue it this later and new name.) Valley of Carlot later and new name.) Valley of Carlot later and new name. 20 Then Scythopolis sometime Nysa, built (as is said) by Bacchus, in memorie of his by Christinean Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of Bethsan, for the sixth he as Damaseus is. fetteth Gadara (not that Gadara in Calefyria, which was also called Antioch and Scleucia: but it is Gadara in Basan, which Plinie in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, neare the River of Hieromaix. This River Ortelius takes to beethe River Iaboc: which boundeth Gad and Manasse ouer Iordan : but he mistaketh it : for Hieromaix falleth into the Sea of Galilee, betweene Hippos and Gerasa, whereas saboc entreth the same Sea betweene Ephron and Phanuell. For the seuenth he nameth \* Hippos or \* Plinie hath

Hippion, a Citie fo called of a Colonie of Horsemen there garrifond by Herod, on the Bippon Dion, for

East fide of the Galilaan Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of Manaffe oner 10r- ran reads Hip-20 dan. For the eighth Pella, which is also called Butis, and Bereniee, seated in the South pidion, Ortelius border of the Region ouer Iordan called Persa. For the ninth Gelala, which Iofephus takes them tor takes to be Gerafa: and Gerafa is found in Coelefyria by Infephus, Hegefippus and Stephanus: but by Ptolomie (whom I rather follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Plinie nameth Canatha, and so doth Suetonius, and Stephanus, which Vokaterran calls Gamala, but Hegesippus rightly Camala, a Citie in the Region of Basan ouer Iordan, so called, because those two Hillson which it is seated, have the shape of a Cammell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniae, which make them to bee these; Cafaria Philippi, and Afor, before remembred, Cedes Nephtalim, Sephet, Corazin, Capharnaum,

40 Bethfaida, Iotapata, Tiberias, and Seythopolis, or Bethfan. For all other Authors difagree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the Euangelist Saint Matthew makes it manifest, that this Region called Decapolitana, was all that Tract betweene Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. For thus it is written: And he departed againe Mat.4. from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middelt of the coasts of Decapolis: fo that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the North. by the Phanician Sea, betweene Zidon and Ptolomais on the West: by the Hillsof Gelbo and Beth fan on the South: and by the Mountaines Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and Galacd, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the holy Land: and from the North to the South, neare the fame diffance which may be 50 each way fortie English miles.

Of Hamath.

gint write it Am 6.76.Chammon. 2. Kings 14.8. Chamath-Ithude, as lunius reads it, whereas also for farther diftinction there is added (in Ifrael) to note that it was of old belonging to the ten Tribes, the other Chamath being in Syria Seba. a Zeigler. in Neptal.

B Vt to looke backe against owards  $\it Libanus$ , there is feated neare the foote thereof the Citic of \*  $\it Hammath$  or  $\it Chammath$  , of which (as they fay) the Countrie math. Hierome Emath, Iosephus Amath, 10sua.c.19.0 35: adioyning taketh name : the same which 10sephus math. Fletome Emain, totephus Amain, iogua.c.19.0 35. Chammath.c.21 0.32. Chammoth Dor in the first of Chron. calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis: a Iacobus Zeigler, Ituraa. Ituraa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum vfg, Trachones. The Countrie of 10 Iuda, though scated in Israel, that is in the Kingdome of Ituraa, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of Nephthali, along the Mount Libanus to

Trachones. But herein following Strabo, who calls Trachonitis Iturea, he mistakes the seate of this Region : and so doth Mercator. For indeed were Ituraa (which Hegesippus calls Perea, and G. Tyrius, Baccar) the same with Traconitis, yet Traconitis it lelfe is farre more to the East than Hammath in Nephtalim: for Traconitis lieth betweene Cafaria Philippi, and the Mountaines Trachones : which the Hebrewes call Gilead : and this Hammath or Chammath is feated under Cafaria, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding Emalb or Hamalb the great in Calefyria, beyond the Mountaines Trachones, 20

b So Hierome other in Nephthalim , though Matt. Bernaldus reiesting Hierome, rather follow the opinion of Zeigler about menther one or other of thefe is either Antiochia or Epiphania, howbeit that the same Citie which Iofua 19.35 is called Chammath, and placed in Nephthalim, was also called Cha-math (whence the word Hamath and Emath were framed) it may bee gathered partly because the other Hamath 2. Chron & 3. for diffinction is called chamath Tfobs , as this (as it may feeme by lof. 21.32.) was Chamath-Dor, and Chamath lude, as wee have noted 2. Reg. 24. Secondly, because Nun 34.8. and slio Exchiel. 47. 10. (bameth in the should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make Asses to name neuer a place Eastward a-long all the breadth of the holy Land, vntill we come to Hermen (tor io they expound Mount Hor, Num.34.7.) and beyond Hermon Eastward in this North fide, they make him to name divers Townes, first chamath, then Tfedad, then Ziphron, and laftly Chatfar-henan, a thing most vnlikely : feeing Ifrael had little or nothing Eastward befher, Nephthalim, and Manaffes : and in like manner those in Ezchiel : first , (bet'on, then Chamath , and fo in order, Berotha, Sibraim, Tscdad, Chauran, Chatfar-henan. c Of which 10(1935. d Which Rebob, or Rechob, in 10s.19.

Sephibalim.

which b Hierome vpon Amos calls Antiochia, with Hammath or Hamath the leffer in ment in Amos c. 6. v.s. where there is mention of Phanicia, and Nephtalim, which hee calleth Epipha-Hamath the great, as it seemes, for distinction from the nia for this Hammath, or in our translation Hamath (and not that which is commonly called Emath, tioned, as indeede it can not easily be cindified, that ei which 2. Chron. 8.3. is set farre from the North border of Canaan in Syria Soba) is remembred in Numbers 24. v.8. and Numbers 12. v.22. and in Ezekiel 47.16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the wordes : From Mount Hor you Shall point (that is, direct or drawa 30 line) untill it come to Hamath: In the second place, North fide of the holy Land, is placed too near the West thus. So they went up and Searched out the Land from corner to bee that Chamath-Toba: for in the line which the Wilderwell and Sing and And I have the Land from the Wilderneffe of Sin, unto Rehob to goe to Hamath: Thenin EZEKIEL. The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border till a man come ouer against Hamath: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the holy Land, till you come directly ouer against Hamath youd Hermon. Therefore wee must needes expound Hor Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to to be one of the Hills neare Sidan, and so those Townes, the Sea, it will touch the walls of Zidan: which is 40 e the Northwest corner of the holy Land. Now that this Hamath or Hammath, which Mofes also made the confine of the holy Land, is that of Neph-28. is placed in After towards Zidon, in the confines of thalim, both the reference which it hath to the west Sea, and the Citie of d Rehob adjoyning proue it:

the other Hamath or Emath (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which Israel ever had possession of) is that Emath, which is also called Iturea, witnesse & Stella and Laiessan: and northat in Neph-Stelliand Peter talim, where f Ionathas Macchabaus attended the Armie of Demetrius, who fled from their Tables of him, and removed by night.

the holy Land. For though Traconitis be comprehended within Iturea (and therefore it is faid to f 10/cpb. ant. be finitima Galilea Gentium) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountaines Traconis, and fo it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territorie of Iturea; whence Philip the brother of Herode was Tetrarch or President both of Ituraa and Traconitis : both which

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 7. S.4. +.6.

arcouer Jordan towards the East. But Chamath in Nephtalim, is on the west side of \*That it doth Iordan towards the Mediterran sea.

The Countrie Ituraa was so called of Iethur one of the sonnes of Ismael, it is planame of Istar ced in the bounds of Calefyria and Arabia \* the defart.

The people of Ituras were valiant and warrelike men and excellent Archers . Of whom Virgil.

Ituraos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the Ituraans bowes were made.

This Citie Chamath or Hamath in Nephtalim seemes to have been as auncient as garen, against whom the sathe other in Iturea, both built by Amatheus the eleventh sonne of Canaan. Whether benites and Gain the time of David, this, or the other had Tohu for King, it is not certaine; for Ha- ditts made war math or Emath beyond the Mountaines, and Hammath in Nephralim were both try they posses neighbours to Dama/cus: of whose subjugation Tohureioyced, because Hadadefer in the time of whom the Damafeenicame to help, was his enemic. This Tohufearing the firength their forefaand prosperitie of David, hearing of his approach towards his territorie, bought his there had done peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessells of golde, filuer and in the time of

But it seemeth that David in such great successe would not have had peace with Amalchites, Chr. Tobusifhe had bin King of any place in Nephtalim, and therefore it is probable that where the counhe ruled in T/oba: which Citie Salomon after his Fathers death made himselfe Ma- uy is placed at fter of, as a part of the lands (\*in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by the East of Gi-God to the children of Ifrael.

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and chan- promile exges both of name and fortune, being as it hath beene faid possessed by Antiochus Epiphanes, it was called Epiphania.

While Saint Hierome lived, it remained a Citie well peopled, knowne to the Sy-30 rians by the name Amathe, and to the Greekes by Epiphania.

t. V I. Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.

IN the border of Humath or Emath towards Iordan Standeth the Citie Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountaine Daphnis: which falleth into the lake of Meron. Hercunto was Zedekias brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of Iericho: 40 and deliuered to Nabuchodono for: who to be avenged of Zedekia's infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might bee the last that ever hee should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, hee commaunded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a flaue to Babylon, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldome-exampled ca- Hierom. 32.34. lamitie, though not in expresse words, Hieremie the Prophet fore-told him in Hieru- Exists. falem not long before: But Ezekiel thus directly, speaking in the person of God, I will a Or Kedelli, bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldeans, yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die 10,10 37 & ic

There are belides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in Nephta- b i. Circ. 6.72. lim, as that which is called a Cedes: there are two other of the same name, one in b. which less is called Jachar, an other in Juda, of which 10f. 15.23. and therefore to diffinguish it, it is Kission. knowne by the addition of e Mephtalin, as Index. It is feared on a high hill, whence 'Sometime Isi. 20.7. Kedeshin Galilea in monte Nephtali: 10scphus calles it Cedessis, and in Saint Hie-lea, temes. 70

properly belog to Arabia, the Ifmails fonne. who!e iffue fetled in the Arabizes, may in part giue wit-

nes. Alfo the place of the t Chrp.5.19 confirms 1t, where Jetar is named among the Ha-

preft Deut.1.7. where Euthraone of the bounds: fee cap.

Hieron. de Locit

10 12.22.

2.Keg 15.49.

10/.19.41.15

cinitas folis.

ec 1ud.1. 21.

romes time it was called Cidiffus. Belforest greatly mistakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the Defart of Pharan.

After the King thereof among other of the Canaanites perished by the hand of 10-(ua, it was made a Citic of refuge, and given to the Leuites. Herein was Barac borne. imm, and in who ouerthrew the Armie of the second labin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was sometime possest by Teglatphalassar, when hee wasted all Wephtalim: afterward by there were of the Romanes, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops scate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the Saracens and Turkes, and by them it much as domas (elis) as that in was demolished.

Iud1.2.Kinss.14 From Cedes some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth Sephet, o. King of the ten therwise Zephet, which was also one of the ten Decapolitan Cities: a place exceeding tribes ouercam strong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortresse of the Christians, and afterward of the Saracens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neare it. Touching Rama of Nephtalim, , feated North-ward near Sephet: this is to be noted: that there are () divers places of 14 & 2 Chron. this name in Palastine, all fituate on Hills; and therefore called Rama (Rama Hebreis 29.18. A third excelfum; Rama with the Hebrewes is high.) Also that for this Rama Iof. 19.36. they reade Arama, making the Article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of was in  $D_{-4}^{10}$  , which diners Townes) to be a part of the word: whence cashing away the aspiration, they 20 reade Arama. From Sepher towards the West they place \* Beth Jemes, of which 10f. 19. fremes, which 38. which defended it selfe against Nephtalim Ind. 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On is as much as the other fide of Sephet towards the East was Bethanath, who also kept their Citie from the Nephralims.

Adioyning to which standeth Carthan 2 or Kiriathaijm a Citie of the Leuites, not a So it apperes by comparing farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of Capharnaum arise, called Mons In 21 32 and 1 Christi: a place by our Saujour often frequented : as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to bee his Apostles or Messengers : of which place or the acts therein done, there is often menheere and eltewher deceived tion in the b Euangelifis.

Adioyning to these are Magdalel, a place of strength e and Mafaloth, of which we two of one:al. reade that it was forced by Bacchi es in the time of the Macchabees: also (according though I denic to Adrichomius ) one of the two Berothaes of Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of this name in this Tribe, one neare Chanath in the North border, of which Ezek. ther K. in thai- 47.6. an other (vpon a weake coniecture out of lofep.ant.l. 7.6.2.) he therfore placeth in this tract neare the waters of Merom; because the Kings that io yned with Isbin awhich lof# 13. gainst lofua, which incamped at the waters of Merom, lof. 1 1.5. are by lofephus faid to have incamped at the Citie Berotha in Galilee, not farre from Cedesa Superior, which is also in Galilee : all which may be true of that Berotha of which Ezek, seeing it is in that Galilee which is called the upper Galilee or Galilee of the Gentils. The fame 40 Adrichemus placeth the Region of Berim neare Abela (of which Abela or Abel-beth Mahacab we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place 2.Sam. 20.14. where some reade Abel & Beshmahacah, & omnialoca Berim : but the better reading is, & omnes Berim, that is, with all the Berai : for Shebah being of Benia-Brothai vna ci- min (in which Tribe also there is a Citic called Berotha or Beeroth) drew the men of uitatum Hada- that Citieafter him. dezeris. 2.Sam.

To the North of Berotha of Nephtalim standeth Sebarim vnder Libanus, remembred by Ezek. 47. and Aroseth gentium, neare the waters of Merom or Samachonitis, the Citie of Sifara Lieutenant of the Armie of the second Iabin : from whence not farre off towards the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a strong Citie: besides many 50 others whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as Ser in Iofuac. 19.2.35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their fenced Cities : whence they make two Cities, Assedim and Ser. Then Adama which they call Edama: also Hion which they call Ahion, of which in the bookes of Kings. Then the ftrong Citie of

Cinnereth after called Gennezareth, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of Genne-March 13. zareth, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of Tiberias. In the body of the Lucisia. Land they place Galga'a to the South border: of which \* Macc. 1.9.2. allo diverso. \* This place Land they place Gaiga a to the South Dorder or Which Dance, 19.2, and directs of the Macab thers named 10.19, as Veuca or Chukkok: Horem & Azanath-tabor (which they place warras no Gal warras no Gal towards the East parts) and out of the same place of losus: Irzon, Lakkum iepnaell, gala or organia Heleb, and a Receast, which two last they place neare Cafaria Philippi. To these they Withdrall, but adde out of Iosua, Nekeb, and Adami: for which two Junius readeth Fossa Adams, waterstood of making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of Adamath, as it seemes; or at least Gugatin Benia.

of the Historie of the World.

the cultodie of vyhich March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of minor in Ma. 10 Num. 34.10. they adde Sephana which 1. Sam. 30.21. seemes to bee called Sipmoth. a This Receal As for Tichon and Helon whereof the former they fetch out of Ezek. 47.16. and the or Ratksite, 14latter out of Josua. 19.33. it may appeare by Junius his Translation, that neither are it is the Jame to betaken for Cities: for the former hereadeth Mediani, and for the latter Querce. with Kanthan tum. The Citie of b Arphthalim which they make the natiue place of Tobie, and Nasf being made of being made of for neare vnto it, they fetch out of the Vulgar Translation Tob. 7.7. but in the Greeke the other by Text there is no figne, neither of the one nor of the other.

which Karthan we have noted already that it is also called Kiria-thaym. b In the place 1. Keg 4. is, which also they bring to proue that there was a Citie called Nepthalim, as it is euident by the following Veries: the Tribe of Nepthalim is meant and

## THE TRIBE OF ZABYLON.



CHAP. 7. S.5.

F Zabulon or Zebulon an other of the sonnes of Iacob by Lea, there were mustered at Mount Sinai 5 7400. able men, besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of Canaan from After to the River Chifon : Southward c manage. and from the Sca of Galilee to the Mediterran, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border After, are Sicaminum on the Sea Tribe or Affer, fhore, of which lofeph. Ant. 13.e. 19. Debbafet of \* which lof. 19. 11. Icconam or lokne- los 1. 2. White flore, of which loseph. Amt. 13.2.19. Devosseror which 10s. 19.11. Itemam of tokne-him (vyhose King was a staine by tosus, and the Citie was given to the Leuites) and of Casa in Ga-Gaba after called the Citic of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisond by Herode. lilee. Of Simon Then the Citie which beareth the name of Zahulon, or the Citie of men, exceeding it may be doubted if or Anancient and magnificent, b burnt to the ground by Cestins, Lieutenant of the Roman gela Caninin . Armic. Adrichomius makes it the birth-Citie of e Elon Judge of Ifrael, because he is reads Mathio called Zabulonits: not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at Aialon, tenshich word

To the East of this Citie of Zabulon is Cateth, of which tof. 19.15. on the border of Luc. 6. is hee To the East of this Citie or Zapulon is Carein, or vyinen 109.19.19.10 thin border of thinketh to be expounded by and beyond it the leffer d Cana of Galilee, where Christ converted water into expounded by Wine: the native Citie of Nathaniel, and as it is thought of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it zelotes, begin the Mountaines of Zabulon: and then the Citic of Cethron (in Ziegler, Ghiltron) e The Historia vvhich defended it selfe against Zabulon. Then Berfabe vvhich standeth in the partition of the vpper and neather Galilee, fortified by Iosephus against the Romans. Not Vulgar hash farre from hence standeth Shimron of Meron whose King was slaine by Iofua.

Then Damna or Dimna a Citie of the Leuites: then Noa or rather Neha, of which expounded Iof. 19.13. Then Dotham or Dotham, where Iofeph found his brethren feeding their que great, 142. flocks: the same wherein Elisaus besieged by the syrians strooke them all blinde.

30 Beyond it towards the East they imagine anither or Amathar: then Remmon of going before it. and reades the Leuites. The last of the Cities on the North border of Zabulon is Belbfaida, one it, and reades of the ten Cities of Decapolis, situate on the Galilean Sea, and watered by the springs tootum. of Capharnaum, the natine Citie of the Apolles , Peter, Andrew , and Philip. Herein Math. 11. Christ did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous then the Ca- Luc. 10.

pharnaims,

Io' 18.25. Aliroth Hieron. 1ud.4.Lyran Ind.4. 14/19.37. 2.7(cg.15.29.

cap.8 v.8.

b Mark.3.

Matb. 10.

Math. 5 6.7.

e 10f.19.38. d 1.Mac.9.2.

e Barathena

Acts 1.

pharnaims, and others, received the same curse of threatned miseries, as Woe be unto

thee Beth, & da, oc. Alongit the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Beth saida, was the ftrong Castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Marie Magdalen, not long since

\* The names flanding. of the chiefe

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of Intapata: fortified by Insephus Cities seated about this Sea, in the Roman Warre: but in the end after a long flege furprifed by Veftalian: who or lake, through flaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof runneth, were Iofephus the Historian was one.

Cabernaum, Tiberias Bethfaida times gauc name to the Countrie. Muh.9.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that \*Sea and the Lake of Genezareth within 10 Zabulon was that of Tiberias, from whence afterward the Galilean Sea also changed thea, and they name, and was called the Sca of the Citie Tiberias, so named in honour of Tiberius adde cinnereth Cofer, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, and the greatest and last of the lower Galilee. From hence our Sautour called Mathew, from the toll or custom-house, to be an Apostle, and neare vnto it raised the daughter of Jairus from death: it was built (as lofephus reports) by Herod the Tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in the beginning of the raigne of Tiberius Cafar: in the most fruitfull Inc 5.
Loig. Ant. 18:3. part of Galilec; but in a ground full of Sepulchres: Qu'um iuxta nostras leges (faith hee) al leptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Whereas by our law he should be feuen daies held as uncleane who inhabited in such a place : by which wordes and by the 20 whole place of Iofephus it appeares, that this Tiberias is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old Cinnereth, which was seated not in Zabulon but in Nepthalim.

Neare vnto this Tiberias at Emaus there were hot baths, where Velpalian the Emperour encamped against Tiberias: More into the Land toward the South-west is Bethulia, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of Hotofernes and Iudith, fuch as it is. Neare which standeth Bethleem of Zabulon; and ad-Tofer in vita fua iovning vnto it, Capharath fortified by Ioferhus against the Romanes: and Japha an ex-Tofeph.a. bell 25. ceeding strong place afterward forced by Titus: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie flew 1 5000, of the Citizens; and carried away about 2000, prisoners.

therwise Killato fephus in his ownelife, then lafte according to Adrichomius (of which lof 19.12.) for Thabor, as wais he thinks that it is not that Iapha of which we spake but now out of Iosephus. Italeala Jofas, 19. 12. of which Iof. 19.15. Hierome calls it Indela : vnder it Westward Legio, (afterward a whence 1. chr. Bishops scate) and the Citie Belma in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred Judith 7.3. otherwise Chelma. Between Legio and Nazeret is the Citie Saffa or Saffra, Johan, de Mon- the birth-Citie of Zebedaus, Alphaus, James, and John: Then Sephoris, or Sephora, acteuilla.c. + 220 cording to lofephus: Sephorum according to Brochard: which afterward, faith Hegelippus and Hierome, was called Diocafaria: the Citie of loachim and Anna, the Parents Losephanta8.3: of the Virgin Marie, it was walled by Herod the Tetrarch: and by him, as Iolephus speakes, made the head and defence of Galilee; in an other place he faith Prbium Ga- 40 lilearum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias. This Sepphor is greatly vexed Vespasian ere hee. wanne it. Herod Antipas when he made it the Regall Teate of the neather Galilee, and fo rounded it with a strong wall, called it Autocratorida, which is as much to say as Imperiall, faith Iosephus: and it is now but a Castle called Zaphet.

On the South fide are the Cities of Cartha of the Leuites, and Gabara, of which 10- 30

To the South-west of this Sepphoris or Diocasaria was that blessed place of Nazareth, the Citie of Marie the Mother of Christ: in which hee himselfe was conceiued, it standeth betweene Mount Tabor, and the Mediterran Sea. In this Citic hee abode chiefly foure and twentie yeares, and was therefore called a Nazarite, as the Christians afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an Archbishoprick in the following age. Neare vnto it are the Cities Buria (afterward well defended 50 against the Turkes ) and Nahalal of which Iof. 19. 17. and Iud. 1. 30. where it is called Nahalol: and Iof. 21.35. where it is a Citie of the Leuites, neare the Sea: adiovning to the River of Chison is Sarid, noted in Iosua for the vttermost of Zabulon.

CHAP. 7. S. 6. of the Historie of the World.

In this Territoric of Zabulon there are divers small Mountaines: but Tabor is the most renowned, by the Apparition of Moses and Elias: and by the Transfiguration of Christ in the presence of Peter, James, and John: vnto whome Moses and Elize appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaint, the Emprese Helen built a fumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe River of Zabulon is Chifon, which rifing out of Tabor runneth with one ftreame Eastward to the Sea of Galdee, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This River of Chison where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called Chedumim or Cadumim: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee 10 the same which Ptolomie calleth Chorfeus : though others diffinguish them: and set Chorseus by Cesaria Palestine. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: and the third is a branch of a river rifing out of the Fountaines of Capharnaum, which falleth also into the same Sca, and neare Magdalum : which Torrent they call Dotham, from the See Laid Bage name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to Bethsaida, and so ioyning with Mappe in or-Iordanis paruus, which runneth from the Valley of Iephthael which Iofuareckneth in 1661,9,14. the bounds of Zabulon, it endeth in the Sea of Galile.

## «. VI. THE TRIBE OF FSACHAR.

He next adioyning Territorie to Zabulon, to the South and Southwest, was Jachar, who inhabited a part of the neather Galilee, within lordan; of whom there were increased in £57pt, as appeared by their musters at Mount Sinai 54400, able and warlike men, who leating their bodies with the rest in the Defarts, there entred the Holie

The first Citie of this Tribe neare the Sca of Galilee, was Tarichea, distant from Taricheain Sut-Tiberias eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Citic wherein the Iences (by the ton. practife of a certaine mutinous voltart, John the sonne of Leui) tooke armes against Insephus the Historian, then Gouernour of both Galilees. This Citie was first taken by Cassius, and 2000. Iewes carried thence captine; and afterward with great difficultie by Velpalian who entred it by the Sea lide, having first beaten the lewes in a sea fight repon the Lake or Sea of Galilee: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: fauing that his furie being quenched with the Rivers of bloud running through enery street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

40 Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Clipion, of the Leuies, and then Ifachar, re- 10/21,28 Kiffin membred in the first of Kings; c.4.10.17 then Abes or Ebess, 10f. 19. 20. and Remeth on, which i. com of which 10f. 19.21. otherwise Ramoth 1. Chron. 6:73. or Iarmuth, 10f. 21.29. this alfowas a Citic of the Leuites, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of Gilboe take beginning: and range themselves to the Mediterran Sea, and towards the West as 10/10.19. farre as the Citie of Jear aell, betweene which and Ramoth, are the Cities of Bethpheles, 1. Sam. 4.t. or Bethpaffer, according to Zaegler, and Bradda; or Hen-chadda: neare which Saul flew 1.5.39.1. himselse : vnder those Aphecor Apheca, which Adrichomius placeth in Isachar : be- In the latter tweene which and Suna, he faith, that the Philistims incamped against Israel, and aftwo places Iuterward against Saul : a Land thirstic of bloud, for herein also, faith hee, the Syrians phikin affer. with two and thirtie Reguli affilting Benhadad incountered Achab: and were over- according to throwne and flaughtered: to whom the King of Ifrael made a most memorable anfwere, when Benhadad vaunted before the victorie : which was, Tell, BENHADAD, cethitin Inda, Let not him that girdeth his harneis boast himselfe, as he that puttethit off: meaning that out of 16.15. glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeare following in 13.

the fields, as they fay, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Syrian vtterly broken and discomforted by Achab : and 1 20000 footmen of the Aramites or Syrians flaine: before which ouerthrow the feruants and Counfailors of Benhadad 1. Kines. 20,23. (in derifion of the God of Ifrael) told him, That the Gods of Ifrael were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines they should over-come

1. Chron 6.73. Iof.21.29.

Vnder Aphec towards the Sea they fet the Citie of E (drelon, in the plaines of Galilee, called also the great field of Efdrelon, and Maggedo: in the border whereof are the ruines of Aphec to be seene, faith Brochard, and Breidenbach. After these are the Cities of Calaloth, of which 1. Macchab. 9.2. Anem or Hen-Gannim of the Leuites, and Seesima or Shahatsima, the West border of Isachar, of which 10f.19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of Pilgrimes: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, fometime the store-house and Magasine of the Christians, and built by the Earle of S. Giles or Toloufe.

From the Castle of Pilgrimes the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount Carmell, not farre from the River Chilon: where Elijah affembled all the Prophets, and Priests of Baal, and praied King Achab and the people affembled, to make triall whether the God of Ifrael, or the Idoll of Baal, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done the Priests of Baal praied, and cut their owne fiesh after their manner, but the 20 fire kindled not, while Elijah in derifion told them that their God was either in purluite of his enemies not at leisure, or perchance a-fleepe, &c. but at the praier of Elyah his fire kindled notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vestells of water thereon : by which miracle the people incenfed, flew all those Idolaters on the bankes of Chifon adioyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth Caiphas, built, as they fay, by Caiphas the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of Porlina and Porphyria, sometime a Suffragane Bilhops seate. Returning againe from the Sea coast towards Tiberias by the bankes of Chifon, there are found the Citie of Hapharaim or Aphraim, and the Castles of Mesra, and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then 30 Naim on the River Chifon: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof

Christ raised from death the widdowes only sonne.

Then Seon or Shion named Iofua 19. betweene the two Hills of Hermon, in Ifachar: beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that undertooke to raise vo the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith named Iof. c. 19. v. 19.20. Then Dabarath as it is named, 10 (.2 1.28. or Dobratha, as it is named, 1. Chron. 6.72. This Citic (which stretcheth it selfe ouer Chison) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the Le-

\* Called Camand Marbathe for Harabath. 1.Macc.5-23. er 9.1. Judg 6. 1.Sam.31.

1.K/ngs.20.

L#C.7.

Next to Daberath is Arbela lituate, neare the Caues of those two Theeues which 40 fo greatly molested Galilee in Herodes time. It soyneth on one side to the Mountaine 1. Macc. 12. 49. Of Isachar or Hermon, and on the other to the Valley of Ieszarel: which valley continucthit felfe from Beth an or Scythopolis, the East border of Ifachar, even to the Mediterran Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of Gilboe on the South, and by Hermon, and the River Chifon on the North. In these \* plaines Gedeon overthrew the Madianites, and herein, they thanke, Saul fought against the Philistims: Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

è. VII.

### S. VII. THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.



He next Tribe which joyneth it felfe to Ifachar towards the South, is the halfe of Manaffe, on the West side of Iordan. Manaffes was the first begotten of lofeph, the eleventh some of lacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the Daughter of Putiphar, Priest and Prince of Heliope-lie: which Manasses with his brother Ephraim, the grand-children of

Iacob, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of Iacob, and made up the 20 number of the twelue Patriarks.

Of Manaffe there were increased in Egypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinat, 32200 able men: all which being confumed in the Defarts, thereentred of their issues \$2700 bearing armes. The Territorie which fell to this one halfeof Manaffe, was bounded by Iordan on the East, and Dora vpon the Mediterran Sea on the West, Ie/zaelon the North, and Machmata is the South border.

The first and principall Citic which stood in this Territorie was Bethfan, sometime Ny/a, faith Plinie, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of Plin, 110, 5, c.18, the same name, which Solinus confirmes. Afterward when the Scythians inuaded Afathe leffe, and pierst into the South, to the vttermost of Calefyria, they built this 20 Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of Scythopolis, or

the Citie of Scythians given it by the Greekes.

These barbarous Northren people, constrained the Iewes to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselues set on the lewes which scrued them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the vemost towards the South of Calesyria : and Strabo iones it to Galilee. It is seated betweene tordan and the Hills of Gilhoe, in aulone ad montes acrabitena, saith Ziegler. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of Jefrael neare Jordan : after that Iordan streightneth it selfe againe into a River: leaving the Sea or Lake Genezareth, Notwithstanding, Montanus describes it farce to the West, and towards the Medi-40 terran Sea, neare Endor, contrarie to Stella, Laiestan, Adrichome, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of Decapolis: but the children of Manaffe could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it Sane an enimie, or Beth-fan, the house of an enimic.

Ouer the walls of this Bethfan the Philistims hung the bodie of Saul, and his sonnes, Index. 106.174 flaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian Religion flourished in those parts, an de Bell fair. Archbiflop, who had nine other Biflops of his Dioceffe, numbred by Tyrius, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to Nazareth. The later trauailers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillers and other peeces of excellent 30 marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

From Bethfan keeping the way by Jordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Sal lem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, faith Hierome, doe not finde to bee the same Hieron, in Epife. with Hierufalem: there being in the time of Hierome and fince, a towne of that name; at East, the Last Heros.

neare Seythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture Gen. 13.18. doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth transfinity in Salem whem Sichemorum ( for which others reade, venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, making the word Shalem not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place lohn 2.1.3. where it is faid. that John was Baptizing in Anon neare Saleim, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not vnlikely that this Saleim of which S. John speaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of Beniamin, I. Sam. 9.4. This word Iunius maketh to be the Plurall of Shuhal: of which we reade, 1. Sam. 13.17. for as for that which is added out of Cant. 6.12. of Shylammitis, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this Saleim, neare Anon, it hath no probabilitie.

This Citic Be-

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they finde Becech the Citie of Adonibezec, lofephus calls it Bala: here it was that Saul affembled the strength of Ifage by the Adonibezee, Josephus calls it Bala: here it was that own another lede. Labelh Gilead, a fement to rail, and Juda, to the number of 3,30000, when he meant to relieve Labelh Gilead, a fement to have beene in gainst Naalh the Ammonite who would give them no other conditions of peace than to suffer their right eies to be thrust out. Noare Bezech is the Citic of Bethbera or rather Beth-bara of which Indg. 7.2 4. in the Storie of Gedeon and then Ephra or Hophra wherein Gedeon inhabited : in the border whereof food an Altar confectated to Baal: which he pulled downe and defaced: and neare it that stone, on which Abimiloc the Baftard flew his 70: brothers: a Heathenish crueltie, practifed by the Turke to this day; and not farre hence, betweene the Village of A Jophon and Iordan, Ptolo- 20 10/epl.13.6.21. mani Lathurus ouerthrew Alexander King of the Jenes : and flaughtered as 10/ephus numbreth them 2000, but according to Timagenes 50200, after which victorie, as Ptolomie past by the Villages of the lewes; hee flew all their women and caused the yong children to bee fod ingreat caldrons, that the rest of the Jewes might thereby thinke that the Ægyptians were growne to be men-eaters, and fleike them with the

Towards the West and on the border of Isachar, they place the Cities of \* Aner Iunius vpon 1. of the Leuites, and Abel Mehola, which Iunius, Iud. 7.22. placeth in Ephraim, it was makes to be the habitation of Helifaus the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1. Reg. 4.12. fame with Ta- which were given in charge to Baaria by Salomon ; to whose charge also Tahanac be- 30 honae, of which longed, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted losus, though their King rome names it was afterward hanged, and their Citie given to the Leuites.

from Aner the Confederate of Abrabam, Gen.14.13. Iofua.12.17. 1.King.14.

In the body of this Territorie of Manalle, but somewhat nearer Iordan, than to the Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Therfa, whose King was one of those that Io/ua flew: which the Kings of Israel vsed for their Regall seate: till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of Ieroboam went to Achia to enquire of her sonnes health: who knowing her, though shee were disguised, told her

The fecond was Thebes neare Samaria, of which name there are both in Agypt, and Greece, of great fame: in the affault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the 40 Citizens retired the Bastard Abimilee was wounded by a waightie stone, throwne by a Woman over the Wall, who despairing of his recoverie, commanded his Page to flay him out-right, because it should not be faid that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others fet this Citie in Ephraim neare Sichem or Neapolis.

Iud.9 v.54.

The third is Acrabata, of which the Territoric adioyning is called Acrabatens Hier:Mac. 1.c.5 (one of the Ten Toparchies or Governments in Iudea) for which Hierome 1. Macc. 5. reades Arabathena : but in the Greeke it is Acrabatine : Isidore calls it Agrabat. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all Palastine belonging to the Gouernour thereof. Iofephus remembreth it often, as in his second Booke of the Iewes Warres, 6. 11.25.28. and elfe where.

The difference betweene a Tetrarchie and a Toparchie, was, that the first was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a Citie with some leffer Territoric adjoyning, and a Tetrarch is the same with Prajes in Latine, and President in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome; and thereof fo called. Plinie nameth fenen-

CHAP.7. S.7. † . 2. of the Historie of the World.

teene Tetrarchies in Syria: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of Ireland to this day, Lemfler, Vifter, Connath, and Mounfter.

To the South-west of Acrabata they place the Cities of Balaam or Bilham, and Gethremmon of the Leuites : but Iunius out of 10f.2 1.25. and 1. Chron. 6.70. gathers that these two are but one : and that Iibleham Iof. 16. 11. is an other name of the same

Then is Iefrael a Regall Citic, set at the foot of the Mountaines of Gilboe, towards the South-west: herein Iezabel by a false accusation caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end thee might possesses his Vineyard adjoyning to the Citie, which Naboth re-10 fuled to fell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Isram also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his Mother Iezabe! King. 2: cap. 2, murthered Naboth.

Toward the Sca from Iefrael is the Citie which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as Ahaziah King of Iuda fled from Iehu, when hee had flaine Ioram, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at Mageddo adioyning. The 2. King. 9. 27. Scripture calls this Citic of Gaber, Gur.

Then Adadremmon, neare vnto which the good King Iolias was flaine by Necho, King of Agypt, in a Warre vnaduisedly vndertaken. For 2Vecho marched towards Asyria against the King thereof: by the commandement of God: whome lostes 20 thought to relift in his paffage. It was afterward called Maximianopolis.

A neighbour Citie to Adadremmon was Maggeddo, often remembred in the Scri- wdn.c.s. ptures: whose King was slaine among the rest by 10 jua: yet they defended their Ci-10/11/22,17, tie for a long time against Manasse. The River vyhich passeth by the Towne, may perhaps beethe same which Ptolomie calleth Chorfeus: and not that of which wee haue spoken in Zabulon. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holie Land delineate no such River. Moore only fets it downe in his Geographie of the twelue Tribes: but the River which paffeth by Maggeddo hee understandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. Lairstan and Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreable to this Scripture in 20 the fifth of Iudges: Then fought the Kings of Canaanin Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo. But these Authors, and with them stella, give it no other name then the Tor-

But seeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanicia, even to Sebaste or Samaria; and Strabo farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And Iosephus calls strab.l.16. Cafaria Palastina a Citie of Phanicia, yea Laurentius Corninus extendeth Phanicia as 106p. l.15.c.13. farre as Gaza: feeing also Ptolomie fets downe Chorfeus for the partition of Phanicia Nigo. and Indea: this River running East and West paralell with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which Ptolomie in his fourth Table of Asia calleth Chorseus. The 40 later trauailers of the holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

### of Cafaria Palastina, and some other Townes.

 $\Gamma$ Rom Maggeddo toward the West, and neare the Mediterran Sca , was that glorious Citic of Cafaria Palassina: first, the Tower of Straton: the same which Plinie calls Apollonia: though Ptolonie fets Apollonia elsewhere, and toward Agypt, betweene this Citie and Joppe, to which Velpasian gaue the name of Flania Colonia, It 30 was by Herod rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polisht marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind

Plin.l.s.

blowing from the Sea the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the Itrength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with fuch charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not beene found in any Kingdome. nor in any age; which because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I have added to ephus owne vvordes 10[ep.l.15.c.13. of this worke: which are these. Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magna classirecipienda sufficere: & in viginti vlnarum profundum, pragrandia sassa demisit : quorum pleraq, pedum quinquagintalongitudinis latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali : fuerunt quadam estam maiora, minoraalia; To mend this inconvenience of place (faith Iosephvs) he compast in a Bay 10 wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eighteene foote broade, and nine foote thicke: some bigger, and some leffer. To this he added an arme or cawsie of two hundred soote. long, to breake the waves: the rest he strengthned with a stone wall, with divers flately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called Drusses. after the name of Drulus, the sonne in law of Calar: in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it seife, Casaria of Palastine: all which he performed in twelve yeares time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into L.t. 2. bell. an Archbishopticke, commanding twentie others under it, saith Tyrius.

St. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, Acacius, Euzorus, and Gelasius to haue 20 beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was Cornelius the Centurion baptized by S. Peter: and herein dwelt Philip the Apostle: S. Paul was herein two yeares prisoner, under the President Falix, vnto the time and government of Porcius Festus: by whom making his appeale, he was fent to Cafar. Here when Herod Agrippa was paffing on to celebrate the Quinquenn: lia, taking delight to bee called a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, faith Iosephus.

To the North of Celaria standeth Dora, or Naphoth Dor, as some reade Iol. 1.2. fo called (faith Adrichomius) because it ionneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by Iosua. But Iunius for in Naphoth Dor, reades in tractibus Dor : and so the Vulgar, in regionibus Dor: although 1. Reg. 4. 11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth 30 omnis Nephath Dor : The Septuagmt in the place of Iofua call it Nepheth-Dor, andin the other of the Kings Nepha-Dor: but the true name by other places (as 10/.12.23. Indg. 1. 27.) may seeme to bee Dor. It was a strong and powerfull Citie: and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or Sitarchies, which Salomon ere-Eted. Iunius vpon Maccab, 15.11. placeth it betweene the Hill Carmel and the mouth of the River Cherfeus: for so some name the River Chorfeus, of which we have spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochus the sonne of Demetrius: where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with 120000.foot-men Macr. 1, 13, 15, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that received 200 talents for the ran- 40 fome of Ionathan Macchabaus (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then flew him: and after him flew his owne Mafter, vfurping for a while the Kingdome of Syria. It had also a Bishops scate of the Diocesse of Casaria.

From C.efaria towards the South, they place the Cities of Capharnaum, Gabe, and Gul.Tr. deBell. Galgal: for belides that Capharnaum famous in the Euangelists they find in these parts fuer.l.to.c.6. neare the West Sea, an other of the same name. Of Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis. The famous Galgal or Gilgal, was in Beniamin : but this Gilgal, they fay, it was whole King was flaine by Iofua.

Then Antipatris so called of Herode, in honour of his Father: but in the time of Mace, 17. v.31. the Macchabees it was called Caphar salama: in the fields whereof Indas Macchabeus 50 ouerthrew a part of the Armie of Nicanor, Lieutenant to Demetrius: an armie drawn into Iudea by attaiterous Iew, called Alcimus: vvho contended for the Priest hood, first under Bacchides, and then under Wicanor. To this was S. Paul carried prisoner from Hierusalem, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the

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In after-times the Armie of Godfrey of Bulion attempted it in vaine : yet was it taken by Baldwine. It was honoured in those daies with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called Affur, faith Brochard. Neare vnto this Citie the Prophet Ionas was three daies preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from Amipairis and Cafaria, standeth Warbata, whereof the Territoric taketh name : which Cesting the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the teres which dwelt at Cafaria fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of Moles. Neare vnto it is the Mountaine of Abdia, the Steward of King Achab: wherein he hidde an hundreth Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himselfe is said to 10 haue obtained from God the Spirit of prophecie also.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phanicia.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome : and of the invention of Letters ascribed



Ecavs E these fine Tribes, of Affer, Nephtalim, Zabulon, Iffachar, and the halfe of Manaffe, poffeft the better part of that ancient Kingdome of Phanicia, to wit. of fo much as lay to the South part of Anti-libanus: I have therefore gathered a Briefe of those Kinges which have governed therein : at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest have perished, it is not strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in fo long a race and revolution, & in fo many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes, haue

beene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: 40 but all Cosmographers doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of Syria, which is called Casio is, ends : most of them bounding it by Orthofia, to the North of Tripolis. Ptolomie makes it a little larger, as reaching from Pro . Toberfe. the Riner Eleutherus, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of Aradus, somewhat to the North of Orthofia, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the Mediterran sea, as farre as the River of Chorfeus, which feemes to bee that which the lewes call the Plantis, cale. Torrent or River of Maggeeddo. Plinie extends it farther and comprehends loppe within it : Coruinus and Budaus, Joppe and Gaza. Phanicia apud priscos appellata (faith By DAEVS) que nunc Palestina Syria dicitur: It was called Phanicia of old (faith hee) which now is called Palastina of Syria.

50 Strabo comprehends in this Countrie of Phanicia, all the Sea fide of Iudaa, and strab.l.16. Palestina, euen vnto Pelusium, the first Port of Agypt. On the contrarie Diodorus Bude. de Asta. Sieulus, foldeth it vp in Calefyria, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of Protomies description, who was seldome deceived in his owneart. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the

€[xy.23.

F. 17.

Ilands) to wit, Aradus, Orthofia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomais (or sicon) Dora, and Cafaria Palaftina: and by reason of the many ports and goodly Sca-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world : and they were absolute Kings of the Mediterran Sca.

The ancient Regall Scate of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first fonne of Canaan: and the people then subject to that familie were called Zidonians: the same state continuing even vnto Iosus time. For till then it is probable that there was but one king of all that region; afterward called Phanicia: which Proceedius also confirmeth in his second Booke of Vandall Warres. But in processe of time the Citie of Tyre adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Pro- to phet it was but a Daughter of Zidon, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of Moses, and while Iosua yet gouerned Israel, Agenor an Agyptian of Thebes, or a Phanician bred in Agypt, came thence with his sonnes C. mus, Phanix, Cyrus, and Cilix, (fay Cedrenus and Curtius) and built and poffeft the Cities of Tyre and Zidon: to wit, the new Tyrns, and brought into Phanicia (fo called after the name of his fecond Sonne) the vse of letters; which also Cadmus in his pursuite after his fifter Europa taught the Gracians. For Taurus King of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stollen her thence : of which the Pocts deuised the fable of Iupiters transformation into a Bull, by whome that stealth was also supposed to be made, Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first King of Phanicia: and findes Caumus 20 his fucceffour: whom hee calleth his grand-child: and it feemeth that Belus was the Father of Agenor, and not Neptune: because the successours of Dido held that name alwaies in reuerence, making it a part of their owne as Afdrubaal, Hannibaal: which memorie Firgil also toucheth in these Verses:

> Hic Regina grauem gemmis aurog, poposcit Impleuit q, moro pateram : quam BELVS & omnes A BELO Coliti.

The Queenc anone commands the waightie bowle (Waightie with pretious stones and massie gold) To flow with wine. This BELVs vs'd of old, And all of BELVs Line.

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Whether this Belus were Father or Grand-father to Agenor, the matter is not great. But it feemeth to me by comparing of times, that Belus was Ancestor to these Phanicians, and preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter Belus, the sonne of Neptune by Libya, the Daughter of Epaphus, or were he the sonne of Telegonus, according to Eusebius; yet it is agreed that Cecrops then ruled in Attica: and in the end of Cecrops time, faith S. Augustine, Moses left Agypt : Agenors successour living at once 40 with Iofua. Now that Agenor returned about the fame time into the Territoric of Zidon, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of Phanicia, in honour of his Sonne. But in steede of the building of Tyre, and Zidon, it is probable that hee repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as Semiramis and Nabucho dono for were of Babylon.

For beeit true that Agenor was of the same Nation, and brought up in Agypt: where he learnt the vse of letters ( Agypt flourishing in all kind of learning in Moses time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian: yet is it very likely that either he came to faue his owne Territorie: or otherwise to defend the coast of Canaan, from the Israelites: who were by Meses led out of Agypt, to the great losse and dishonour of 50 that Nation: and by Iosua conducted over Iordan, to conquer and possesse the Canaanites Land. For though the Agyptians by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the flaughter of fo many of the Male children at the fame time, could

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not hinder the Hebrewes from inuading Canaan by Land: which also they knew had fo many powerfull Nations to defend it : the Defarts inter-jacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Emorites, and Ammonites their borderers : yet Egypi having fuch Veffells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vie : did not in all probabilitie neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or ashift Agenor with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistims which held the shores of Canaan, next adioyning vnto them, were their Priends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of Phanicia, which 10 Agenor was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against Iosua, and against the Tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, by Iofua called the strong Ci- C.19, V.30. tie, Accho afterward Ptolomais, Aczib and Dor) were all that Phanicia had in those

That the Kings of Phanicia were mightic, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against Ifrael: secondly by this, that David and Salomon could not mafler them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but Reguli, defended it selfe 13. yeares against a King of Kings, Nabuchodonofor : and that Alexander the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed vnresistable) spent more time in the recouerie of Tre, than 20 in the conquest of all the Cities in Asia.

Other opinions there are, as that of Berofus out of Tofephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyras the sonne of Japhet. And for the Region it selfe, though Callishenes derine it ab arbore dactylorum, and the Greekes from the word Phonos, of flaughter, because the Phanicians flew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that Phanix the sonne of Agenor gaue it that name. But that either Agenor in Phanicia, or Cadmus his sonne in Greece, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnnecessarie.

The Athiopians affirme that Atlas , Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmue, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and 20 einill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that Pythagor as himselfe was instructed by the Libyans: to wit, from the South and Superior Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of Wilns, as they say, borrowed their Divinitie and Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, receiued Civilitie. Againe, the Phanicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning : acknowledging nothing from the Agyptians at all; neither doe they allow that Agenor and his fonnes were Affricans: whence Lucan.

> Phænices primi (fame si creditur) aust Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Lucan. 1.5.35

Phanicians first (if fame may credit haue) In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to grave.

And that Cadmus was the sonne of Agenor, and was a Phanician, and not an Agyptian, it appeareth by that answere made by Zeno: when he in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a Phænician:

> Si patria est Phanix quid tum? nam CADMVS & ipse Phænix : cui debet Gracia docta libros.

Athen.t.Digue,

If a Phanician borne I am, what then? CADMVS was fo: to whom Greece owes The Bookes of learned men.

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Inriscon.

C.17.v.3.

Felesb, contra

Out of doubt the Phanicians were very ancient : and from the Records and Chronicles of Tyre, Iosephus the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports : but affirme constantly, that the great Zamolxis flourished among them : when Atlas lived in Mauritania Nilus and Vulcan in Agypt: and Ochus in Phanicia. Yea, some of the French doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient Gaules taught the Greekes the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our Bardes and Druids are as ancient as those Gaules, and that they sent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for hee lived at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in Ægypt, and Affyria, and he himfelfe was brought vp in all the learning of the Æ eyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is that letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall floud: either by Seth, or Enos, or by whom elfe God knowess from whom all wisedome and vinderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other: as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in Mexico, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those Hieroglyphicks, anciently 10 vsed by the Agyptians, and other Nations and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie: and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kingsand Nobilitie of other Nations. Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.

Of the Kings of Tyre.



bookes of Zero, Sachoniatho, Musseus, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Malenta and M ing no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Iofephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Iofua, to whome succeeded Phanix, of whom that part of Cansan, and so farre towards the North as Aradus, tookethe name of Phanicia: what Kings succeeded Phanix it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Gracians belieged Troy, Phasis governed Phanicia.

In Hieremies time and while Iehoiakim ruled in Iuda, the Tyrians had a King a-part: for Hieremie speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of seucrall

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he inuaded Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phanicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded as some Writers affirme, Xerxes sleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 200. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phaenicians were Tributaries to the Persian: for being broken into Reguli, and pettic Kings in Hieremies time, they were subjected by Nabuchodonofor; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, Hieremie prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramnestus: remembred by D. Siculus in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of 50 his dependancie vpon Darius, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the Gracians. But divers Kings, of whomethere is no memorie, came betweene Tennes and Strato. For there were confumed 130. yeares and somewhat more betweene Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander effeemed

Снар. 8. 8.2. of the Historie of the World.

esteemed the more vinworthic of restitution, because (saith Curtius) hee rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subjects (who foresaw their vtter ruine by relillance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strate, Atheneus out of Theopompus reporteth, that hee was a man of ill Athen. Lt2.c.13 liuing: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and fingers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and affembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, hee might recover them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one

10 Strato King of these coasts, S. Hierome and others make mention : who having heard Hieron L. cont. that the Persians were neare him with an Armie too waightie for his strength, and louin. finding that hee was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Agyptians: hee determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the exequation, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and flew him: which done flee also therewith pierced her owne bodie; and died.

After Alexander was possest of Zidon, and the other Strato driven thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to Hephaftion, to dispose of: who having received great entertainement of one of the Citizens, in whole house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein; but this Citizen no 20 leffe vertuous than rich, delired Hephaftion that this Honour might beeinferred on fome one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus, IvsTINE Abdolomius, and Plutarch Alynomus: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, fetting hearbs, and rootes, for his reliefe and fustenance: though otherwise a wise man and exceeding inft.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Ariflocraticall: and by times and turnes subjected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of Affer.

30 The Kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuels time, it doth not appeare: 10fephus the Historian; as is faid, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles : and out of Iofephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus. there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the Trians, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephesius, doe in no fort agree in the times of their raignes, nor in other particulars,

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Iosephus and Theophilus remember: whom Theophilus calls Abemalus: the same perchance that the sonne of Sirach men- case. tioneth in his fourtie and fixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. 40 Dauid (faith Eufebius out of Eupolemus) constrained this Suron to pay him Tribute, of Prep. Europ. 19. whom also David complaineth Pfal. 83.

Hiram succeeded Suron, whom sosephus calls Irom, and Theophilus sometime Hieromenus, sometime Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras Chiram. He entred into a league with Dauid, and fenthim Cedars with Masons, and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in Hierusalem: after he had beaten thence the Iebusites. The same was hee that fogreatly affifted Salomon: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materialls towards the railing of the Temple, and with great fummes of money, but also he ioyned with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: and furnished Salomon with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent

Nauigators : and lent him 120, talents of gold. Of this Hiram there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in Iosephus in his Antiquities the 7 and 8. 2.5 am. 5. De. chap. 2. & 3. in Theophilus his 3d booke, in Tatianus his Oration against the Greekes and 2. Some. s. in Zonaras Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mightie and magnificent, 1. Chian. 14. he despised the 20. townes which Salomon offered him the desended himselfe against 2. Chron. 2, 8.9.

Ii 2

1.Kizg.11.

that victorious King Dauid: and gaue his Daughter in marriage to Salomon, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship Asteroth, the Idoll of the Phanicians. Hiram lived 53, yeares.

Theaph. 17.

Baleassartus whom Theoph. Antiochenus, calleth Bazorus, succeeded Hiram, King of Tyre and Zidon, and raigned 7. yeares according to Iosephus.

Abdastus the eldelt sonne of Baleastustus, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. yeares according to to seephus: but after Theophilus he raigned 12. yeare, and lived 54. who being slaine by the soure sonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeares.

Aftartus brother to Abdastartus, recourred the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and 10

Infeph.54. Theoph.58.

Icfepb.32. Theoph.12.

Ioseph.9. Theogh.19.

1.King.16.v.31

Assumes, or Atharimus, after Theophilus, a third brother followed Assumes, and ruled 9, yeares, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of Balessarts, and brother to the three former Kines.

flew Astarimus: and raigned 8. Moneths: lived 50. yeares.

llew Alfarmus: and ragned 8. Moneths: lived 50. yeares.

Inhobalus (or Inthobalus, in Theophilus) sonne to the third brother Astarimus, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddesse Astarta, which was a dignitic next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his stather, and saughtered his Vncle Phelles: and raigned 32. yeares, the same which in the first of Kings cap. 16. is called Ethbaal, whole

Daughter Iezabel, Achab married.

Badezor or Bazor the sonne of Ithobalus or Ethbaal, brother to Iezabel, succeeded his

Eastern and seizened & yeares, and lived in all 4.5.

tofish6.yeares Father, and raigned 6. yeares, and lived in all 45.
Thispho.6.

Mettimus succeeded Badezor, and raigned but 9. yeares, (saith Iosephus) he had

two sonnes Premation and Barca, and two Daughters Elifa and Anna.

Pygmalion raigned after Mettimus his Father 40. yeares, and lined 56: In the 7. yeare of whose raigne, Elisa failed into Assistant and built Carthage, 143. yeares and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of Salomon: which by our accompt was 280, yeares after Troy taken, and 143. before Rome: and therefore that fishion by Virgil of Assistant Assistant and Dialo must be faire out of square. For Pygmalion couetous of Sicheus his riches, who had married his sister Elisa, shew him traiter outly as he accompanied him 30 in hunting: or if we beleeve sustine and Virgil, at the Altar: whereupon Elisa fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into Assistant as aforesaid: whom when Pygmalion prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threates from the Oracle arressed. Barea accompanied his sifter, and assisted the, in the erection of Carthage: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the Barea in Assistant of Which race descended many samous Captaines, and the great Hamibal. Servius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of her man-like acts, others from ledidia. a surname of Salomon.

Eluleus fucceeded Pygmalion, and raigned 36. yeares: the fame that ouerthrew the flecte of Salmanaflar, in the Port of Type: notwithflanding which hee continued his 40 fice before it on the Land fide flue yeares, but in vaine.

After Eluleus, Ethobales gouerned the Tyrians, who vaunted himselfe to be as wise as Daniel: and that he knew all secrets (saith Ezekiel) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom its gathered, that this Prince died, or was slaine in that long siege of Nabuchodenosor: who serrounded and attempted Tyre 13 yeares together, ere he prevailed.

Bad followed Ethobales, and raigned 10. yeares a tributarie, perchance, to Nabucho-donofor: for after his death it was gouerned by diuers Indges, fucceeding each other: First, by Eenibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the Priest, Mittonus, and Gerassus, who held it among them some 7, yeares, and odde Moneths: after whom Badaturus com 50 manded therein as a King for one yeare: after him Merbalus sent from Babylon 4-yeares after him Nom sent thence also, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whose raigne Cyrus beganne to gouerne Persa.

ð. III.

ð. I I I.

of Bozivs his conceit that the Edumeans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phamicia the knowledge of the true

F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a Trast at large, intituled deruinis Gentium. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, veryingall thinges under House, here is

ties, yea in all thinges vnder Heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who only is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said Boesius, inforcing herehenee, that the prosperitie and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of their imbracing or for faking the true Religion, to proue this his affertion, suppose the Tyrians to haue beene Edumeans, descended from Esau, tacebe brother: hirst, it can hardly be beleeued that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any fort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the proofe which the Scriptures give of the mans good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Tyres to the send of the same good affection when Schonge hall the Schonge hall the true the same good affection when Schonge hall the same

20 Scriptures giue of Hirams good affection when Salamon built the Temple) he brings Box, deruin, many coniecturall arguments: whereof the strongest is their pettigree and descent: Genal. 5.2.7, it being likely in his opinion that the posteritie of Esau received from him by Tradition the Religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Eslamanns, he endeuours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painefully strained from some affinitie of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authoritie. For Strabo, Herodotus, Plinie, and others witnesse; that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea, in which there were three llands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of Pharicia. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the Edu-

30 means: as Elab and Estingaber; or vinder the Amalekites, who descended of Amalec the Nephew of Esan, whose chiefe Citie was Madian, so called of Madian the sonne of Abraham by Ceihura, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of Israel. Hercunto hee addes that Cadmus and his Companions brought not into Greece the worship of Assarias, the Idoll of the Sidenians. That the Parents of Thales and Pherceydes being Phanicians, themselves differed much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customics of the Greekes. That in Teman, a Towne of the Edumeans, was an Vinuarsitie, wherein as may appeare by Eliphas the Temanite, who disputed with 10b, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bozms, who labouring to proue one Paradoxe by an other; descrives in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrims were Edumeans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were Edumeans at all. In what Religion Esai brought up his children it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the flue and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of Chromoles. That the Edomites were perpetuall enemies to the House of If sal, sauconly when David and some of his face, Kings of Inda, held them in subjection, who knowes not? In who is ignorant of Davids vastiently behavior amongst them, when sirtle they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene Tyrus and Mount Seir, that Hiram held such good correspondence with David: cuen then when David sew all the Males of Edom: neither was it for their denotion to God, and good affection to Ifrael, that the Edomites

were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisedome of Eliphaz the I i  $\frac{1}{3}$  Themanite,

Iuftin.l.11. Virgil.l.1. Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumaans punished, for being such as David in his owne daies found them. Although indeede the Citie of Teman whence Elipost came to reason with lob, is not that in Edumaa, but an other of the same name, lying East from the Sea of Galalee, and adioyning to Hus, the Countrie of lob: and to Such the Citic of Bildad the Subite, as both fuch Chorographers who best knew those parts, doe plainly thew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For lob is said to have exceeded in riches; and Salomon in wifedome, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount Seir, which lay due South from Palastina. True it is that Eliphaze the sonne of Esau had a sonne called Teman: but that Fathers were wont in those daies to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And Ismael also had a 10 fonne called Thema: of whom it is not vnlike that Theman in the East had the name: for as much as in the feuenth Chapter of the booke of Indges the Midianites, Amalekites, and all they of the East are called Ismaelites. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation Amalec was, which durst give battaile to the Host of I/rael. wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly belieue that fuch a people were defcended from one of Efan his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all Edom have beene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had beene fo great? furely Mount Serr and all the Regions adioyning could not have held them. But wee no where finde that Edom had to doe with Analee: or affifted the Amalekites: when Saul went to roote them out. For Amalec is no 20 where in Scripture named as a Tribe of Edom: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the Ilmaelites. The like may be faid of Midian, that the Founder thereof being fonne to Abraham by Cethura, doubtleffe was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the Seigniorie of the Red Sea-coast, which Bozius imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the Edomites in after-times held some places as Elan and Estongaber on the Red Sea shore, yet in Moses time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moles himselfe saith that Israel did compasse all the borders of Edom: within which limits had Midian stood, Moles must need shaue knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wise and Children, when he went into Egypt.

But coniccturall Arguments, how probable focuer, are needleffe in so maniscit a case. For in the 83. Pfal. Edom, Amalec, and Tyre, are named as distinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidomans being one people, as all good Authors shew, and Bazim himselfs consessed where Camanites, as appeares Gen.c. 10. v. 15. & 10. appointed by God to have beene destroicd, and their Landsgiven to the children of Asir tos. 20. because they were ever Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Canan, not Cosens to Israel, nor professors of the same Religion. For though Himan said, Biesseibe God that hash sent King David a wife Some., we cannot inferre that he was of Davids Religion. The Turke hath said as much of Christian Princes, his confederates. Certains it is that the Sidonians then worthipped Assamble, and drew See 40 lamon also to the same Idolatrie.

Whereas Euram aided Saloman in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne endes, receiving therefore of Saloman great prouifion of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in Galice. And if wee rightly confider thinges, it will appeare that Euram, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with Saloman, Hee allowed him Timber, with which Libanus was, and yet is ouer-peftered: beingotherwise apt to yeeld filkes: as the Andarine filkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which he could well spare to Saloman. Also gold for Land: wherein Saloman was the wifer: who having got the gold first, gaue to Hiram the worst Villages that hee 50 had: with which the Trian was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie pollicie which inforced Tyrus to hold league with Israel. For Danid had subdued Mash, Amman, Edan, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, cuen to Euphrates: through which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammells,

to their fleetes on the R cd Sea: and backe again to Tyrus: fo that Salomon being Lord of all the Countries, through which they were to paile, could have cut off their Trade.

But the Ifraelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their aductures. Yet Salmon as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the Philistinus, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which Hiram knowing was glad (and no merualle) that Salmon rather meant as a man of peace to imploy his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore hee wilso lingly aided him, and sent him cunning workemen, to increase his delight in goodly

buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betweene Salomon and Hiram, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: fo those other proofes which Bozius frames negatively vpon particuiar examples, are very weake. For what the Religion of Cadmus was, I thinke, no man knowes. It feemes to me that having more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, hee would faine haue purchased divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. Thales and Pherecy des are but fingle examples. Euery faluage Nation hath fome whose wisedome excelleth the 20 Vulgar, cuen of civill people. Neither did the morall wisedome of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of Greece: whome being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to fay, that Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatrie, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That Carthage, Vtica, Leptis, Cadiz, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which, I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sca to have beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore, the Tyrians, who plan-

ted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatrie from Salomons time o wards is acknowledged by Bozius, 30 who would have vs thinke them to have beene formerly a strange kinde of depout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptorie, that he itileth men of contratie opinion, impios politicos, as if it were impietie to thinke that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not knowne his name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honestie, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse this doctrine of Bozius, would better have agreed with Iulian the Apollata, than with Cyril. For if the Afgrians, Greekes, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: what may bee faid of the foule Idolatrie which grew in Rome, as falt as Rome it felfe grew: and was inlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon enery new victorie? How few 40 great battailes did the Romanes winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to fome new God, or some new Hongur to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation faue only that of the *Iewes*, was fubdued by them, whose Gods they did not asterward entertaine in their Citie? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jewes, they rejected, upbraiding the Jewes with him, as if he were unworthie of the Romane Majestie: shall we hereupon inforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers yfed against the Christians in the Primitive Church: That such Idolatrie had caused the Citie of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abhominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of Bozius, 50 who writing against those whom he fallly termes impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeede. But fuch indifcretion is viually found among men of his humour: who having once either foolifhly imbraced the dreames of others: or vaincly fashioned in their owne braines any strange Chimara's of Dininitie, condemne all fuch in the pride of their zeale, as Atheifts and Infidells, that are not transported with

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the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that fuch madde Dogges are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him fecretly by the malicious vertue of an Hypocrite.

### CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose bead was EPHRAIM.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of

Pfa!. <9.78.108 Par,25.

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AVING now past ouer Phanitia, we come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of Ephraim: fomtime taken per excellentiam for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Ephraim was the second sonne of Isfeph, whose iffues when they left Egypt were in number 45000. all which dying in the Defarts (10/14 excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children, growne to bee able men 3 2 500. who fate 30 downe on the West side of Iordan, betweene Manasse, and Beniamin : who bounded Ephraim by the North and South; as Iordan, and the Medi-

terran Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citic which Ephraim had was Samaria : the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Israel: built by Amris or Homri King thereof: and seated on thetop of the Mountaine Somron, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called Sebaste, or Augusta, inhonour of August. Cafar. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brochard observeth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which Bro- 40 chard found greater than those of Hierusalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillers, with other hewen and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of Hyrcanus the high Priest: restored and built by the first Herod the some of Antipater : who to flatter Casar called it Sebaste. Herein were the Prophets Helisaus, and Abdias buried : and so was John Baptist. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Gracian Monkes.

Neare Samaria towards the South, is the Hill of Bethell, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine Ieroboam erected one of his golden Calues, to bee 50 worshipped: with which he seduced the Ifraelites.

In fight of this Mountaine of Bethel, was that ancient Citie of Sichem; after the re-Sietar. Ioh. 4.5. stauration called Neapolis, now Pelosa, and Napolasa: It was destroiced by Simeon and Malorthan, 10/ept, 11, ant. 1. Leui, in reuenge of the rauishment of their Sifter Dina: and after that by Abimelec euened with the foile. Ieroboam raifed it vp againe : and the Damascens a third time cast it downe.

Under Sichem towards the Sea standeth Pharaton or Pirhathon on the Mountaine 1udg.12:15. Amelec, the Citie of Abdon Judge of Ifrael. And under it Bethoron of the Leuites, 2.King. 13. built as it is faid by Sara, the Daughter of Ephraim. Neare to this Citie Iudas Macchabaus overthrew Seron and Lyfias , Lieutenants to Antiochus. This Citie had Salomon formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene Bethoron and the Sea, standeth Samir of which Tof. 10. And Saron whole King was flaine by Iofua: it is also mentioned Acts 9.25. and of this Saron the 10/6:12.18.

10 Valley taketh name, which beginning at Cafaria Palastina extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as Ioppe, faith Adrichome. Though indeede the name Sarona is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene Casaria and Joppe, but that also betweene the Mountaine Tabor and the Sea of Galilee : for so S. Hierome vpon the fine and thirtieth Chapter of Esay interprets the word Saron: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon Abdia, reade Saron for Affaron: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neare Lidda: which Lidda in his time was called Diospolis, or the Citic of Jupiter, one of the Toparchies of Indea, the fifth in dignitie (or the third after Plinie) where Saint PETER (non sua sed Christi virtute) cured Aneas. Niger calls all that Region from Alle. 20 Anti-libanus to Ioppe Sarona. This Ioppe was burnt to the ground by the Romanes, Luc. 23. those Rauens and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of Niger. Comm. 4. other Princes Kingdomes: who with no other respect led than to amplifie their

owne glorie, troubled the whole world : and themselves, after murthering one an other, became a prey to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

In Diospolis (faith Will. of Tyre) was S. George beheaded, and buried : in whose ho- Of this S. Genour and memorie Iustinian the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer orge fee more his Tombe, these be Tyrius his wordes : Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, second Booke, & Joppe, per late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam qua est Diospolis, C.7. Q.3.1.5. vbi & egregij Martyris GEORGIJ v sque hodie Sepulchrum oftenditur, peruenerunt eius

30 Ecclesiam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, AVGVSTVS IVSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione prompta adificari pracederat, &c. They having left (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Toppe, passing ouer the great open plaine of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr St. GEORGE is at this day shewed: whole Church, when the Godly and Orthodoxe Prince of the Romans, High and Mightie IVSTINIAN had commanded to bee built, with great earnest nesse and present devotion. &c. Thus farre Tyrus, by whole testimonie we may coniccture, that this S. George was not that Arrian Bishop of Alexandria; but rather some better Christian; for this of Alexandria was flaine there in an vprore of the people, and his affice caft into 40 the Sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus reports. And yet also it may be, that this Geor- L, 22, 6, 150

gius was a better Christian, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of GENIVS, How long shall this Sepulcher stand ? occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing least hee would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also Marcellinus reports : who though hee say that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth that his ashes with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, least if their Reliques had been gathered vp, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part I rather thinke that it was not this Georgius. whose name lives in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but

30 rather an other, whom Tyrius, aboue cited, witneffeth to have beene buried at Lidda or Diospolis. The same also is confirmed by Vitriac. S. Hierome affirmes that it salie rom. 6.c.4 was fometime called Tigrida, and while the Christians inhabited the holy Land, it had a Bishop Suffragan.

Neare to Lidda or Diespolis, standeth Ramatha of the Leuites, or Aramathia : after-

Samron or Samaria, 1. Reg. 16.24. \* the Hill of Gahas Judg. 2.9. the Hill of Tfalmon or \* Also the Hill Salmon Ind. 9.48. the Hills of the Region of TJuph or TJophim Ind. 9.5. where Rama. of Phonibis Tfophim stood, which was the Citie of Samuel.

CHAP. 9. S.2.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of these Mountaines, was the the son of da occasion that Incob in the Spirit of prophecie Genes. 49. 22. compared to epis two 108 was buried branches, Ephraim & Manaffe, to the branches of a fruitfull vine planted by the Well the two tops of fide, and spreading her a Daughter-branches along the Wall : which Allegorie also Hils , Go in stime Ezeksele, 22. in his Lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head fings, and Hibat was Ephraim) profequetes: as also in his Lamentation for Iuda, hee followeth theo-where the curwas Eponam procedures: as also in its Lamentation to man, the top of one of fings were to to the Allegorie of Iacob Gen. 49.9. comparing Inda to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of fings were to be read to the the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, which ouer lookethall the plaines on both people, of fides of lordan, they finde the Castle called Dok which they make to bee the same which Deut. it. fides or tordam; they find the Cattle caute cause Dor. Which they make to bee the lattle with Dagon, of which to feph. 1. Bell. Ind. c. 2. in which Castle as it is 1. Olaccab. 16. a 1st teemeth Ptolomie most traiterously, at a banquet, slew Simon Macchabaus his Father-in-that larob in

of the Historie of the World.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembred in the feth the word fecond of Samuel. c. 23. v. 30. where though Iunius reade Hidday ex una vallium Gaha- Daughters for set the Vulgar and Vatablus reade Hiddai of the River of Gaas. Also in this Tribe by the more they place the River of Carith, by which the Prophet Elias abode during the great Plainly to figthey place the Kiner of Carin, by which the Prophet Euro about duling the global mile Colonies 20 droughth; where he was b fed by the Ranens; and after that the Riner was dried which in the vp he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where hee was relicued by the poore Widdow of Zarepta, whose dead Sonne he reviewd, and increased are called her pittance of Meale and Oile: whereby shee sustained her life.

the Stetrovolis as in lofua and

elsewhere ofte b 1.Reg.17. 3. 1.Reg. 17.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IEROBOAM to

F the first Kings of Ifrael, I omit in this place to speake: and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of Iuda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Iuda and Beniamin, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings was Jeroboam, the sonne of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, who being a man of strength and courage was by Salomon made ouer-feet of the buildings of the Millo or Munition in Hieru/alem, for as much as be-

longed to the charge of the Tribes of Ephraim and Manaffe: and so many of them as wrought in those workes. During which time as hee went from Hierusalem, hee incountred the Prophet Ahijah: who made him know that he was by God destinied to 40 be King of Ifrael: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that those thinges might come to Salomons knowledge, hee fled into Egypt to Shishak, whom Esfebius calleth Ofochores, whose Daughter he married : the Predecessour of which Shiftak (if not the fame) did likewise entertaine Adad the Idumaan, when hee was carried youg into Agypt from the furie of David, and his Captaine loab: which Adad, the King of Expt married to his Wines lifter Taphnes : vling both him and Ieroboam as instruments to shake the Kingdome of Indea: that himselfe might the easilier spoile it, as he did : for in the fifth yeare of Rehoboam, Shishack fackt the Citic LReets of Hierusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Salomon, and all the Spoiles which David tooke from Adadezer of Soba, with the presents of Toba, King of

This Ieroboam after the death of Salomon became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the Israelites, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the pollicies of the world before the leruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to Hierusa

ward Rama, and Ramula, the native Citie of Infeph, which buried the body of Christ. See in the There are many places which beare this name of Rama: one they fet in the Tribe of Tribe of Benia- Inda neare Thecua in the way of Hebron: an other in Nephtalim, not farre from Sephet: min, cap 12 \$.1. a third in Zabulon, which, they fay, adioyneth to Sephoris: a fourth, which they make the same with Silo: and a fifth which is this Rama in the Hills of Ephraim, called

Sam, 1.c. 25, v.5 Rama-Sophim, where Samuel lived : and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are Helon, or Aialon of the Leuites, of Ant. 13.21. de which I. Chron. 6. Apollonia, of which lofephus in his Antiquities, and in the Warre Bell. 11d. 1.6. of the lewes. Also Balfalifa (for which lunius 2. Reg. 4. 42. reades planities Shalista) they place hereabout in this Tribe of Ephraim : but Junius vpon 1. Sam. 9. where we 10 reade of the Land of Shalisha, findeth it in Beniamin.

On the other fide of the Mountaines of Ephraim standeth Gofna, one of the Toparchies or Cities of gouernment, the second in dignitie, of which the Countrie about it

Then Thamnath-Sara, or according to the Hebrew Thimnath-Serach: one also of the Iude. 2, 9. it is ten Toparchies or Prasidencies of Judea, which they call Thammitica: a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of Ephraim: on the North of the Hill called nath Cherce. Io(.19.50.

Gaas: which Citie and Territoric I/rael gaue vnto their Leader Iosua: who also amplified it with buildings, neare which hee was buried. His Sepulcher remained in Hieron, in lock S. Hieromes time, and ouer it the Sunne ingraven, in memorie of that greatest of won- 20

ders, which God wrought in Io/ua's time. In the places adjoyning standeth Adar (a or Ada (a: where Indas Macchabans with

Maccab, 1.7.40. 3000. Jewes ouerthrew the Armic of Nicanor, Licutenant of Syria: neare to Gafer or Gezer which Iofua tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the Leuites. It was afterward taken by Pharao of £gypt: the people all flaine, and the Citie razed: Salomon

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of Iefleti, of which Iof. 16. 3. otherwife Pelethi, whence David had part of his Pratorian Souldiers, vnder the charge of Benzix. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of Silo, whereon the Arke of God was kept so many yeares, till the Philistims got it.

Sce in Benia-Maccab.1.9. v. ult.

To this they iowne the Citic of Machines or Michines: in which Ionathas Macchahaus inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from Samaria towardes Hierusalem: and is now called

King.v.c.4. and fee Rana in

Then the Village of Naioth where Saul prophecied : and neare it Ephron, one of those Cities which Abijah recovered from Ieroboam : after the great overthrow giuen him. Then Kibt (aim of the Leuites, of which Josus 21.22. which Junius thinkes to be the fame with lokmeham, of which 1. Chron. 6.28. As for Abfaloms Baalafor, which they finde hereabout, Junius reads it the Plaine of Chatzer: and finds it in the Tribe of Iuda : as Iof. 17. we reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe : one neare Kedelh 40 v.23. and the other the same as Chetzron v.25. toward Iordan.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of Mello: whose Citizens, they say, joynedwith the Sichimites in making the Bastard Abimelee King; adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, Salomon raised a tribute vpon the people. But it Ind. 2.4.6.20 feemes that Melio or Millo is a common name of a strong Fortor Cittadell : and so Innius for domus Millo, reades incola municionis, and for Salomo adificabat Millo, he reades Vatablus ex- adificabat munitionem, and so the Septuagint reade the depar in that place. And with-Pounds Millo in out doubt the Millo which Salomon built, cannot be that of Siehem, but an other in

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim are Taphuach, whose King was slaine by 50 10 fua: and Ianoach or Ianoah spoiled by Teglatphalasser: Pekah then gouerning I frael: with divers others, but of no great fame.

The Mountaines of Ephraim sometime signific the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of Iofeph, on the West of Iordan: severall parts whereof are the Hill of

this place, locum publicum neceffarium ciuibus terofolymitanis atque Ifraelitis. 2 King 15. 29.

50 Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

lem to doe their viuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) hee

erected two golden Calues, one in Dan, and an other in Bethel, for the people to Ambrole voon worthip (an imitation of the Egyptian Apis, faith S. Ambrole, or rather of Aarons the 1. Chap. of Calfe in Horeb) further hee made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chiefe scate and Pallace at Sichem: He despised the warning of the Indean Prophet, whome Insephin calleth Adon, and Glycas Inel: His hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatric. and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon. Ahuah makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

4. King. 11. 12.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by Abia King of Iuda, and died after hee had go- to uerned two and twentic yeares: whom Nadab his sonne succeeded who in the second yeare of his raigne, together with all the race of Ieroboam was flaine, and rooted out by Baasha, who raigned in his stead: so Nadab lived King but two

Baafha the fonne of Ahijah, the third King after the partition, made Warre with AfaKing of Inda: hee feated himselfe in Therfa: and fortified Rama against Juda, to restraine their excursions. Hereupon Afa entertained Benhadad of Damaseus against him, who inuaded Nephtalim, and destroied many places therein; the meane while Asacarried away the Materialls, with which Baasha intended to fortifie Rama; but being an Idolater hee was threatned by Iehu the Prophet, that it should befall his 20 \*. King 15. 6 16 race, as it did to leroboam: which afterward came to passe: He ruled four and twen-

To Baasha succeeded Ela his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of Thersa, was in

his cups slaine by Zambris after he had raigned two yeares: and in him the prophecie of Ichu was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the name of a King seven daies; But Ambris in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon Zambris, or Zimri: and inclosed him

1.K/ng. 16. in Ther sa, and forst him to burne himselfe. Ambris or Homri succeeded Ela, and transferred the Regall seate from Thersa to

Y.King.16.

Samaria: which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This Ambris was also 30 an Idolater, no leffe impious than the reft: and therefore subjected to Tabremmon, King of Syria: the Father of Benadad according to Eufebius, Nicephorus, and Zonaras: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceine: seeing Benadad the Sonne of Tabremmon was inuited by Afa King of Inda, to affaile Baafha King of Ifrael, the Father of Elawho forewent Ambris. This Ambris raigned twelve yeares, fixe in Ther-(a, and fixe in Samaria, and left two children, Achab and Athalia.

1.King.15.

### ð. III.

Of ACHAB and his Successors, with the captivitie of the ten



CHAB Or Ahab fucceeded Omri, who not only vp-held the Idolatrie of Ieroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians: but hee married Iesabet the Zidonian: and as Ieroboam followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: 16 did Achab of his Zidonian: and creeted an Altar and a Groue

to Baal in Samaria. He suffered Iezabel to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God lent famine on the Land of Ifrael. Achab met Elias: Elias preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets: and afterward fli- 50 eth for feare of Iezabel.

Benadad, not long after, belieged Samaria: and taken by Achab was by him let at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth Michaus) reproueth him: afterward he caused Naboth by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then iowning with losaphat in the warre for the recourse of Ramoth, hee was slaine as Micheas had toretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, Ochozias, Ioram, and Ioas: besides feuentie other sonnes by fundry wines and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience: hee Recolochab was bruifed himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to Beel-zebub the God of Acharon. the same with Eliab the Prophet meeteth the meffenger on the way: and milliking that Ochozing Below and Pilling the County helps from that dead Idoll selved the moffenger. If there were not a Coding to faith Pige. fought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in ane you List, Ifrael? Ochozias sendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie souldiers to bring Eli- \*Kors 1.

10 ab vnto him, both which with their Attendants were confumed with fire. The third Captaine befought mercie at Eliahs hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king: auowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

loram the brother of Ochozias by lezabel, succeeded: He allured Iosaphat king of Juds, and the king of Edom to affifthim against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. The three kings wanted water, for themselves and their horses, in the Desarts. The Prophet Elisba causeth the ditches to flowe. The Moshites are overthrowne: their king flicth to Kirharafeth: and beeing belieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, whereat

20 the three kings moved with compassion returned and left Moab, wasting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, understand the Text to speake of the some of the king of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner, by the Moabites, and that the king of Moab shewed him ore the walls, threatning vnlefle the fiege were dissolued, that he would offer him in facrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of Edom befought those of Iuda and Israel to breake off the siege for the safetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that Moab according to his former threatning had burnt the king of Edoms sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discerne it, the king of Edom being by this fad spectacle inraged, for sooke the partie of the other to kings; for want of whose affishance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of Aram fent to Ioram, to heale Naman the Captaine of his Armie of the leprovile. The answere of Ioram was; Am I God to kill, and to give life, that hee doth fend to heale a man from his leprousie? adding, that the Aramite fought but matter of quarrell against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the king to fend Waaman to him: promifing that hee should know that there was a Prophet in Ifrael, and so Maaman was healed by walking himselfe seven times in Iordan. E. liss refused the gifts of Naaman. But his servant Gebazs accepted a part therof: from whence the fellers of spiritual gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are Simonians 1.1.1.1.

Afterward Benhadad king of Aram or Damasen, having heard that this Prophet diddiscouer to the king of Israel what soener the Aramite consulted in his secretest councell, sent a troupe of horse to take Elissa: all whom Elissa stroke blinde, and brought them captines into Samaria, Ioram then asking leaue of the Prophet to flay them, Elifha forbade him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their owne Prince in safetie.

The king of Aram notwithstanding these benefits did againe attempt Samaria: and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. Ioram imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a noise of Charriots and armor to sound in the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the fiege, an act Jo of great admiration as the same is written in the second of Kings, After this, when 2. King 7. Azzel obtained the kingdome of Syria by the death of his Mafter, Ioram entring vpon his frontire tooke Ramoth Gilead: in which warre he received divers wounds: and returned to Iefrael to be cured. But whilest hee lay there, Iehn (who commanding the armie of loram in Gilead, was annoynted king by one of the children of the

Prophers

CHAP.9. \$.3.

Pag.86.

2.King.13:

2.King.14.

Prophets sent by Elisha) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of Ahab.

The second Booke of the first part CHAP.9. \$.2.

Iehu who raigned after Iehoram, destroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee received a promise from God, That his seede should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatric of Ierobosm, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of Iordan: in which warre he was flaine faith Cedrenus: whereof the Scriptures are filent. Iebu raigned 28. yeeres.

Ioachaz or Iehoahaz the sonne of Iehu succeeded his father, whome Azael and his 10 fonne Benhadad often inuaded: and in the end subjected: leaving him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made

them like dust beaten into powder. Ioachaz raigned 17. yeeres.

After Ioachaz Ioas his sonne gouerned Israel: who when hee repaired to Elisha the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promifed him three victories ouer the Aramites: and first commaunded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and Elisha couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward Damascus) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should have smitten five or fixe times: and then hee 20 should hauchad so many victories ouer the Aramtes as hee gaue strokes. And so it fucceeded with Ions, who ouerthrew the Aramites in three battells, and recoursed the Cities and Territorie from Benhadad the sonne of Azael, which his father Ioachaz had loft. He also ouerthrew Amazia king of Iuda, who prouoked him to make the war: whereupon hee entred Hierusalem, and sacked it with the Temple. This Ioas raigned sixteeene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet Elisha exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from Iehu, followed Ioas his father, an Idolater as his predeceffors: but hee recoursed all the rest of the lands belonging to Israel, from Hamath which is neere Libanus, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of Iehu, slaine by Shallum his vassall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. Shallum held the kingdome but one mo-

neth, being flaughtered by Menahem of the Gadites.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of Shallum, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This Menahem being inuaded by Phul, bought his peace with tenne thousand talents of siluer, which he exacted by a Tribute of fiftie shekels from every man of wealth in Israel. Menahem gouerned twentie yeeres.

Pekahiah or Phaceia, or after Zonaras Phacelia, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was flaine by Phaca or Pekah the Commaunder of his armie, who 40 raigned in his place. In this Pekahs time Phulassar or Tiglat-Phylassar invaded the kingdome of Ifrael, and wanne Iion, Abel-Bethmaaca, Ianoach, Kedelh, Hafor, and Gie lead, with all the Cities of Galilee, carrying them captines into Allyria: he was drawn in by Achas king of Iudea against Pekah and Rezin, the last of the Adades. For Achas being wasted by Pekah of Israel and by Rezin of Damascus, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the Affirian, who first suppressed the Monarchie of Syria and Damaseus: and then of Ifrael: and this inuiting of the great Assyrian, was the vtter ruine of both States, of Israel and of Iudea. Pekahraigned

Then Hospea or Osea, who slew Pekah, became the vasiall of Salmanassar: but ho- 50 ping to shake off the Affyrian yoake, he sought aide from So, or Sua, or Sebicus king of Egypt: which being knowne to the Affyrian, hee cast him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mastred it : carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into Miniute in Assiria, and into Rages in Media, and into other Esterne Regions, and there dispersed them:

and ro planted Samaria with divers Nations, and chiefly with the Cutha (inhabiting about Cuthaa Riuer in Persia, or rather in Arabia Deserta) and with the people Ca- Ptol.15. tanei bounding vpon Syria, and with those of Sepharuaijm (a people of Sephar in Me- Efai,37. fopotamia vpon Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacherib vaunteth) also with those of Aua: which were of the ancient Auins who inhabited the Land of the Philistims in Abrahams time, dwelling neare vnto Gaza: whom the Caphtorims rooted out : and at this time they were of Arabia the Defart, called Hanai: willing to returne to their ancient seates. To these headded those of Chamath or Iturea, the ancient enemies of the Israelites, and sometime the Vassalls of the Adads of Damaseus: which so often af-10 flicted them. And thus did this Affyrian adulfe himselfe better than the Romanes did. For after Titus and Vefpasian had wasted the Cities of Iudaa, and Hierusalem, they

carried the people away captine: but left no others in their places, but a very few fimple labourers, besides their owne thinne Garrisons, which soone decaied : and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 2292. the fixth yeare of Ezekia King of Iuda: and the ninth of Holes the last King of Israel.

# A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

	1. Ieroboam, Rai	igned 22. Yeares.	
	2. Nadab,	2. Yeares.	
	3. Baasha,	24. Yeares.	
	4. Ela,	20. Yeares.	٠
	5. Zambris,	7. Daies.	
1 1 1 1 1 1	6. Omri,	11. Yeares.	
30 <sup>v</sup>	7. Achab,	22. Yeares.	
1.40	8. Ochozias,	2. Yeares.	
	9. Ioram;	12. Yeares.	
	10. Ichu,	28. Yeares.	
erra e	II. Ioachaz,	17. Yeares.	
	12. Ions,	16. Yeares.	
	13. Ieroboam,	41. Yeares.	
	14. Zacharias	6. Moneths.	
	15. Shallum,	i. Moneth.	
	16. Menahem,	10. Yeares.	
40	17. Pekahiah,	2. Yeares.	
	18. Phaca,	20. Yeares.	
*****	19. Hofea,	<ol> <li>Yeares, about whose time writers differ.</li> </ol>	į

### CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IVDA, RVBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of MANASSE.

of DAN, where of loppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and



Ow following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land affigned to the Tribe of Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last : of which familie there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62 700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the 20 Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their fonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea coast was loppe, or lapko, as in the 19. of Iosua: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because

it was the Port of Hierulalem. From hence Ionas imbarked himselfe when hee fled from the service of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this Citie received many changes: and while Iudas Macchabaus governed the Iewes, the Syrians that were Gartifond in Toppe, having their fleet in the Port, inuited 200 principall Citizens abourd them, and cast them all into the Sea: which Indas revenged by 30 firing their fleet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by Cestius the Lieutenant vtterly burnt

and ruined. But in the yeare of Christ 1250. Lodousk the French King gaue it new Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Iaffa. There are certaine Rocks

in that Port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastned with chaines: and from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monster by Perseus. This fable (for so I take L.3.1.15 de bel. it) is confirmed by Iofephus, Solinus, and Plinie. Marcus Scaurus during his office of Ind. Solin. C.47. Adilelhip, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. Hierome vpon long speakes of it indifferently. The next vnto loppe was lamnia, where Iudas Macchabaus burnt the rest of the Sy- 40 rian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was feene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It

2.Macc.12. had sometime a Bishops scate, faith Will, of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this De Bell.facr. time that fuch a place there was.

After Iamnia is the Citic of Geth or Gath, somtime Anthedon, saith Volaterran. And so Montanus seemes to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volaterran gives neither reason nor authoritie for his opinion; for Ptolomic fets Anthedon farre to the South of Joppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about fixteene miles from loppe; where S. Hierome in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and 50 Seminarie of the Anakims: ftrong and Giant-like-men, whom Iofua could not expell, nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Ifraelites, till Danids time: who flew Goliath, as his Captaines did diners others not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto Goliath.

Hieron,in Mi-

F.244.

Roboam

CHAP. 10. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Roboam the Sonne of Salomon rebuilt Geth: Ozias the sonne of Amazia destroicd it againe. It was also laid wast by Azael King of Syria. Fulke the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that Will of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Ibijlin, I much doubt: the cr- L.21, c.18. rour growing by taking Gath for Inthedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethfemes or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adiouning to this Citie(as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a voke of two Kine, turned loofe by the Philifims: and the Bethfemites prefuming to looke therein, there were flaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 30000. by the ordito nance of God. After which flaughter and the great lamentation of the people; it was called the great \* Abel, faith S. Hierome. Benedittus Theologus finds three other . Or rather Cities of this name; one in a Nepthalim: an other in Iuda: and an other in Isachar, not the citie is

Hierome finds a fifth in Beniamin.

Receping the Sea-coast the strong Citie of Accasen offereth it selfe, sometime one ties field, you of the fine Satrapies, or Governments of the Philifims. S. Hierome makes it the fame which flone with Casaria Palestina. Plinie confounds it with Apollonia: It was one of those that iet the Aice, defended it selfe against the Danites and Indaans. It worshipped Beel-zebub the God the change bederended it terre against the Danies and massans. It working of Mass (Entto enquire Fine of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that Abaziah King of Mass. or Abas. of his health: whose Messengers Eliah meeting by the way caused them to returne, which signifi-20 with a forrowfull answere to their Master. This Citie is remembred in many places eth a stone to of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Attaron or Ekron. This ning. Azotus or Asidod was also an habitation of the Anakims, whome Iosua b failed to defiroy, though he once possess their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple dediction. froy, though he once possess their Citic. Herein stood a sumptuous Templededicated to the Idoll Dagen: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, b it was befieafter the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple; and in the ged by Plamfecond fall it was veterly broken and defaced. Neare it was that famous 4 Indas Marther of Phane, chabeus flaine by Bacchides and Alimus, the Lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterward it New for 19. was taken by Innathas: and the reft of the Chizens being put to the fword, all that whence learning the Chizens being put to the fword, all that whence learning 30 fled into the Temple of Dagon were with their Idoll therein confumed with fire; 25.0.20, freeks neare which also he ouerthrew Apolloniue.

Gabinius the Romane rebuilt it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianitic flou-wit, the grearished inthose parts. But in S. Hieromes time it was yet a faire Village. And this test part ha. was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of Dan.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from Azotius, and beyond the & 1 Sams. 4. Fountaine of Ethiopia, wherein Philip the Apolle baptized the Eunuch, are Tforah, d. Macc. 16,10 or Sarara, and Esthaol, and between them Castra Danis neare Hebron: though this 10,19.41. place where Samp fon was borne, may feeme by the wordes Ind. 18. 12. to bee in Ind. 13. 15. 60. the Tribe of Iudah, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene Dan and 18.v.a. 40 Iuda.

After these within the bounds of Iuda, but belonging to the Danites, they finde Gedor, or as it is 1. Mac. 17. Cedron, which Cendebaus the Licutenant of Antiochus fortified against the Iewes, and neare which himselse was by the Matchabecs over- 1. Macc. 13. 16. throwne.

Then Modin the Native Citie of the Macchabees: and wherein they were buried. on whose Sepulcher the seuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height as they ferued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their first setting vp, as Brochard and Breidenbach witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of Cariathiarim, that is, the Citie of the woods: Alias Cariathia 30 feated in the border of Iuda, Beniamin, and Dan, wherein the Arke of God remained baal and Baal, twentie yeares in the house of Aminadab: till such time as Danid carried it thence to of Baalpharojim Hierusalem: Ofthis place (as they say) was Zacharias the sonne of Barachias, or Ie- sam. 6.3. hoida, who was flaine betweene the Temple and the Altar : also Vrias whom loachim 2. (Pron. 24, 22, King of Hierufalem flaughtered as we finde in Ieremie. Many other places which Jerze. 20.

V.46.

Macc.2.12.

2.Bcg.1 4.19.

they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: 2. Macc. 12. 13. as that of Caspin taken with great slaughter by Indas Machahaus : and Lachis, whose King was flaine by Iosua, in which also Amazias was flaine: The same which Senacherib tooke, Ezechias raigning in Iuda.

Ofother Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in Iofua c. 19. from the Verse 41. where also it is added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families : and therefore that they inuaded Leshem, and inhabited it : which Citie after amplified by Philip the brother of Herod Antipas, was called Cafarea Philippi, as before, and made the Metropolis of Marka, and Trachonitis : of which coasts this Philip was Tetrarch but of this Citic lee more in Nepthalim. In this Tribe there are no 10

Hieron, in Slay. Jud. 16. 4.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountains of Iuda: and paffing by Modin, falleth into the Sea by Sachrona. The other hath & Micheamst. the name of Sorek or Sored, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which have no feedes or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, tast, and fauour, &c. In this Valley of Sorek, so called from the River, inhabited Dalila whom Sumpson loued.

## S. II. THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

He Tribe of Simeon takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the border of Agypt: who being the second Sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were increased of that Familie while they abode in £gypt, as they were numbred at Monnt Sinai 59300. able men, all which ending their lines in the Defarts, there entred the Land of Promile of their if-

\* And there, fales 22200. bearing armes, who was in part mixed with Inda, and in part fewe. 30 fore no marked red, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to Edumaa, of which the first Citie adioyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

The Reguli or pettic Kings thereof were called Ascalonita: of which Volaterran portion of Inda out of Xanthus, in the Historic of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were this Tribes fees the fonnes of Hymenaus : and that Ascalus being imploied by Aciamus King of the 206.19.21. 20 Lydians, with an Armie in Syria, falling in love with a yong Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie and called it after his owne name : the same hath Nicolaus in his Historie, faith Volaterran.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Booke remembreth a Lake neare Ascalon, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to Derceto the Goddeffe of the Syrians : having 40 the face of a Woman and the bodie of a Fish: who, as I have said before, in the storie of Ninus, was the Mother of Semiramis, fained to be cast into this Lake, and sed and releeued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in Babylomaand Syria, of which Tibullus the Poet:

Alba Palastino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in Syria Palastine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many lear- 50 ned men (faith Volaterran) as Antiochus, Sofus, Cygnius, Dorotheus the Historian, and Vol. vt supra, Artemidorus who wrote the storic of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod borne, that seeking after our Samiour, caused all the Male-children of two yeares old and under to be slaine. In the CHAP.10. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that when it was by the Saladine defaced, Richard King of England while he made Warre in the holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. Eius muros cum SALADINVS diruiffet, RICH ARDVS An- Adrich in Trib. glorum Rex inflaurauit, faith Adrichomius.

In Dauids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims : for hee nameth Gath and Ascalon only, when hee lamenteth the death of Saul, and 10- 2. Sain. 1. nathan : not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the fireets of Ascalon : It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it as hee did Azotus and Gaza.

Next to Ascalon stood Gaza or Gazera, which the Hebrewes call Hazza, the Syrians Azan: of Azonus (as they fay) the sonne of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by Iupiter. Pomp. Mela gives the building thereof to Cambyfes the Persian: because belike he rebuilt it, and Gaza in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This Gaza was the first of the fine Satrapies of the Phili- Vollit, fims : and the South bound of the Land of Canaan towards Agypt. But this Citie was farre more ancient than Cambyfes, as it is proued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb : but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time steph.de wrb, as Alexander Macedon invaded the Empire of Persia, it received a Garrison for Darius: lud 1.6 16. in despight whereof it was by the Macedonians after a long siege demolished, and was 1. King. 6. & alib. 20 called Gaza of the Defart.

Alexander Janneus King of the Jewes surprised it : and slew 500. Senators in the 10/ep.13.401.19. Temple of Apollo which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this Gaza was not let up in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had ouer-turned, but somewhat nearer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the Machabees, and gaue many wounds to the leves till it was forst by Simon: of which he made so great account as he purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence lest John his Sonne and Maccount Successiour to be Gouernour. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly Citie, and Broch Lina, 7. knowne by the name of Gazara.

At the very out-let of the River of Befor, flandeth Maioma the Port of Gaza: to which the priviledge of a Citie was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Confiance after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But Inlian the Apoftata wift tope 6.4. foone after favouring the Gazeans made it subject vnto them, and commanded it to Niceph 10, bif. be called Gaza maritima.

On the other side of Besor, standeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Jannens, re- 10/19,13 ant. 19. flored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the fanourite of at. Augustus.

Then Raphia where Philopater ouerthrew the great Antiochus : and beyond it 10/ep.13 ant.19 Then Rapina where remopater outstates the great American whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name \* of the Torrent at 14 de.

\*\*Indiana in Flants.\*\*

\*\*Indiana i 40 of Agypt, till the Septiagint converted it by Rinocura: to difference it, Ef. 27-12. Invitacalls giuing the name of the Citic to the Torrent that watereth it, Plinie calls it Rhino- the name of giuing the name of the Lite to the Lorrent that waterethe. And to describe the frame colura; and is fephus, Rhimocorura: a Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this the frame colura; and is fephus, Rhimocorura: a Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this is the frame to be found to the column of the colum place the world was divided by lots, betweene the three Sonnes of Noah.

Within the Land and vpon the River of Befor they place Gerar: which the Scri- Affer, Chap. pture placeth betweene Kadefb and Shur, Gen. 20.1. That it was neare to the Wil- 7. 2.3.1.8. dernesse of Beer-spebas, it appeares Genes. 20. 31. and therefore no merual ethatas in the marget. elsewhere Beer shebah, so sometime Gerar, bee made the South bound of Canaan. in result. Manich It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the Philistim Satrapies, the Kings by one of in Ancorate. common name were called Abimelcolos; S. Hierome faith that afterward it was called 50 Regio Saluraris; The healthy Countrie: So that it was no meruaile that Abraham and

Isac lived much in these parts. Of King Asis conquest of the Cities about Gerar, see

More within the Land was Siteleg or Tfiglak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, when Dauid in his flying from Saul to the Philistims had left his carriages there, i.Sam. 30.

ces named lof 15. in the large where thus much is ex-Pretty noted. fel.244.

but David followed them over the River of Befor, and put them to the flaughter. and recourred the prey.

Iofep. 10.11,12.

Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, or Academie of old Palastine. In S. Hieromes time it seemes it had the name of Daema : Iosua 15.49 it is called Vrbs Sanna: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Vrbs Arbahi. For even hence also were

these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, incouraged by Calebs promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that Iosua and the Hoast of Israel were at the furprise, it appeares Iof. 10. 39. This Citie Iof. 21. 15. is named among those which out of Simeon and Iuda were given to the Leuites. And hence it scemes they attri- 10 bute it to this Tribe. Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of Simeon, but of lesse same, as

Dent. 1.

Hayn, of which 10f. 19.7. which also 10f. 21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the Leuites, given out of the portion of Inda and Simeon (for which Iunius thinkes \* And also 1. Hasham is named 1. Chron. 6. 59. though \* in the place of Iosua these two are distinguished) also Tholad so named 1. Chron. 4. 29. for which Iosua 19. 4. wee have Eltholad. Chatzar-Susa so named Iosua 19. 5. for which Iosua 15. wee have Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification : for Gadda is Turma, and Sula

In the same places of losua and of the Chronicles Chorma is named, which they 20 thinke to bee the same with that of which Numb. 14. 45. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites purfued the Ifraelites. But that Chorma cannot bee in Simeon, nor within the Mountaines of Edumaa. For Ifrael fled not that way : but backe againe to the Camp, which lay to the South of Edumea, in the Defart.

The same places also name Beersheba in this Tribe : so called of the Oath betweene Abraham and Abimilee: neare vnto which Hagar wandred with her Sonne Gen,2131. Is mael. It was also called the Citie of Isaac, because hee dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. The other Cities of Simeon which are named in 30 the places of Iosua, and of the Chronicles, aboue noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia King of Iuda, certaine of this \* Asitseemes Tribe being streightned in their owne Territories, passed to \* Gedor, as it is 1.

in the Land of Chron. 4.39. (the same place which 10f. 15.36. is called Gedera and Gederothaima) the first Para- which at that time was inhabited by the islue of Cham: where they seated them-Cities of Dan.

graphe of this sclues: as also fine hundred others of this Tribe, destroied the Reliques of Amalee in the Mountaines of Edom, and dwelt in their places. The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of Sampson the chiefest: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Rivers are Befor, and the Torrent of Agypt called Shichar, as is noted in Affer.

THE

## S. III. THE TRIBE OF FVDA.

CHAP.10. S.3.

F Inda the fourth Sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Æ gypt 74600 all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Desarts. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of Canaan 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward Iudea: within the bounds whereof

were the portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of suda: who had a kind of Sourraigntic over them: as Succeth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethfemes, Tfiglag, Beerheba, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it bee meated by that ground given to this Tribe only) were vncredible if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when David numbred the pcople they were found fine hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of Iuda were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judea from Idumea : whose King first surprised the Israelites as they passed by the border of Canaan to- numerical wards Made: and took from them some spoiles, and many prisoners: who being wards offerward quest browne by the Wradies the somes of Koni the Kinstone of Males. afterward ouerthrowne by the Ifraelites, the sonnes of Keni, the Kinsimen of Meses, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the comming of the straelites,

dwelt betweene Madian and Amalek.

Following this Frontier towards Idumen and the South, Ascensus Scorpionis, or Num 344. Acrabbim is placed, the next to Arad: fo called because of Scorpions, which are faid Downers. to be in that place: from which name of Acrabbim, Hierome thinks that the name of 30 the Toparchie called Acrabathena was denominated: of which wee have spoken in Manasses. On the South side also of Indea they place the Cities of Ingur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Ashma, Jethnam, and Afor or Chatfer, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then Ziph: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of Iuda, of which the Defart and Forrest adioyning tooke name: where David hid himfelfe from Saul. After thefe are the Cities of Efron, Adar, Karkah, and Afemona, or Hat mon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumaa towards the North, we finde the Cities of Danna, Shemal, Amam, the other Afor, or Chasfor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes : of all which fee 10f. 15. alfo Carioth by 10 fuac. 15. v. 25. called Kerioth : whence tudas the Traitor tude 15. 8. 11

40 was called If-cariath, as it were a man of Carioth. Then Hetham the abode of Samp Chian. 116. Juni fon which Rehoboam recdified. Beyond these towards the North border, and to out of the in words Elevations of the core in 4.32 wards Eleutheropolis, is the Citic of lethar, or latthir, belonging to the Leutes: In Saint notes that this Hieromes time it was called lethira: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neare Hethemihough unto this Citie was that remarkeable battaile fought betweene Afa King of Inda, the bounds of and Zara King of the Arabians, who brought into the field a Million of fighting Inda belonged men; and was not with standing beaten and put to flight: Af following the victoric to since and was not with standing beaten and put to flight: as farre as Gerar, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from lether, standeth farmuth, whose King was slaine by tofue, and the Hebr. Citicouerturned. Next vntoit is Marefa thenatine Citic of the Prophet Michea: 39 Betweene it and Odolla, Indas Machabeus ouerthrew Gorgius: and fent thence ten i. Mac. 12.351

thousand Dragmas of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or Hadullam it selfe was an ancient and magnificent. Citie, taken by Iosua, Gen 18 b. r. and the King thereof slaine. Ionathus Macchabaus beautified it greatly. Then logistis. Ceila or Keila afterward Echela, where David sometime hid himselfe : and which r. Samirada

afterward he deliuered from the affaults of the Philistims: neare which the Prophet Abacue was buried: whole monument remained and was feene by S. Hierome.

Neare it is Hebron sometime called the Citie of Arbah, for which the Vulgar hath Cariatharbe: the reason of this name they give as if it signified the Citie of source: because the foure Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, were therein buried. but of Adam it is but supposed : and it is plaine by the places Iofua 14.14. and 15.13. and 20. 11. that Arbah here doth not fignific foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants called Anakim, whose some as it seemes Anak was and Achiman, Shelhai, and Talmai (whom Caleb expelled Iol. 15.) were the sonnes of this Anak, Num. 13.23. The name of Anak fignifieth Torquem, a chaine worne for orna- 10 ment : and it seemes that this Anak inriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie left also the name: so that in Latine the name of Anakim may not amisse be expounded by Torquati.

The Citie Hebron was one of the ancientest Cities of Canaan : built seuen yeares before Toan or Tanis in Agypt: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the Anakims, whom Caleb expelled: to whom it was in part given: to wit, the Villages adiovning. and the eft to the Leuites. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple built by Helen the Mother of Constantine.

Not farre inner they finde Eleuther opolis or the free Citie, remembred often by 20 S. Hierome. Then Eglon whose King Dabir affociated with the other foure Kings of the Amorites, to wit, of Hierusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, and Lachis, besieging the Gibeonutes, were by Io/ua vtterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next Citie of fame was Emans, afterward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Gouernment or Prafidencies of Indea. In fight of this Citie Indas Macchabass (after he had formerly beaten both Apollonius and Seron) gaue a third ouerthrow to Gorgias Lieutenant to Antiochus.

Macc . 1 . 3 . Euleb. in Chron, Broch Itin.6.

Io[,10,v.11.

In the yeare 1301, it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, faith Eufebius. In the Christian times it had a Bilhops scate of the Diocesse of Casaria of Palastine. From Emais toward the West Sea there are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and

\* Alfo Lebron, Gader or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which and of Gederoth \* Iof. 15. v. 26. 6. 41. 30 4.39. as is a- Then Azechato which Iofua followed the flaughter of the flue Kings before named, a Citic of great strength in the Valley of a Terebinth or Turpintine : as the Vulgar reabred in the deth 1. Sam. 17.2. whence (as it seemes) they seat it neare vnto Soco, and vnto Lebna Tribe of Siof the Leuites. It revolted from the subjection of the Iewes while Ioram the sonne of a lunius for in Valle Terebin- Io aphat ruled in Hieru (alem: And next vnto this standeth Maceda which Io sua vtterthe hath in valle ly difpeopled.

On the other fide of Emass towards the East standeth Bethfur, otherwise Bethfora, Vatablus keeps and Bethfor: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all Inda: It is scated on a high Hill; and therefore called Beth fur (the house on the Rocke, or of strength.) lefep.13. ant.9. It was fortified by Roboam : and afterward by Indas Macchabasus. Lyfias forfit, and 40 Antiochus Eupator by famine: Ionathas regained it: and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Genef.53: 48.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of Hierusalem, otherwise Lehem: fometime Ephrata: which name, they fay, it had of Calebs wife, when as it is so called by Moses before Caleb was famous in those parts Gen. 28. 16. Of this Citie was Abessan or Ibzan, Judge of Israel, after Jephtab, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. Elimelee was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife Naomi sojourned in Moab during the famine of Inda in the time of the Indges, with whom Ruth the daughter in law of Naomi returned to Bethleem: and maried Booz of whom obed, of whom Ishai, of whom David. It had also the honour to be the native Citic 10 of our Saujour Ie (us Christ: and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

Ruth.1.

Hieron.in comm.

Alat.2.1.

Amos.1.v.1.

In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a Citic of the same name : and therefore was fuper Math. c.2. this of our Sauiour called Bethleem Iuda.

From Bethleem some foure or five mile standeth Theona: the Citie of Amos the

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citic of Bethzacaria, in the way between 1. Macc. 6.32. Bethlura and Hierusalem: on whose Hills adjoyning the glorious gilt thiclds of An- 10(cph. Ant. 12. tiochus shined like lamps of fire in the cies of the Lewes. The Citic of Bezek was alfo neare vnto Bethleem, which Adoni-bezec commanded; who had during his "See in Maneff raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and c.7.0.7.†.1. made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the fame end befell him- 1ude 1. v. 6.60 felfe by the sonnes of Iuda, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) wee may paffe by vntill we come to the magnificent Castle of Herodium, which Herod erected 10 on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and 10fe.14 nmt.22. strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Defart of Jeruel, between it and Tekoa, is that cliuus floridus, where in the time of Ieho (aphat, the Iewes flood and 2.chro.20, v. 16. lookt on the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, maffacring one an other, when 626. they had purposed to ioyne against Inda: neare which place is the Valley of blesfing, where the Iewes the fourth day after, folemnely came and bleffed God for fo strange deliuerance.

Now the Cities of Iuda which border the Dead Sea, are these; Aduran beautified 2.chron. 11. by Roboam: and Tohar which the Vulgar calleth \* Segor: fo called because Lot in his some callit praier for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called Tohar, which fi- Vitula confer-20 gnifieth a little one: when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. 142. In the Ro- nams See in gnifieth a little one: when as the old hame was beian, as it is denoted. If the ones time gade to \$5.5 mans times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) Pannier: in Hieromes time poli principam Balezona. Then Engaddi or Hen-gaddi, first A/asonthamar: neare vnto which are the in Harober. Gardens of Balfamum, the best that the world had called Opobalfamum: the most Gen. 19.10. part of all which Trees Cleopatra Queene of Agypt sent for out of Indea, and Herod. Histor. English. who either feared or loued Anthonie her husband, caused them to be rooted up and southamer. presented vnto her: which shee replanted neare Heliopolis in Agypt. This Citie was 2,0000,20.2. first taken by Chedorlaomer, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the Gen. 14.7. most remarkable Cities of Indea: and one of the Prasidencies thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land; and among them lest all; not that 1. Rez. 21. 20 which was the Citie of Naboth, of which alreadie: but an other of the same name, the Citie of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mother of that Ammon, whom Absa- 2. Sam. 17.25. lom flew : also as some thinke the Citie of Amasa, Absaloms Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armic. But this seemeth to bee an errour grounded ypon the nearenesse of the wordes, Ifrael and Jefrael: and because the 2. Sam. 17.25. Amasaes father is called a Infraelite, who first of the Chron. 2.17. is called an Ifmaelite: indeede the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that Amasaes Father is not said to be of the Citie Iesrael, but an Israelite in Religion, though otherwise an Israelite.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as those of Engaddivppon the Dead Sea : and the Mountaines of Inda, which beginne to rife by Emaus, 40 and end neare Taphna, and these part Iuda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which fland fingle there is that of Hebron: at the foote whereof was that Oake of Mambre where the three Angells appeared to Abraham, which S. Hierome calleth a Firtree; Hieron, in loc. and faith that it flood till the time of Constantine the yonger. There is also that Hebre question Mountaine called Collis Achilla, on the South fide of Ziph: on the top whereof the Hebr. great Herod, inclosing the old Castle, erected by Ionathas Misschabaus, and called 6,20, Massada, garnished it with seven and twentie high and strong Towers and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundreth thousand men: being as it seemeth a place vnacceffable, and of incomparable firength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake Albhaltitis, this Countrie 50 had foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, destroied with fire from Heanen for their vnnaturall finnes.

10/84.12.

Gen.14.

# THE TRIBE OF REVBEN

The feates and bounds of Midian , Moab , and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEHON King of Hesbon.



N the other side of the Dead Sea, Reuben the eldest of Iacobs sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount Sinat 46000 who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the east side of Iordan, some-

thing of their borderers : to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose land in our wri- 20 ters are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember that out of Abrahams kindred came many mightie Families : as by I/aac and Iacob the Nation called Ifrael, and afterward Iewes : by Efau or Edom the Idumsans: by Ismael the eldest sonne of Abraham, the Ismaelites: and by Keturah his last wife the Midianites. And againe by Lot, Abrahams brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the Moabites, and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly possess by the Canaanites, and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliances of Abraham, all but Iacob, whose children were bred in A gypt, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held Idumaa: which bounded Canaan on the South. Ismael 30 tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea: stretching his possession over all Arabia Petras, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as farre as the River of Tigris, from Sur to Hauilah,

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian: and passing ouer Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Iordan and the Hills of Abarim or Arnon, as farre North as Effebon, or Chesbon.

Ammon fate downe on the North-cast side of Arnon, and posses the Tract from Rabba afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountaines of Gilhead, and without them as farre forth as Arroer, though in Moses time hee had nothing left him in all Mun. 21. v. 24. that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him ouer the River of Iaboc, as they had 40 done Moab ouer Arnon. As these Nations compassed sundrie parts of Canaan, so the border betweene the River of Iaboc and Damafeus was held by the Amorites themselues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territoric on the East side of Iordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moles to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and halfe Manasse: whercof that part which Moab had, was first posses by the Emims a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by Chedorlahomer, after expulsed by the Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held was the Territorie and ancient possession of the Zamzummims or Zurai, who were also beatenat the same time by Chedorlahomer, Amraphel, and the rest: and by them an easic way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to bee vnderstood according to the time when Moles wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancester beaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countries, betweene Abarim and Iordan, and driven them thence from Hesbon over Arnon, and this happened not long

CHAP.10. S.4. 1.2. of the Historie of the World.

before Moles arrivall vpon that border, when Valeb governed the Mosbites. For he that ruled Moab when Moses past Arnon, was not the sonne of Vaheb, but his name was Balae the sonne of Zipper. And it may be that those Kings were elective. as the Edumeans anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab betweene Arnon and Iordan, as farre North as Effebon was inhabited by Reuben. And when I fract arrived there out of Agypt, it was in the possession of sehon, of the race of Canaan by Amoreus : and therefore did Iephian the ludge of Ifrael inftly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the Ammonites : because (as he alleaged) Moses found them in the 10 possession of the Amorites, and not in the handes of Moab or Ammon: who (faith ludgets, Jephtah) had three hundred yeares time to recover them, and did not; whence hee

inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And least any should maruaile why the Ammonites in Tephtah his time should makeclaime to these Countries : whereas Moses in the place Numb. 21. verf. 26. rather accounts them to have beene the ancient possession of the Moabites then of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that Deut. 2. 11. when it is faid that the yron bed of og was to be seene at Rabbath, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signifled, that much of the Land of og, which the Ifraelites possessed, was by him or his Attectors got from the Ammonites, as much of Sehons was from the Moabites.

And as the Canaanite Nations were feated to confusedly together that it was hard to diftinguish them : fo also were the sonnes of Mosb and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, 16,13. versis and Ismael. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why Ammon commanded in Ismus notes chiefe, in Iephtahs time; for sometime the one Nation; sometime the other of all hale of the those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie; and againe that one part of the Land Land of Hammore borderers acquired the Sourcagnite; and against that one part of the Land more which is which Gad held, namely within the Mountaines of Galdad, or Gilbread, and as firre this place of the place o South as Arroer belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage fue isfaid to of the time, they then fought to recouler it againe. Yet at fuch time as Mofes ouer- haue beene githrew Schon at lahaz, the Ammonites had loft to the Ammorites, all that part of their dura, was taken possession which lay about Arrest, and betweene it and labor: Schon and Og two first from the 30 Kings of the Ammorites having displanted both Moeb and Ammon of all within School but the the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of Numb. v. 24. that If- place Drug, 12 rael conquered the Land of Sehon from Arnon unto labor, even unto the children of prouct that Ammon, lo as at this time the River of Iaboc was the South bound of Ammon, with Sober, had got in the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions over labor which ten Lands over atlength the Gadites possest, as in the thirteenth chapter of Issua verf. 25. it ap-otte mands or the damment.

### t. I I.

Of the memorable places of the Rubenites.

THe chiefe Cities belonging to Reuben were thefe, Kedemoth, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth Jethson. The Vulgaror Hierome fol- 10/ 21.37. lowed the septuagint those two verses 36. and 37. of 21. 10st being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint red Kedfon for Kedmoth, which Kedfon by writing flipt into leth fon.

This Citic which they gaue to the Leuites, imparts her name to the Defart ad- Deut. 1.9. loyning: from whence Mofes fent his Emballage to Sehon. In the same place of it was a mar-10 us where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Betfer & ville eius, reades of the 3. Den. 50 Befor in folitudine Mifor, without any ground from the Hebrew : whence Adri- where the 70. chomius makes a Towne called Mifor, in the border betweene Reuben and Gad kept the word Farther from Kedemoth neare the Dead Sea (for the Countrie betweene being ingaplane Mountainous hath fewe Cities ) they place two Townes of note, Less or which after Leshah of which Genef. 10. vers. 19. the Greekes call it Callirhoe : neare Text.

c1

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold. bitter and sweete water, all which soone after their rising, beeing joyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which Herod the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others lay that these Springs arise out of the hills of Macharus in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the Pyrenyes and in Peru, called the Baths of the Inga's

Acofta.l.z.

tofep. 13. ans.c. or Kings. The other town is Macharus the next between Lafa and lordan of all that 24.6 14. ant.c. part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing upon a mountaine 10/6p bell lud,l. euery way vnacceffible. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannaus, who made it a frontier against the Arabians : but it, was demolished by Gabinius, in the warre with 10 Aristobulus, faith Iosephus. It was thither (faith Iosephus) that Herod fent Iohn Baptist, and wherein hee was flaine: his armic soone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by Aretas king of Arabia, and himselfe after this murther neuer prospering. Not farre from Macharus was Bosor or Bozra, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Leuites, and neere it Livias vpon Iordan, which Herod built in honour of Livia the mo-Hier intechebr. ther of Tiberius Cafar.

Dent 4.43.

To the north of Linias is Setim, or Sittim: where the children of Ifraele mbraced the daughters of Midian, or Mosb: and where Phineas pierced the bodie of Zimri Num.25.1. and Cosbi with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the middest of their sinne : and from hence Iosua sent the Discouerers to view Ierico 20 staying here until hee went ouer Iordan . As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place Adrichomius dreames of, reading Ioel 3.18. irrigabit torrentem Setim: The vulgar hath torrentem (pinarum : and Iunius vallem cedrorum : expounding it not for anie particular place in Canaan : but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow

as the Cedars, as it is Pfal. 92.13.

Deut. 34.1.

20/3.1.

The plaine Country hereabout by Moses called The Plaines of Moab, where heexpounded the Booke of Deuteronomy to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by Moles. On the South it had the great Defart of Paran : where they had long wandred. On the East it had Chatferoth, and Dizahab (of which two the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolomy in 30 Palastina, the later was a Tract belonging to the Nabathai in Arabia Petraa, where \* The fame as Was \* Mezahab, of which Gen. 36.39.) by the Geographers called Medaua and Meit feems which daba. On the West it had Iordan: and on the North it had Laban (in Iunius Edi-Num. 11. 30. is tion, by the fault of the Print, Lamban Deuteron. 1. 1.) the fame which the Geographers call Libias: and some confound it with Linias, of which even now wee

reade of the plaines of Me-See before,c.5 S.7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of Calefyrea, it had Thophel: whereabout sometime Pella of Cælesyria stood: which was in the region of Decapolis, and as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Moses to be over Dauid against or necre vnto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath the red Sea, as also 27 ym. 2.14. 49 Hanum the Amit translateth the word Suphab in like manner: whereas in this place of Deuteronomie 19.7. Also I: there is no addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to fignific the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of Mara, thereby to distinguish it from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtlesse was about these Plains of Moab towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called : as also the red Sea was called Mare Suph, for like reason. The place in these large plaines of Moab, where Moses made those divine exhor-

tations, some say was Bethabara where Iohn baptized, which in the Storie of Gedeon

Iob.1.23. Iofepant.4.7.

is called Beth-bara. 10fephus faies it was where after the Citie Abila flood, neere 10rdan, in a place fet with palme trees : which fure was the same as Abel-sittim in the 10 Plaines of Moab, Numb 23.49 (that some call Abel-fathain and Bel-fathim) which is reckoned by Moses in that place of Numbers for the 42. and last place of the Israelites incamping in the time of Moses: This place is also called sittim: which word if we Num.25.1. should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with Exed.25,10. Adrichomim

CHAP.10. S.4. 1.3. of the Historie of the World.

Adrichomius and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tubernacle was made.

• Toward the East of these plaines of Moab, they place the Cities Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibms, and Hesbon the chiefe Citie of Schon, and Elhabel, and Kiriathaima the feat of Num 33. v.37. the Giants Emim. Of the two first of these Moses seemes to give a note that the Gad 14. v.s. names were to be changed: because they tasked of the Modalites \* Idolatrie. For \* Exol 23.13. Nebo (in flead of which Innius Ef. 46.1 reades Deus vatieinus) was the name of their Romen diorum Idoll-Oracle, and Baal-meon is the habitation of Baal. Of the same Idoll was the Hill electron nere-Nebo in these parts denominated : from whose top, which the common Translators audiatur i. ore 10 call Phasgah, Moses before his death saw all the Land of Canaan beyond Iordan. In 100 25.16.4 nor which storic Iunius doth not take Phasgah or Pisgah, for any proper name : but for nomina comnit an appellative, fignifying a Hill : and so also Vatablus in some places; as Num. 21.20 labys meis Hef : where he noteth that some call Pigab that top which looketh to Iericho, and Hair as mina Babalimo it looketh to Moab, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of rum ab ore give. a Citie of Reuben mentioned Iof. 13. 20. called Ashdoth-Pilga, which is as much as they vice for decursus Pisga: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from Pisga. In the same Nebs it doth place of 10/10st there is also named Beth-peer, as belonging to Reuben: so called from not appear but the Hill Peor: from whence also Baal the Idoll was called Baal-Peor, which they say feems they na. was the same as Priapus: the chiefe place of whose worship seems to haue beene medsometime was the faith of which also Iof. 13. in the Cities of Reuben: for which Num. 22. 41. Bajth, so E/15. they reade the high places of Baal (for so the word signifieth) to which place Balaak Bell-meen, first brought Balaam to curse the Ifraelites.

t. III.

Of diners places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

30 THere were besides these divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoyned to Reuben: amongst which they place Gallim, the Citie of Phalti: to whom Saul 1. Said. 1. v. vit gaue his Daughter Michol from Dauid: but Iunius thinkes this Towne to be in Beniamin: gathering so much out of Esay 10. vers. 19. where it is named among the Cities of Beniamin. With better reason perhaps out of Num. 21. v. 19. wee may fay that Mathana and Nahaliel were in these confines of Reuben : through which places the Ifraelites past after they had left the Well called Beer: Then Deblathaim which the Prophet Hieremie threatneth with the rest of the Cities of Hierem. 483

Madian also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citie of the Madianites in Moab: 40 but not that Midian or Madian by the Red Sea; wherein Iethro inhabited. For of the Madianites there were two Nations, of which these of Mosh became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand Ifraclites, fent by Moses out of the plaines of Moab : at such time as Israel beganne to accompanie their Daughters: their fine Kings with Balaam the South-faier were then flaine: and their Regall Citic with the rest destroied. The other Madianites ouer whom lethro was Prince, or Priest, forgate not the God of Abraham their Ancestor, but relieued and affisted the Israelites in their paincfull trauailes, through the Desarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of Moab adjoyning to Edom, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of Edom, there is Elastic. 50 that Petra which in the Scriptures is called Selah, which is as much as rupes or petra. 1.Reg 14.7. It was also called lottheel, as appeares by the place 2. Reg. 14. It was built (faith Lib. Addit) Infephus) by Recem, one of those fine Kings of the Madianites slaine as before is faid : after whom it was called Recem: Now they fay it is called Crae and

The Soldans of Agypt, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of Agypt and Arabia: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which Plinie and Strabo call Wabathea, whence also the Prouince adioyning tooke name : which name feemes to have been taken at first from Nabaioth the sonne of Abraham by Kethura. For Nabathea is no where vnderstood for all Arabia Petrea. (at least where it is not misvnderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Indea. For Pharan inhabited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomie calleth Pharanites, in fleede of Ismaelites, and all those Territories of the Cusites, Madianites, Amalekites, I/maelites, Edomites, or Idumaans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Og King of Basan, were parts of Arabia Petrea: though it be also true, that some part of 10 1. Cliron. 5. v. 19. Arabia the Defart belonged to the Amalekites, and Ismaelites: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fifth calleth Hagarims of Hagar.

focr.3.

Nam 21.

Deut, 1.13.

Ef4.15.21.

This Citie Petra, Scaurus besieged with the Romane Armie; and finding the place in show impregnable, he was content by the persuasion of antipater, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet Amasias King of Iuda (after he had slaughter red 10000. of the Arabians in the Valley called Salinarum) wanne also this Citie. S. Hierome finds Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this Citic. In the time when the GulTyr, 20, bell. Christians heid the Kingdome of Hierusalem, it had a Latine Bishop, having before beene under the Greeke Church. It is feated not farre from Hor where Aaron died. and on the other fide towards the North is the River of Zared or Zered, by which 20 Moles incamped in the 38. Station. Adrichome describeth the waters of Memrim.or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben, not farre hence, and betweene Zared and Arnon : and so he doch the Valley of Saue : but the waters of Nimra or Beth-Nimra (for which it seemes Adric. omius writ Nemrim ) refresh the plaines of Moab : and the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the Tribe of Gad. Saucalso cannot bee found in this place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuite of the Affyrian and Persian Princes, the King of Sodome met him in the Valley of Saue, or Shaueh, which is the Kings Dale, where Absalom set up his Monument, as it seemes, not farre from Hierusulem, And at the fame time Melchizedec King of Salem also incountred him. But Abraham comming 30 from the North, and Melchizedec inhabiting, either neare Bethsan otherwise Scythopolis in the haife Tribe of Manaffe, or in Hierusalem (both places lying to the West of

Gen,14.

### t. IIII. Of the Dead Sea.

Iordan) could not incounter each other in Arabia: and therefore Saue which was al-

fo called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

TOw because the Sea of Sodome or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Asphal- 40 Now because the Sea of Soame or the Dead Sea, cancelling which was fresh title, and the falt Sea (in diffinction from the Sea of Tiberias which was fresh seasons and the seasons are the Seasons Seasons and Seasons How water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea \* of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertiobserved non-nent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the Caspian Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake Iosephiis makes 180. furlongs which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth 4.09 is hath which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. Plinie makes it a great mare stimulmis deale lesse. But those that have of late yeares seene this Sea, did account it (saith as the reason a Weissenburg) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and or this name two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea Ta- 50 citus maketh this report : Lacus est immenso ambitu, speciemaris, sapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis pestifer : neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres planes of Mubwhichare patitur, incertum unde superiecta ut solido feruntur periti imperitio, nandi perinde atcalled Habbib Monb Dent, 24. 1. as also vve have Cesaloth in Harbath , that is in the plaines, to vvit of Zabulon.1. Mac. 9.2 9. 2. whence Adrichomius imagines a City in Zabulon called Araba. a Defer terr, Santia.

tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt talt : of [mell infeitious, and pestilent to the borderers. It is neither moved nor raised by the winde : nor indureth fifth to live in it, or fowle to faimme in it. Those thinges that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of (wimming, a well as the skilfull, are borne up by this mater. At one time of the yeare it casteth vp Bitumen: the art of gathering which Experience (the finder of other thinges) hath alfo taught. It is vied in the trimming of thips, and the like

CHAP. 10. S.4. † . 5. of the Historie of the World.

And then of the Land, hee speaketh in this fort: The fields not farre from this Lake, which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt to with lightning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a fad face as having loft her fruitfulnesse: for whatsocuer doth either grow or is set thereon, be if fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse have nothing within them, but moulder into alhes: Thus farre Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankes of this curfed Lake, doe looke faire and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut have nothing but dust within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake casteth vp., it was by the Greekes called Affhaltitis. Vefpafian defirous to bee fatisfied of these reports, went of purpole to fee this Lake, and caused certaine Captines to be cast into it, who were not only viskilfull in fwimming, but had their handes also bound behind 20 them, and not withstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could

Of the Rings of Modb, much of whose Countrie within Arnon R EVBEN posses.

30 OF the Kings of Mond, whole Countrie (within Arnon) Reuben possess (though not taken from Mond but from Arhon the Amend of the Countries of the 2 r. of Numbers verle 14 nameth Vaheb, which seemeth to bee the Ancestor or Predeceffor of Balae, the fonne of Zippor: which Balae fent for Balaam to curle Ifrael. For feating to contend with Moles by armes by the examples of Sehon and Og, hee hoped by the helpe of Balaams curlings or inchauntments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Ba- Num. 21 22 23. laam at the first moved by the Spirit of God, blest Ifrael contrarie to the hope and de- 24. 19-24. fire of Moab : yet being desirous in some fort to latisfic him, and to doch!in service, he admifed Moab to fend Madianitif Women among the Ifraelites : hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischiefe to draw them to the Idolatric of the Heathen but o in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counfaile, and was flaine among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named; saving that we finde in the first of Chro. the fourth, that loking, and the men of Chozeba, and loash, and Sareph, all being of the ffite of rida, Tometime had the Dominion in Moab : but as it is written in the fame Veric, Thefe allower ancient thinges to wit, as some expound it, V.22. the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining; or as others, het prius fuere, these Families of Iuda were once thus famous : but now their posteritie chuseractier to abide in Babylon, and bee Clay-workers to the King

Then we finde Egion King of Moab, who with the helpe of Ammon, and Amalec, Inde 3. Mastered Israel and commanded them eighteene yeares: which Eglon, Ebuc'slew in his owne house, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of 1 Sam, 22, Moab had vnto whom David fled fearing Saul, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against whom Saul made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are na-

1.Sam.14.

med. But inrespect that this Moabite was an enemie to Saul, hee received David. and relieued him : knowing that Saul fought his life.

2.Sam.8. t.Chron.18.

After this, David himselfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings time : for he flaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part Tfal.60,v.10. tributarie: whereupon it was faid of DAVID. Mosb is my wall-pot, ouer Edom will I cast my shoe: meaning that he would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that he would tread downe the Idumeans.

2.Reg. 3.

Nierem.27.

The next King after Dauids time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth was Melba: who falling from Iuda, (perhaps in remembrance of the feueritie of Dauid) fastened himselfe to the Kings of Ifrael, and paied tribute to Ahab 100000. Lambes, and 10 200000. Rammes, with the woll: who revolting agains from Ifraelafter the death of Ahab, was inuaded by Iehoram: with whom ioyned the Kings of Iuda and Idumea: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he sled to Kir-hareseth, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, affifted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Ieholhaphat: and by reason of some private quarrells among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites fet vpon the Idum.eans, and flaughtered them : and then one against another; so as Iehoshaphat had a notorious victoric ouer them all, without either bloud or wound. Also in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, there was a King of Month which is not named, which was after Melha of Moab many descents: for Melha lived 20 with Iehoram, and this Moabite in Zedekias time, fourteene Kings of Iuda comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odde yeares.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places

Gen.30. Num.1.31. 16 Joj.13.

He Territorie adioyning to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereofall that part which ioyned to the Mountaines, was fometime in the possession 30 of the Ammonites, as farre to the South as Aroer. Of the children of Gad the scuenth sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Agypt, and died in the Defarts 45550. and of their fonnes there entred the Land promifed 45000, bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of Manaffe the River of Iaboc divided them : from Reuben the Cities of Hesbon,

£[a.15.

Elhele, and Aphec. The chiefe Citie of Gad was Areer: which they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabbath Mosb, the great or commanding Mosb. But the learned Innius, attending diligently to those wordes of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Harahero, que est inripa sluminis Arnon, & Ciuitate ipfa qua est in flumine ; Where the Citic in the River is distinguished 40 from the Citie vpon the banke of the River, (as also in like manner lof. c. 12. v. 2. and c. 12.2.9.) thinketh that Haroher which doubtleffe belonged to the Gadites (as Num. 32.34. it is faid that they built it) was indeede seated neare Har of the Moabites, but diuctic from it. For that Har was neuer possest by Moses, it is plaine Deut. 2.9. where God forbidding Mofes to touch it, faith he bath given Har for an inheritance to the fonnes of Lot. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is faid to be within and in the middle of the River of Arnon (and so distinguished from Haroher, which is said in the fame places to be on the banke of Arnon) is Har of the Moabites, the same Iunius proueth out of Num. 21.15. where Arnon is faid to bee divided into divers streames, where or among which Har is seated : And the same is confirmed by the 50 place of Iof. 13.25. where Haroher is faid to be seated before Rabbah: which Rabbah, as it feemes, can not be the Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they feate not Harober near it, nor in light of it) and therefore by Rabbah here wee must vnderstand Rabbah of Moab, which they make to be Ar or Har: and so we must needes distinguish it from

CHAP.10. \$.5. of the Historie of the World.

Haroher. And as for \* Har (which also gaue the name to the coast adioyning) it . Dead. 2.9. feemes it continued in the possession of the Moubites after they had once expelled Out of which the Giant-like people called Emins, first weakned by Chedorlaomer and his Associats: wordes Nom. but Haroher by the interchange of times fuffered many ancient changes, as being stars are to wonne from the Moabites by Schon, and from him by the Ifraelites, and from them, be expounded not that the cias it feemes in the storie of lephtha, by the Ammonites and from the Ammonites a- tie of the, but gaine by the Israelites winder the conduct of tephtha. In S. Hieromes time the greatest the coast adpart of this Citic perished by an earth-quake, as also Zoar in which Los faued him-wasted by sefelfe, in the destruction of sodom, scated not faire hence: which they say was there-10 fore called Vitula conferenass, because as a wanton tumbling Heifar, thee was three with earth analysis for which confed to the Heifar, thee was three withing the same of the was three wa ouerthrowne with earth-quake: for which cause also therome seemes to thinke that the in coing to this Zoar was called Saliffa or Bal-faliffa, as if Bal had beene a remainder of the old Paul & inquestion

name Balsh or Belah (of which Gen. 14.2.) and Salifba which hath a fignification of Lantes his anthe ternarie number, had alluded to the three earth-quakes, Brochard takes Harober to be Petra, but erroniously, as before it is noted, feeing 1.5.m.9.2. when he makes that Petra was in the South border of Moab, adioyning to Edom, whereas Haroher is Shalfin a plan in the North-east border. Betweene Harber and Jordan they seate Dibon, which is Countrie in attributed to the Gadites, because they are faid to have built in Thomas Boundaries, and attributed to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, Num. 32.34, though the same with Tofia 13.0.17. it is faid that Mofes gaue it to the Reubenites. Of this Citic among Bullaufur, as 20 the rest of Manh, both Esty and Hieremie prophecied, that it should perish and the Res 4.4. where he expounds Lakes about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neare Est on Behal to

Keeping the bankes of Arnon, one of the next Cities of fame to Arber was Beth- Elal 15.Hier Ac nimrab, of which Esay prophecieth , That the waters thereof should be dried up : and all & sais 5.21. the vale of Moab withered. Not farre from Bethnimrah in this Tribe Adrichomius placeth logbeha, and Nobach or Nobe of both which we reade in the florie of Gedeon: Ind 8.15. and that Ingbeha was in Gad built by the Gadites, it appeares Num. 32.35. and therefore Nobach also must needes be in these parts: but whether in Gad or Manaffe it is not certaine: only that it was anciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth. Nobach

20 Alfo (faith he) went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Nobach of his owne Nam. 1235. name, where because the verses precedent speake of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that Moses would have severed this seate of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before 2.34.35.36. therefore it may seeme that this \* Nobach was Numarito. in that part of Manaffe, which was in the East of Jordan: though Adrichomius place Itiscalled No. it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with Nob, which Sant destroit posts and plait in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with avolvement of and celling seed in the Bord of this we shall speake ain the Tribe of Benjamin. And as for that Karkor where detof the king Zebach and Salmunabrested themselves in their slight from Gedeen, to which place domeot solve Gedeen marched through this Nobach and togbeha, though some place it in Gad, and therefore make it the same with Kir-chares, of which Esay 15. and 2. Reg. 3. 25. yet there can it is not sloge-40 beeno certaintie that it was in Gad : and if it beethe fame with Kir-chares, it is certified the vapolosis. taine that it was a principall Citicheld fill by the Mosbiter, and not in the Tribe blethar it was of God.

In the body of this Tribe of Gad they place Hataroth: of which name the Scrip- 1140.8.10. ture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former simply cal- Nom. 32,3435. led Hataroth, the later Hatroth-Shephan: for which later the Vulgar makes two Cities Roth and Shophan : the name Hataroth is as much as Corone.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of Sehon, together with Bethnimrah, of which we haue fpoken, lofua c. 1 3. 2. 2.7. nameth Beth-haram, and Succoth: the former Num. 32 6 106p. Lant. 18 36. (where it is called Beth-Haram) together with Bethning, is faid to hatte beene east, 50 built by the Gadites, which (perhapsthe rather because in Iosna it is called Beth-Ha- c L-7. dut. c. 7. ram) some take to be Betaramptha (of which b Tofephus) after by Herode called Inlins. Codesteys But whether this Betaramptha were corrupted from Beth-Haram, or from Beth-Ara- Apapa3a matha (of which Aramatha there is mention in \* 10fephus) or from Eath Remphan talium Radio (of which Remphan an Idall of those Countries messages 15 to 200 (of which Remphan, an Idoll of those Countries, we reade Aft. 7. 43. and to which Hammonia and

Junius referres the name of the Citie Rephan 1. Macch. 37.) of this question it were hard to refolue. But touching Iulias (according to Iofephus fometimes Bataramptha) the same Infephus placeth it in the Region of Peren, beyond Iordan, which Regio Perea, as the Greeke word fignificth, is no more than Regio viterior, the Countrie beyond the River; and therefore they which abour to let downe the bounds of this Person take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this Iulias had belonging vnto it according to lofephus. He makes it to have beene built by Herod Antipas, and named Iulias in the honour of the adoption of Liuia, Augustus his wife, into the Iulian Fami-Info. Am. 18.3. lie: by which adoption thee was called Iulia. An other Iulias, he faith, was built by & Bell. Jud. 2.8. Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Gaulanitis, which hee faith is the same as 10 Bethlaida.

lefeph.de Bell.

Ant.20.11.

Vpon the Sea of Galilee neare to Iulias in Persa (that is, in the Region ouer Iordan) they finde Vetezobra, as it is called in Iofephus, for Beth-ezob, which is as much as domus hiffopi. Of a noble Woman of this Citic, which for safeguard in the time of War with the Romanes, came with many others into Hierufalem, and was there belieged, Iolephus in the place noted, reports a lamentable Historie, how for hunger thee cate

her owne child, with other Tragicall accidents hereupon enfuing.

1ud.8.5.

2 Sam. 12.31.

Of Succoth (which we faid Iof. 12, is placed with Beth-haran, in the Valley of the Kingdome of Schon) it is plaine by the storie of Gedeon that it is neare vnto Iordan: where it is faid, that as hee was palt Iordan with his three hundreth, wearie in the 20 pursuit of Zebah and Salmunah, hee requested reliefe of the men of Succoth: who denying him, and that with contempt, in Gedeons returne were by him tortured, as it feemes under a threshing Carre or Tribulum, betweene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod under the Tribulum, and after which fort also David vsed some of the Ammonites, though not with Thornes, but with yron teeth of the Tribulum. As for the name of Succoth, which fignifieth fuch Tabernacles as were made in half, either for Men or Cattle, Mofes Gen. 33.17. wit-

Exod. 12.37.

turne from Mesopotamia built in that place: As also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of Ifrael, as they came from Ramefes in Egypt, had their first Sta- 30 tion, was vpon like reason called Succoth: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they yield after for fortic yeares in the Wilderneffe. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of succeth or Tabernacles was instituted.

neffeth that the original of the name was from fuch harbours, which Iacob in his re-

Other foure Cities of Gad are named 10/21/28. Ramath in Gilehad, Machanaijm, Chesben, and labzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Leuites, of which labzer, as Chesbon or Hesbon was a chiefe Citie of Sehon, whence Num. 22 1, his Countrie is called the Land of Tabzer. It was taken by Moles, having first fent spies to view it. Wum.22.32. In the first of the Chronicles it is made part of Galehad. In later times ( as it may bee gathered by the prophecie of Efay, touching Mondy it was possessed by the Mondites Hierem, 48, 92. to which place of E/ay, also Hieremie in alike prophecie alludes wilt was at length re- 40 gained (but as it feemes from the Ammonites) by Indus Macchabaus: as it is I Mais y. 8. where Innius out of Iofephus reades Inhzer, though the Greeke hath Gazer. For Gazer or Gezer (as he gathereth out of Iofua 16.3. & 8 and Ind. 1.201) was farre from these Countries of Sehon, seated in the West border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Ifraelites, vntill Salomons time, for whom the King of Ægypt wan it from the Cana-

nite, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of Cheshon it may be merualled that in the place of Iofua, and I Chron. 6.81. it should be said to have been given to the Leuites by the Gadites speing Volua 13/0.17 it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the Reubenites : Adrichomius and fuch as little trouble themselves with such scruples; finding Casbon 1. Macc. 5.26; among the Ci-50 ties of Gilehad, taken by Judas Macchabeus, makes two Cities of one sas if this Casbon had beene the Chesbon of Gad: and that of Reuben distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and that the Gadites gave their part to the Leuites: for fo also it seemeth

of discussion 12 peach

that in like reason Dibon is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in an other giuen to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaijm, which word fignifieth a double Armie, we reade Genesis 32.2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angells of God in that place met Iscob in manner of an other Hoast or companie, to joyne with his for his defence: as also Luke 2.13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoalt of heauen, which appeared to the sheep-heards, at the time of our Sauiours birth; and so vnto the Godly King Oswald of Northumberland, when he was soone after to joyne battaile with the Pagan Penda of middle-England, Bedareports that the like comfort appeared : whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North parts 10 of England, is called Heaven-field. In this Citic of Machanaum David abode during the rebellion of Ablalom: and the same for the strength thereof Abner chose for the leate of Ilbbofeth, during the warre betweene Dauid and the house of Saul,

· CHAP. 10. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

Of the fourth Towne which was Ramoth in Gilehad, we reade often in the Scripture, for the recouring of which King Achab loft his life. Innius thinkes that Ramatha-Mitspe, of which Iosua 13.26. was this Ramoth in Gilehad. Concerning the place where Laban and Iacob sware one to the other, as it was called Gilehad, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of stones which Laban and his fonnes left for a monument; fo also that it was called Millab, which signifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witnesset their co-

20 uenant) it is plaine by the place Gen. 31.49. that in these parts there was not only a Towne, but likewise a Region called Mitspa, it appeares Tof. 11.3. where wee reade of the Chiunites under Hermon, in the Countric of Mitfpa \* the Towne of Mitffa, as . Of other it seemes both by this place and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill townes of this Countrie, but in the valley. But feeing that lephra the Iudge of Ifrael, who after he name, fee in the Tribe of came home from Tob (whither his bretheren had driven him) dwelt in this Towne Beriamia. of Mitipa, who doubtleffe was of the Tribe of Manaffe, and thence at first expelled Ind. 11, 36, by his bretheren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of Mulparather in Gad, then in Manasse. By Indas Macchabaus this Towne of Milpa (whether in Gad or in Manasse) was vtterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it 1. Mace 5.35. 30 flaine: for it was then possest of the Ammonites.

o ignorantly made a name of a place. Arnon also no where appeares to bee the name

Wa Towne, but fill of a River. Mimis Adrichomius frames of in Andyone, I. Macc. 5.

Betweene Succoth (of which we have spoken) and the River Iaboe was that Peniel or Penuel, which name fignifieth Locum faciei Dei; A place where the face of God was Good, 32. 30.

feene : so called for memoric of the Angells appearing to Iacob, and wrestling with him there: the churlifhnesse of which Citie, in refuling to relieue Gedeon, was the 14dg. 8.17.

cause that in his returne he ouer-threw their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, they adde Rogelim, the Citie of that great

and faithfull subject Barzillai, as it seemes, not farre from Mahanaima, where he su- 1.5am. 19.334

stained King Dauid, during Absaloms rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of Gaddi, Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi being in Hebrew no more then Gaddita, is

26. So that the name should rather be Alema, but Junius out of Tolephus reades Malla, for this in Alimis: and understanding Mille to be put for Millo, and to be as much as Munitio (as wee have shewed touching the Millo of the Sichemites) hee takes this 106 12.5. Malle to be Mitspa Moabitarum, of which 1. Sam. 22.3. As for that Mageth which A- \* The letters D drichomius findes in this Tribe of Gad, it is that Mahacath, which Mofes noteth to bee brow are very

as farre as the furthest of Manasses, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also Dathema, like so that one of which I. Mace. 5.10. (which Iunius takes to be a Rithma, of which Num. 3.18.a is oft millaken place of firength in the Territoric of the Ammonites) and in like manner Minnith and formine with 50 Abel vinearum, though by somethey be attributed to the Gadites or to their borders, our mistaking yetthey are found farther off. For of the two last we reade in lephta's pursuit of the another as for Ammonites: feated as it feemes by that place of the booke of Indges, the former of Rodanim, 1.clr. them in the South border, and the other in the East border, both farre removed 7 we have Do from the Gadites. But the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites was nearer, and not farre 10.4.

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from the borders of Gad. It is called in the Scriptures sometime Ralbath as Deut. 2. \*Othernames 11. but more often Rabba. It is supposed to be that \* Philadelphia which Ptolomie of this Cittle findes in Calefyria. Hierome and Calliftus in Arabia. It was conquered by Og from the Stephanus were Ammonites: but as it seemes never possess by the Israelites, after the overthrow of Ammana & 1- 0g, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of flate. but in the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zumzummims: which is as haps hee mr. much to fay, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same tooke, which were also called Rapham, of whom was Og, which recoursed much of that which might feem to be the fame 1. the Ammonites had got from his ancestors: who having beene first beaten by the farmeth, one of Affrians, and their affiftants (as the Emins in Mond), and the Horims in Seir had 10 the chiefe Cities of Oz, of beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emins were which in that by Moab, and the Horims by the Idum.eans. Yet did the races of Emoreus, of whom which remai- these Gyants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheneth to be foo keef Manaffer, ritance: and as Schon of Hesbon had dispossest Most by foo had og of Basan the Ammo-Adrichmius nites, and betweene them recourred the best part of all the Valley, betweene the faics it was also Mountaines and Iordan. For this 03 was also master of Rabba or Philadelphia: And quiril, because in the possession of the one or the other of these two, Moses and Israel found all of the timer Ist those Cities and Countries, which were given to Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe bost winding about it, but in of Manasse. So that though it were 450, yeares since that these Zamzummims or the place 2. Sam Raphaims were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance : but ha 20 v. 27. whence using these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, opinion, twins og and Sehon, both Ammorites, they recovered againe much of their loft poffessions, reades intercept and thrust the sonnes of Lot ouer the mountaines, and into the Defarts. And as the ab tribe aquam, And think the formes of Defound the mountaines, and into the Defarts. And as the if we must read Kings or Captaines of Persia and Assirta (remembred in the 14 of Genesis) made with othersee- way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom, fo by that great conquest which Moses had over pi orbem aqua- those two Amorites, Og and Sehon, did the Moabites and Ammonites, take opportunor betaken of nitie to looke back againe into those plaines: and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Rabbi it selfe, Manasites for sooke the worship of the living God, and became flouthfull and licen-For adjoining tious, they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possession ons : and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased 20 or displeased God: and according to the wisedome and vertue of their Comman-

Dent.3"

In this Citie of Rabba, was the yron bed of Og found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in Danids time, and the inhabitants flaine with great seueritie, and by divers torments. At the first affault thereof Vria: was shot to death, having beene by direction from David appointed to bee imploied in the leading of an affault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armic perished; and wherein David so displeased God, as his affaires had ill fuccesse afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had David the waightie and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of Ammon ware: or which as some expound 40 it, was vsed to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60 pound will. Tyr. Bell. Waight after the common talent. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bi-Sacr.13.cap.12. Shop, and under him twelve others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of Manalle, with a part of Reuben, are those which Ptolomie calleth the hills of Hippus, a Citie of Calefyria: and Strabo \* Trachones: the same which continue from near Damaseus vnto Strabol 16. the Defarts of Moab: and receive divers names as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northwhence it ap- wards as Afteroth the chiefe Citie of Og, they are called Galaad or Gilead, from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of Hermon, for so Moles calleth them: 50 in these parts The Sidenians name them Shirion, but the Amorites Shenir, others Seir : of which was properly name all those Hills also were called which part Indea and Idumea: and lastly they the bill courty are called Libanus, for fo the Prophet Hieremie makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of Galaad, the head of Libanus. These mountaines are very fruitfull, and

CHAP.10. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

full of good pastures, and have many trees which yeeld Balfamum, and many other Hier. 8. 5 in 46; medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of Nimrah, and Dibon, and the River Iaboc: Others doe also fancie an other River, which riling out of the Rocks of Arnon, falleth into Iordan.

IV.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from OG the King of Bafan.

His Tribe of Gad, poffett halfe the Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of Araba Petras called Na-bathea, as well within as without the mountaines of Gilead: though at this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in the possession of Sehon and og Ammorites: and therefore Moses did not expell the Ammonites, but

the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of Lot over the mountaines Trachones or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel the first Iudge of Ifrael, the Ammonites iouned with the Moabites against the Hebrewes, and so continued long. Icohta Judge Ind. 16, of Ifrael had a great conquest over one of the Kings of Ammon, but his name is omitred. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the Ammonites; called Nahas : who be- 1.84#.115. fleging Iabes Gilead, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eies. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon Ifrael) because those Gileadites vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eies, should by loosing their right, bevtterly disabled to defend themselnes : but Saul came to their rescue, and deliucred them from that danger. This 2Vahas, as it may seeme, became the confederate of David, having friended him in Saules time, though Tofephus thinkes that this Na- 10fe is ditte of Danies, training it retired than the battaile, when Saul raifed the fiege of labes, who affirmeth that 3.6%.
2.5mm.to.4.18

20 there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name. Hanon succeeded Nahas: to whom when David sent to congratulate his establish- men of Think ment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most Territorie val contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and der dense bulle. shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aides received Rebab is an 8from the Aramites Subject to Adadexer, and from the Reguli of Rehob, and Mancah, Herer & Sidon; and from Islob, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were ouer-tur- in the North ned their chiefe Citie of Rabba, after Philadelphia, was taken, the Crowne which was for on David head all find account of cold was for on David head all find account of the David head account of the David head all find accoun waighed a talent of gold was fet on Dauids head, all fuch as were prisoners Dauid ex- 22.0f which fee equuted with strange seueritie, for with sawes and harrowes, he tare them in pecces, in the tribe of 40 and cast the rest into lime-kills.

Io/aphat gouerning Iuda, they affisted the Moabites their neighbours against him, 2. (bren.20, and perished together. Ofias made them Tributaries, and they were againe by Io- 2. Chion. 36. tham inforst to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundreth talents 2.chrom.26, of filuer, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley : which the i, chron. 2.26 Ammonites continued two yeares.

The fift King of the Ammonites of whose name we reade was Baalis, the confederate of Zedechia: after who setaking by Nabucho dono sor, Baalis sent Ismael of the bloud of the Kings of Iuda, to flay Gedaliah, who serued Nabuchodonosor.

VII

1.5.86.

Chapter.

0.4.1.2.

d 1.Macc.s.

c Iofeph.12.

f I.Macc.S.

k 1.Sam.31.

1 1.cbron.10.

m lofep.14.

Ant.12.

Of the other balfe of MANASSE.

\* An other ter ritorie adioy. ning to Manaffe whose limits were confoun.

He rest of the Land of Gilead, and of the Kingdome of Og in Basan, with the Land of His, and Argob, or Trachonitis (wherein allo were part of the small Territories of \* Batanea , Gaulonitis , Gessuri, Machati , and Auranitis) was given to the halfe Tribe of Manasse over Iordan, of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them. ded with some for many ages. But Batanea Ptolomie setteth farther off, and to the North-east, as a 19 skirt of Arabia the Defart : and all these other Prounces before named with Peras. the countrie of and Iturea, he nameth but as part of Calefyria; as faire South as Rabba or Philadel. Elias, as it is the phia likewife all the rest which belonged to Gad, and Reuben, saving the Land neare of Tobias 10b.1 the Dead Sea, he makes a part of Arabia Petras: for many of these small Kingdomes 2. it lay on the take not much more ground then the Countie of Kent.

Basan, or after the Septuagint Basanitis, firetcheth it selfe from the River of Jabbe right had of it, to the a Machati and Geffuri: and from the Mountaines to Iordan, a Region exceeas in Tob, 1.2. ding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all forts of Cattle. It had also the by Colonies of goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast the Ifactites in (of which the Prophet Zacharias, Howle O yee Oakes of Balhan) and by reason hereof 10 after his victo. they bred so many Swine, as b 2000 in one Heard were carried head-long into the rie ouer the A- Sea, by the vncleane spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the Gaderens. It had malekites & II- in it three Core Cities walled and defenced : all which after og and his sonnes were paris, as it is flaine, Iair descended of Manasse conquered, and called the Countrie after his owne gatheredout of name, Auoth Iair, or the Cities of Iair, 17

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omitthe reft) are thefe; Pella 10. whence it appears that it sometimes Butis, otherwise Berenice; by Selencus King of Syria it is said to have was part of line beene called Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon: in which both Philipthe chap. 7.0.4. Father, and his Sonne Alexander the Great were borne, It was taken and in particemolished by Alexander Janneus King of the Jewes: because it refused to obay the 30 a So they call Ienes lawes: but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the Gouernment of Sythem of Mahr.

7td. It is now but a Village, faith 2 yieger. Carnain by the Riner of Labor, taken by Mahasah fom.

Adhasah fom.

d Indas Matchabats: where he fet on fire the Temple of their Idolls: together with whathath ben all those that fled thereinto for Sanctuarie; and neare it they place the Castle of spoken toward the Carnion, of which 2. Macc. 12.22. Then the strong Citie of Ephron neare Iordan: fift Paragraph of which refuling to yeeld passage to 5 Iudas Maschabeus, was forced by him by assault, this Chapter , and taken, and burnt with great flaughter.

Isbes Gilead, or Isbefus, was an other of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which be-3.14&10f.125. ing belieged by Nahas h King of the Ammonites, was delinered by Saul, as is lelfee Anciently as where mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens k recourred, imbalmed, and 40 is feems it was buried the bodies of Saul and his Sonnes: which hung despightfully ouer the walls called Topbel, of Bethlan or Scythopolis. I Gaddara or Gadara is next to be named, scated by Pline on the boundes of a Hill neare the River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius feemes to thinke to be Isthe plaines of boc. At the foote of the Hill there fpring forth also hot bathes, as at Macharus. Alexander Jannaus after ten Moneths fiege wan it, and subuerted it. Pompey restored it: and Gabinius m made it one of the five Courts of Inflice in Palastine. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath or Amathus the third, Hierico, and Sephora in Galilee the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyrannic of Herode furnamed Ascalonita, accused him to Iulius Casar of many crimes : but percei-2.Mac.12-27 uing that they could not prevaile, and that Herode was highly favoured of Cafar, fea- 30 15dm.11.
16fe,6.ant.5. ring the terrible " renenge of Herod, they flew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselues.

To the East of Gadara they place Seber o in which losephus ant. 5. 12. faith, Jephtha n Josep. 15. Anttiq. 13. o Of Misspa in Gilthad the Citie of Icebtha, see in the Tribe of Gad.

was buried : whence others reading with the Vulgar , Ind. 12. 7. Sepultus eft in Civitate fua Gilehad, (for in una Ciuitatum Gilehad) imagine Gilehad to be the name of a Citic, and to be the same with sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1: Macc. 5.26. where it readeth Casphor for Chesbon; the same Adrichomius imagineth it to be ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Ciuitas, so of one Citic Hesbon or Chesbon, which they call Effebon, the chiefe Citic of Schon, in the Tribe of Reuben, hee imagineth two more: this Calphor in Manasses, and a Citie in Gad which he calleth Cashon, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of Gamala ( so called , because the Hill on which it flood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which sofephus 10 placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis ouer against Tarichea, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, see this Iosephus in his fourth booke capater 3.

CHAP. 10. S. 7. of the Historie of the World.

of the Iewish warre: where he describes the place by nature to be almost inuincible; and in the storie of the siege, shewes how respassar with much danger of his owne person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the comming of Titus, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wines and children, to the number of fine thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the Romanes : so that none escaped, saue only two women that hid themselues.

About foure miles West from Gadara, and as much East from Tiberias (which is 20 on the other fide of the Lake) tofephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomie in vita find; giues the name to the hills that compate the plaines in which it standeth: fo that it may seeme to have beene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrie: on the East of the Lake, as also Plinie noteth lib. 7 . cap. 1 5. It was restored by Pompey: after by Angustus added to Herods Tetrarchie: It was wasted by the Irines; in the 1-sep. Bell. Jude beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were like.rg. inraged against their borderers.

The next Citic of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein Og Of another E-King of Basan chiefly abode, when Moses and Israel invaded him: and neare vnto drebi in Nephr. this his Regall Citie, it was that he loft the battaile and his life. It flood in S. Hieromes Deut 3.1.0.10 30 time : and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from these Townes near 10r- 11cm 16,13,310 dan, in this valley stood Gerassa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesstes, descended of the fift sonne of Canaan. Of these Gergesites we reade Mat. 8.28 that Christ comming Mati, 9,28, from the other side of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts: where cashing the Diuels out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogs: in which storic for Gergesites or Gergesins, S. Luke and S. Marke have Gadarens : not as if Marcs. these were all one (for Gergessa or Gerassa is a distinct Towns in these parts from Ga- Inc. 80 dera) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this storie. This Citie received many changes and calamities: of which Insephus hath often mention. For besides other aduentures, it was taken by 40 L. Annius Lieutenant to Vespasian: and 1000. of the ablest yong men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeare 1120, it was rebuilt by Baldwine King of Damaf-

cus; and in the same yeare recoucred by Baldwine de Burgo King of Hierusalem: and by him vtterly razed. Neare vnto Gerafa is the Village of Magedan, or after the Syriake Magedu, or after the Greeke Magdala, where the Pharifees and Sadducees defired Maints. of our Saujour a figite from heauen; the fame place or some adjoyning to it, which S. Marke calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of which storic it appeares that Marc. 8. this coast lay between the Lake of Tiberias and the Countrie of Decapolis. Brochard Broch. itin. 2. makes both these places to be one; and findes it to be Phiale, the fountaine of Iordan fee in Alphinia according to Islephus: but this Phiale is too farre from the Sea of Galilee, and from c.7.4.413. 30 Bethfaids, to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For as it appears by the storie, not farr hence towards the North was the Defart of Bethfaida, where Christ filled 5000. Mait. 14. people with the fine Barley loanes and two Fishes.

On the North of this Beth saida they place Iulias, not that which was built by Hered, but the other by Philip, which boundeth the Region Trachonitis towards the South

South. It was fometime a Village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was com-10/ep.18. ant. 3. passed with a wall by Philip the Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachontis: and after the name of Iulia, the wife of Tiberius, called Iulias, as hath beene farther spoken in the Tribe of Gad: where it was noted that Iosephus makes this Iulias, to be the same as Beth-(aida. Vpon the East fide of the same Lake of Tiberias stands Corozaim, or Corazim, of which Christ in Matthew ; Woe be unto thee Corazim. But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was Asteroth: somtime peopled

Gen,14.5.

2. 3. †. 2. Because

is fometime

Lucere : as it

Exed. 34.29.

Mofes with

Indith.1.3. I.Cant.5.

Hom. 2. De bati-

Hornes.

with the Giants Raphaim: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was og, King of Basan. In Genesis this Citie is called Asteroth of Carnaim, whence 1. Mac. 5.26. it is called simply Curnaim, as Iof. 13.21. it is called 10 Afteroth without the addition of Carnaim. The word Carnaim fignifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll Aftereth, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that Astaroth in Deut. Signifieth sheep. O-See chap. 7 thers from the ambiguitie of the Hebrew take Karnaim, to have beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citic: and expound it heroes \* radiantes. For of old Horne when it the Raphai which inhabited this Citic (Gen. 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares is polithed thiis polithed intention by comparing the words Deut. 3.11. Og ex residuo gigantum, with the words 10/.12. isthat the verb 12. Og ex reliquijs Raphaeorum : but if the Karnaim (or Karnaijm) were these Raphei, of this Nownc the word would not have beene in the duall number : neither would Moles in the place of Genesis have faid the Raphain Asteroth of the Karnaim, but either the Raphai 20 were corneum in Afteroth of the Raphai, or some other way fittest for perspicultie: for this naming effe : whereup of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other. pon the Vulga

Not farre from Asteroth Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbachius placeth reading cornu-Cedar, in the way out of Syria into Galilee, foure miles from Corazin. This Citic (faith he) is remembred in the Canticles, and in the booke of Indith, and there are that of or lucidam fa. ciem, gaue octhis Citie understand David in his 120. Pfalme : and here the Sepulcher of Iob is yet casion to the

fabulous gains to be focue, faith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is fo that the Greeke hath Galaad in fleed of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth vie in that place of Iudith, and joyneth Carmel and Galilee. The Cantieles and the 120. Psalme doe rather proue that 30 Cedar was not here about, than any way helpe Adrichomius. For that they speake of Scenit & Cedareni, it is apparent, and as enident by the place in the Canticles that they were decolores, much more than any under the Climates of the land of Canaan : whence Junus out of Lampridius and Plinie placeth them in Arabia Petrea, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulcher of Ich it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) faine many thinges to abuse the Christians, and to get moaft. in Gen. Bell. ney. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historicall circumin Com. lib. t. de stances of Iob are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke fup.F.p. ad Rom. to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture. 1.18. c.4. (bryf.

Of Job himselfe whether he were the same Jobab remembred in the 36. of Geneentia 10b. Greg. sis, descended from Esau, and King also of Idumaa, though Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleaster, and Bellarmine are of an other opinion, yet S. Ambrole, Augustine, Chryfostome, and accofienchan- Gregorie, with Athanasius, Hyppolitus, Iraneus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustaged one into shius & other, cited by S. Hierom in his 126. Epift. to Euagrius, take him for the same.

The Land of Huts or Hus wherein Iob dwelt is from the Greeke Ove, which the whence they vied Augustor Septuagint vie for the word Huts, translated by the Vulgar sometime Hus, as 10b.1.v. s fomtime Austis, as Hierome 25.20. This Land is placed by Junius between Palestina Junius and o. and Caelesyria, besides Chamatha (or Hamath) under Palmyrene in the Countrie calthers it is called by Ptolomie Trachonitis or Bathanted the bounds of thich Countries are confounled Aufanitis, & ded with Bafan in this halfe Tribe at Manaffes. And that this Land of Hus was thus they readeit in feated it may in part bee gathered out of the place of Ieremie the 25. 20. where hee the Septuagiat. reckons the Hulbites among the promiscuous borderers of the Ilraelites, whom hee 1400, in Gen. 10. therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneam turbam, because their bounds were

not only iounced but confounded, and their Seignibries mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of Hieremie, Lamentations 4, 21. speaking of the same prophelie, of which he speaketh in the fine and twentieth Chapter, must needes be expounded: as Junius reades them diftinguilhing the Land of His from Edom: O filis Edomi, o que habitas in terra Hutzi; O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleft in the Land of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth Filia Edom que habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned have thought that tob was an Edomite, as we have faid, and King of Edom, which if they understand by it Idumaa or Edom, so called in Mo-

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10 fes time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of Hus to be in Edumaa. For it Deut, 3,9, is very probable that Efan when he first parted from Iacob did not seate himselfe in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the South border of Indea, but inhabited Seir farre to the East of Iordan, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called Galaad, and Hermon, which by corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir for Seir, and from this his habitation did Esau incounter Iacob when he returned out of Melopotamia, who passed by the very border of Esau his abiding. It is true that at fuch time as Moles wandred in the Defarts, that the posteritie of Elan inhabited Scir to the South of Indea: for it is like that the Ammorites who had beaten both Ammonand Mosb, did also drive the Edomites out of those parts, who thence-forward 20 scated themselves to the South of Indea, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretched

their habitations ouer the Defarts as farre as Hor where Aram died.

Now for this Hus which gaue the name to a part of the Land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the sonne of Aram, as Iunius thinkes in his note vpon Gen. 13.23. or rather Hus the sonne of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was Hus the fonne of Nachor : partly because these Families of Aram seeme long before to have beene lost : and partly because in 10b c. 32.2. Elihu the fourth of 10bs friends, which seemes to be of 10bs owne Countrie, is called a Buzite, of Buz, the brother of Hus, the sonne of Nachor: as also vyhence the Hieremie 25 in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) setting in call 30 where Hus is spoken of, there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conic- him exregione

Eture that in the place of lob 32. Elihu the Buzite is faid to be of the Familie of Ram: dufitide. (which Iunius expounds to be as much as of the Familie of Aram) for that by this Aram we are not to understand Aram the sonne of Som, Junius himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his booke, where he faith that one of labs friends (which must needes be this Elibu) was of the posteritie of Nachor (as also in this place he confesseth so much expresly) and in as much as he readeth not è familia Aram, or Ram, but è familia Syra; like as elsewhere Laban who forung of Nachor is called a Syrian. As for the other three of lobs friends (of whom by this note of Elibu his being of

40 the Sprian Familie or, of the familie of Nachor) it is implied that they were of other See Sixtus See kindreds; as also by the Septuagints addition, that this Elibu was of the Land of Hus, noise. or Austis, it is implied that they thought only Elibu to have beene of Jobs owne

Francifeus Brochard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from Acon Eastward, findeth Suetha, and Theman on the East of the Sea of Galilee: both very neare to the Land of His: whereof the one may seeme to have denominated Bildad the Shuchit; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: two of the three friends of lob, of the which lob 2.11. But Junius thinks that the Shuchits were inhabitants of Arabia the Defart, descended of Shuach the some of Abraham and Ketura: of whom 50 Gen. 72.2. perhaps, faith he, the same whom Plinie calls Saccei. So also he thinketh the Themanites of whom Eliphaz was, to have beene of Arabia the Defart : and Eliphaz himselfe to have beene of the posteritie of Theman the sonne of Eliphaz, which was the fonne of E/au. And fo also Nahamah whence Tfophar the third of Iobs friends (which in this place of 10b e.2.v. 1 1 are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor Mm 2

whence they

CHAP.II. S.I. of the Historic of the World.

CHAP. XI.

The Historic of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Fordan.

Of the citie of Damascus and the diners fortunes thereof.

Amasevs of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of joy or gladnes, and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes faith Iofephus thinke it to have bene built by Iofeph. 1.14. Hus the sonne of Aram: of which opinion S. Hierome vpon Esai scemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questi- Instaire. ons hee affirmeth that it was founded by Damafeus,

the sonne of Eliezer Abrahams Steward, athing very Gen. 15.2. vnliklie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by Abrahams calling this his Steward Eliezer of Damasco. David was the first that subjected it to the Kingdome of Inda, after the ouerthrow of Adadezer their King, but in Salomons time, Rezon recoursed it agains, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but Dauid hauing ouerthrowne Hadadezer king of Sophena, (otherwise Syria Soba or Zobah) Razon or Rezon with the remainder of that broken armie, in-30 uaded Damascena, and possest Damascens it selfe, and became an enemie to Salomon all 1.7(1.11.0.46)

The next King of Damaseus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Agypt from 1-Reg. it. Danid, and Ioab, when they flew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Taphnes the King of AEgypts wines fifter : of whom Taphnes in Egypt was fo called. This Adad returning againe became an enemie to Salomon, all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded Damaseus, and thrust Rezon thence out. In the line of Adad that Kingdome continued nine descents? as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Assyrians & then the Greeians succeeded. This citic was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers

40 of Abanah, and Parphar: wherofone of them prophane writers call Chryforrhous the 1. Reg. s. golden river. Iunius takes it for Adonis. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle built as it seemes by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the lillies Herold. 6. Bell. being found cut in many marbles in that Cit'adell. Against this Citie the Prophets Sacr. Amos; Efai, Hieremy and Zaeharias; prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demo- 1, 3,8,10,8,17, lished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last Rezon and tenth King of 49.89. the Damafeens, Teglatphalaffar inuited by Achaz king of Indacarried away the na- 2 Teg. 16. turals of Damafeus into the East: leaving of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was ytterly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Herome vpon Efai: which thing 30 was performed by Salmanafar according to Iunius, in his note vpon that place, fine

yeeres after the prophetic. In time it was reflored by the Macedonians, and the Prolomies ; but long after when Syria fell into the hands of the Romanes, it was taken tolephant.4. by Metellus and Lollius. In the time of the Christians it had an Arebbishoppe : S. Hierome living, as he affirmeth upon the Altes, it was the Metropolis of the Saracens:

Gen. 36.40. is named among the fonnes of Efau that gaue denomination to the places where they were feated) or elfe to be the same Nahamah, which Iof. 15. 41, is reckoned for a Citic of Inda in the border, as he thinkes, of Edom. And yet I denie not but that neare to the Land of Hus, in Bafan, as it seemes, in the Tribe of Manasses, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called Suitis, or of some De Bell, Sacr. le like name. For this is evident by the Historic of Willielmus Tyrius, which reports of 22.6.15. 6 21: a Fort in this Region of Suita or Suites (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and vse for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which in the time of Bald-

thought either to be named of Thimnah by transposition of letters (which Thimnah

wine the fecond King of Hierusalem was with great digging through rocks recovered 10 by the Christians: having not long before been lost to the great disaduantage of the Countrie, while it was in the handes of the Saracens. The situation of this Fort is by Tyrius described to be fixteene miles from the Citie Tiberius, on the East of Iordan: by Adrichomius foure miles North-ward from the place where Iordan enters the Lake Tiberias at Corazin.

Other Cities of this part of Manaffes named in the Scripture are thefe: Golan, Be. helbthera, Mitsha of Gilead, and Kenath, which after the comming of the Israelites was called Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitspa of Gilehad, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of Gad: The two other were given to the Leuites, and Golan made one of the Cities of refuge : from which Golan wee have both Gaulanitis fupe- 20 rior & inferior, oft in Iosephus. Beheshthera is accounted the chiefe Citie of Basan by fome, but the writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confounded with Betler or Bozra of Reuben, and with Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierome hath Arga, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of Merom (as they are called by Iofua) which make the Lake Samachonitis. as Iosephus calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midst betweene Casaria Philippi and Tiberias, through which as through the Lake of Tiberias, Iordan runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of Libanus melteth itis very large, faith Brochard: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both fides, for Lyonsand other wild beafts, which harbour in the shrubs that plen- 30 tifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrie of Manasses, Insephus names two places of strength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the Jewes rebellion; Seleucia the one, and Sogane the other. In the North fide of this halfe Tribe of Manaffe, and in the North-cast, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward Damaseus, as Tsedad, Chauran, and Chatsar-Henan, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade Ezek. 47. 15. with which also agrees the place Numb. 24.8. where for Chauram, betweene Tfedad, and Chatfar-Henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauram is the name of Auranitis regio, in Iosephus and Tyrius, whose bounds

(as also the bounds of Gessur and Mahachath or Macati, which were likewise 40 borderers to Manaffes toward the North-east) are vnknowne; only that Geffur was of might, it appeares in that Dauid mar-

ried Mahaca the Daughter of Tholmay King of Geffur : by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortu-

nate Absalon.

I.Chron.3.2.

C A P. 50

10/.21.27.

Onuphrius in

17.6.1.23.4.50

being taken by Haomar their King from the Romanes, in the yere of our redemption 626. And in the vecre 1147. Conrad the third, Emperour of Rome, Lewes King of Fraunce, Baldwine the third King of Hierusalem, Henry Duke of Austria, brother to Conrad, Frederick Barbaroffa afterward Emperour, Theodorick Earle of Flaunders and other Princes affembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the fea coast, determined to recour Damafeus: but being betrayed by the Syrians they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeere 1262. Halon the Tartar incompass it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the wals, and threatned extreame torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, Agab the sonne of Halon was by his fa- to

ther made King thereof.

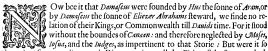
Sac.4.6.14. Firold.1.6.c.4.

Herold, Bell,

In the yeere 1400. Tamberlaine Emperour of the Parthians, inuaded that region. and belieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not miltaken) He entred it and put all to the fword, filling the ditch withhis prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee overtopped with another Castle adjoyning the forbare the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beautie of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 2000 lanternes of gold & filuer: but while he inuaded Agypt they againg furprized Damafeus. Lastly in his returne after three monethes siege he forst it; the Mahametans proftrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie; But Tamber- 29 laine commaunding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000, and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwardes to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophey of his victory he raised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had flaughtered. After this it was restored and reposses by the Soldane of Egypt with a garrison of Mammalukes: And in the yeere 1717. Selimus Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Agyptians: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans, and Christians, of all neighbouring nations.

à. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power:



by Damaseus the sonne of Eliezer Ahrahams steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till Davids time. For is flood without the boundes of Canaan: and therefore neglected by Mose, Josua, and the Judges, as impertinent to that Storic . But were it so that it had some reguli, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those partes had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till fuch time as 40 David overthrew Adadezer prince of Sophena or Syria Zoba: the same Nation which Plinie calleth Nubei, inhabiting betweene Batanea and Euphrates. Now the better to vnderstand the storic of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe. That on the Northeast parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commaunders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of Israel, namely Damaseus or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath-Zoba, of which these were the Princes in Davids and Salomons times: Razon or Rezon of Damascus, Adadezer of Syria Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the cities subject to Adadezer when David invaded him, though when so Saul made warre against Zoba, Damaseus was not named. And as Iosephus affirmeth the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to Hadad-Hezer from Damascus, had the name of Adad: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of Adadezer, Rezon, the Commander of

Plin.l.6.c.23.

1.Sam.14.47. . 3 0 8 2.

z.Sam.B.

his armie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of Damaseus: Adadezer and Adad of Damafous being both flaine. About the same time Tohu King of Chamath or Itured, 1.Rig. 11. hearing thathis neighbour and enemie Adadezer was vtterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to Danid, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in dolo faith S. Hierome; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the holy Land, and to the West of Damaseus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited : but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Iudaans and Israelites. But to returne to the kings of Syria, I meane of Syria as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chainath or Iturea, to which I may adde Gelhur, because it is so accounted in the 10 2. of Sam. 15. as ioyning in the territoric to Damaseus (for Syria at large is farre grea-

ter, of which Paleflina it selfe is but a Prouince, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our latter writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba, and Damafeus.

Some account Rezon, other Adad of Idumea: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that David having invaded that region, and left loab therein to destroy all the male children thereof: Adad of the kings feed, fled into Agypt: and was there married to Taphnes the Queenes lifter as before, who hearing of Dauids death; and of the death of his Captaine loab (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) hee returned againe, and as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expell Rezon out of Da-

20 mafeus : and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as 2 sam.8.3. I take it, Adadezer the sonne of Rehob, whom Saul inuaded, was the founder of that and 12. principalitie: and the first of Adads, who for faking his fathers name, as hee grewe powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of Adad, the great God of the Affrians, faith Macrobius, which fignified oneneffe or Vnitie. I also finde a citie called Adada in the fame part of Syria: of which whether these Princes tooke the name or gaue it, I am ignorant. For Adad-ezer, Ben-adad, Eli-adad were the fame in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adioyned. And that Adadezer was of greatest power, it appeareth first because it is against him, that David vndertooke the warre; secondly because he leuied 22000. Aramites out of the territorie of Damascus: as out of his

30 proper Dominions: for had the Damascens had a King apartitis probable that the Scriptures would have given vs his name, thirdly because Syria Zoba, of the most of which Adadezer was king, was an exceeding large territorie, and contained of Arabia the Defart as farre as to Euphrates, according to Plinie; and the greatest part of Arabia Petranaccording to Niger. Whofoeuer was the first, whether Adadezer, or Adad of I- 1.Reg. 11, dumaa, Rezon was the second: Who was an enemie to Ifrael all the dayes of Salomon. Befids the cuil that Adad did, the cuil that Hadad did, scemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumea, lately returned out of Agypt: to wit, 23. yeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of Damaseus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion, to Hezion succeeded Tabrimmon, or Tabremmon, to him Benhadad, as is proued in the first of Kings. 1.King. 15.18.

40 For Asaking of Inda the sonne of Abiam, the sonne of Roboam, the sonne of Salomon, being vexed and inuaded by Baasha, the successour of Nadab, the sonne of Ieroboam, fent to Benhadad, the sonne of Tabrimmon the sonne of Hezion, king of Aram, that dwelt at Damaseus, to invade Israel (while Baasha sought to fortific Rama against Asa: thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the territories of 1/6rael) who according to the defire of Afa, having received his prefents, willingly inuaded the countrey of Nepthalim, and tooke divers cities, and spoiles thence: Afa fortific Rama, withall, and converted them to his owne vie.

This Benhadads father Tabremmon was in league with Asa: and so was his father 50 Hezion; for Asarcquireth the continuance of that friendship from Benhadad, his some: though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon inuaded Ifrael, before the enterprize of his some Benhadad, it is coniectured. For Benhadad when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as followeth. The Cities which my father tooke from thy father; I will 1.Reg. 20, 0, 34;

1.Reg.15.

1.Reg.20.

1.Reg.22.

2 Reg.5. 2.Reg.6.

2.Reg 6.

2 Reg.7.

3 2 2 7.

3 2 3 2.

reflore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus; as my father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because Tabremmon was father indeed to Benhadad which inuaded Baa/ha, at the request of Asa; But this Benhadad that twice entred vpon Achab : and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of Ben. badad, the first of that name, the confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than the fonne of Tabremmon. For betweene the invalion of Benhadad the first, in Baalhas time, and the feige of Samaria, and the ouerthrow of Benhadad by Achab, there past 49 yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Ifrael. So that if we allow 30 yeeres of age to Benhadad, when he inuaded Baafha, and after that 40, 10 yeeres, ere he was taken by Achab, which make eightie lacking one, it is vnlikely that Benhadad at such an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came with no fuch pompe, but the fecond Benhadad vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings : and therefore I resolue that Benhadad the sonne of Tabremmon inuaded Baalha and Omri, and Benhadad the second inuaded Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad received two notorious overthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a fallie of 700. Ifraelites: the second at Aphee, where with the like number in effect, the Ifraelites flaughtered 100000. of the Aramites: belides 2 7000, which were crushe by the fall of the wall of Aphee. And this Benhadad, Achab againe fetteth at libertie; to whom he rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the predecessour of A- 20 chab, but being returned, he refuseth to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for follong the league lafted) Ramoth not being deliuered, Achab inuadeth Gilead, and affeigeth the citic, being affifted by 10 Suplat. The Aramites came to succour and fight; in which Achab is wounded and dieth that night. After this, Benhadad sendeth the commaunder of his forces called Naaman, to Ioram the sonne of Achab to be healed of the leaprosie; and though Elizeus had healed him ; yet he picketh quarrell against Ioram ; and when Ioram by Elizeus his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforefaid. After Benhadad befiegeth Samaria againe, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departeth home, and fickneth, and fendeth Azael with 30 great gifts to Elizeus, to know his estate, if he might line. Azael returning, smothereth him. Zonar as and Cedrenus call this Benhadad Adar, and the sonne of Adar: A-

3 2 3 4. Ant 1.8.c.8.

mos and Hieremie mention the towers of Benhadad. Insephus writeth that Benhadad and his fuccessour Azael were worshipped for Gods by the Syrians to his time, for the fumptuous Temples which they built in Damafeus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquitie, ignorant faith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are compleate fince their warres with the Ifraelites.

Hazael or Azael the first king of the race of the Adads of Damaseus was anointed by Elisha, or Elizeus, when he was sent by Benhadad to the Prophet, to know whether Benhadad should recour his present sicknesse: He waged warre with Ioram; who 40 received divers wounds at the incounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Iefrael, he and the King of Inda, Ahaziah, or Ochozias, are flaine by Iehu, as before is faid. After the death of Ioram, Azael continued the warre against lebu, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, ouer Iordan. Hee then inuaded Iuda, and tooke Gath, but by gifts from Ioas hee was auerted from attempting Hierusalem: for he presented him all the hallowed things which I EHOSAPHAT, I EHORAM, and AHAZIAH his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which he himselfe had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the

Temple was spoyled to please the Adads of Damascus. For Asa did present Benhadad 50

with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon Baasha King of Israel. And

2.Reg.12.17.

2,Reg.12. treasuries of the Lord: and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the

1.Reg 15.

notwithstanding this composition betweene Ions and Aznel, yet apart of his armie spoiled the other provinces of Iudaa, and slaughtered many principall 2 King 13, 2, 7, persons. Lastly, Azael vexed loahas the sonne of Iehu, and brought him to that

CHAP.II. S.z. of the Historie of the World.

extreamitie, as he left him but fiftie horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

d III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



Fter Hazael, Bennasaa inc tooling, the fonne of Hazael, reigned in Damafeus: who fought against Ifract, with ill direcesse: for loss king of Ifrael, the sonne of the vinhappie 10-2-2-2-2-3; ashe was foretold by Elisate Prophet, beat Bernhadad in three Inseptament, in the lost all those cities to Ifrael, which his father Fter Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, feuerall battels : and he lost all those cities to Ifrael, which his father

Hazael had taken violently from Ioachaz.

After this Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the 10seph.an.l.g. fame name, of whom the Stories are loft, onely Nicholaus Damafeenus, cited by Iofe- 6.6. phus, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that leroboam the second, the sonne of Iom recovered Damaseus it selfe, to Indah faith the Geneua, 1.King.i. 18 but better in Iunius, vique recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Iehuda prò Israele; that is, And how he recovered for Israel, Damaseus and Chamatha of Iudaa; for these ci-

ties sometimes conquered by Dauid, did of right belong to the tribe of Iuda. And it is likely that this conquest vpon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no Storie. For when as Iehoas the king of the tenne Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, and had recovered the cities which Hazael had wonne from Ifrael; and fo left his Kingdome to his sonne Ieroboam the second, it seemeth that this Ieroboam without delay, and hauing nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded Damascus. Razin, or Rezin, after Iosephus Rases, after Zonaras Raason, the 10. Adad, maketh

league with Pekah, or Phacas King of Ifrael, against Achaz King of Iuda; both carie 30 away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Hierusa lem : but in vaine. Then Adad alone inuadeth Elath, and beating out the lewes, 2. King i. K. makethit a Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought Tetglaphalassar against Ra-Es. 7. zin, who tooke him and beheaded him, and wonne Damafeus: with whom ended lofeph.antilib the line of the Adads and the Kingdome of Damaseus: the Assyrians becomming ma- 9.6.13. fters both of that and Ifrael. These Adads as they reigned in order are thus reckoned,

I Adadezer, the fonne of Rehob. Rezin the sonne of Eliadad, or Razin.

Hexion.

Tabremmon.

Benhadad who inuaded Baasha.

Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

Hazael, whom Elifha forctold, with teares, of his advancement; the fame who de uerthrew Ioram King of Ifrael, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not probable, because that Hazael which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with Ions, made the expedition 30. yeeres, and perchance more, after the first Hazael which stifled his master Benhadad. and had flaine toram the fonne of Achab King of Ifrael. For toas began to reigne in the 7 yeere of Iehu King of Ifrael; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long wee know not) it is faid that Ha-50 zael tooke Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some proofe that Hazael which tooke Geth, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad; because hee could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the Kingdome, and Commaunder of Benhadads men of warre. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded.

8 Benha-

2.Sam.3.9.

Efai.37.

3811.

8 Benhadad the third, whom Ioalh King of Israel thrise overthrew.

9 Resin, or Rezin the last, who iouncd with Pekah King of Israel, against Inda, at which time Achaz King of Inda waged for his defence Teglatphalaffar.

Now betweene Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholaus Damafeenus findes three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but reguli, as those of Emath, and Geffur, we finde that Tohu was King of Emath or Chamath in Davids time, to whom he fent his sonne Ioram with presents, after Davids victorie against Adadezer. Also Senacherib speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

### d. IIII.

F Geffur wee finde two Kings named; to wit, Talmai, and his father

Of other leffer Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Affyrians, neuer recoursed them (clues again.

Ammibur, To Talmai, whose daughter David married, it was that Abfalon fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of sophena or Syria, Soba or Calefyria, there are two named, Rehob or Rochob 22 the father of Adadezer, and Adadezer himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the feat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damafeus, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After Rezin became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria (which became so potent, and joyned Soba, Damascus, Emath, and the defart of Arabia with other Provinces into one, under Rezin the fecond of the Adads) as it began with David, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of Israel. For Ahaz king of Inda waged the Assyrian Teglatphalassar against Pekah King of Ifrael, and against Rezin the last King of Damafeus : which Teglath first inuaded Damascena, and the region of Soba, and tooke Damasceus it selfe, and did put to death Rezin the last, carrying the inhabitants captine. This was the second time 20 that the Affyrians attempted Ifrael. For first, Phul Belochus entred the borders thereof (Menahem gouerning Israel) who stopt the enterprize of Phul with a thousand talents of filuer : for this Phul Belochus, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seate at Babylon, which hee, with the helpe of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus: having besides this King of Syria in his way, who feemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his sonne Teglath following the purpose of his father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Israel and Iuda, Pekab commaunding in the one, and Ashaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin being also wrapt in 40 that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Achas King of Inda, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damaseus, which lay in his path towards Ifrael, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great case possest himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim: leading with him a great part of the people captine. And his sonne Salmanassar, whom Ptolomy calleth Nabonassar, after the renolt of Hofea, forced Samaria: and rent that Kingdome afunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, whom Belochus Supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom Teglath flaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanassar ouerturned, happened neere about a time: that of Ninus in the daies of Belochus, and the other two in the daies of Teglatphalaffar, and 50 Salmanassar his sonne. For Sardanapalus perished, Osaruling Inda; and the other two

Kingdomes were diffolued, Achaz yet liuing. Lastly, the Kingdome of Iuda it selfe, being attempted by Senacherib, the sonne of Salmanasfar in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at CHAP.12. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

length vtterly ouerturned. Herusalem and the Temple burnt 132, yeeres after the captiuntie of Ifrael, and Samaria: the destruction of Ifrael beng in the ninth yeere of Holea: that of Iuda in the eleauenth of Zedechia. Now the Emperours of Allyria and Babylon held also the Kingdome of Syria from the eight yeere of Salmanasser, to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labynitus: in all about 200. yeeres. After these the Persians from Cyrus to Darius their last King, held syria about 200.

Then Alexander Macedon tooke this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and his successours the Seleucide reigned therein, till it became subject vnto the 10 power of the Romanes, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doeboth in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose Historie in those antient times carried an affured face of trueth.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

Of diners memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mit/pa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.



F the Tribe of Beniamin, the twelfth and youngest fonne of Iacob, whom hee had by Rachel, there were mustred at Mount Sinai 3 5000. able bodies: all which perishing in the Defarts, there entred the holy Land of their Issues 45000. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side Iordan, betweene Iuda and Ephraim: The Cities within this Tribe neerest Iordan, are Lod, Hadid, and Ono: of which Lod and Ono were built by Shemed a Beniamite: 1,Chro,8,11, they were all three reinhabited with Beniamites, after the returne out of captivitie, as is mentioned, Webe.

11.35. and Efd.2.35. where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes belides Hadid in Webemia, a Citie called Lodhadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by Simon Macc. 12.38,

Samarim or Tsemaraim, named of Tsemary, one of the sonnes of Canaan, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth Iericho, one of the Topara ther of their Circs; and intruct into the Landau and the last of inda; seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the Citie of Palmes. From the time 1,86,17,36, of 10/14, who vtterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of Achab: in whose 1,06,639. daies Chiel of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the loffe of Abiram his cldest This Halmon is 50 sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne Segub: according methywhence to the curse of Iosua: in which and other respectes Hos. 12. 14. calleth Iosua a Pro- they make a phet. In after-times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and rebuilt by Adrian.

To the Southeast of Iericho flood \* Halmon of the Leuites, of which Iof. 21.18. To Tribe had githe South Betharaba, of which Iof.c, 15. and c. 18. Then that Gilgal of which there is to the Leviler

\* Dent.11 30. \* 1.Sam.7.19. " Iunius in this place, for Beit,Kiriath teharim where the Arke abode. for(faithhe) by the Law, tings in their annuall feafts were to be, was,but this uall, but of indiciall mecto their great meetings wherefocuet they were, as appeares i. Sam.12.v.11.6 6.14.v.13 ncither is it cafic

to expound

ad of which le. to which hee followed the shogh Adricho. mins & others our of this place imagine

a Mitspa or

Alujpha(as

they write it)

fo much mention in the Scripture, where lofua first cate of the fruites of the lande. circumcifed all those borne in the Defarts, and celebrated the Paffeouer. The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of

this name (for it feemes by the place, Deut. 11.30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the Ifraclites into Canaan) is noted 10.5.9.0b devolutionem probri Agyptiaci, because their foreskinnes (the people being there circumcifed) were mum Dei furit, tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called Gollis preputiorum. This and interprets Gilgal was also called Geliloth, as appeares by comparing the places, Iof. 15.7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of lordan, of which lof. 22. 13. and Geliloth lignifieth borders. \* It flood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the 10 two hils Garizim and Hebal: vpon the one of which the bleffings, and on the other Exod, 23, 17 the the curlings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of Ephraim. Further, for the situation of this Gilgal, it is to bee noted, that both it, and Mitspa of Beniamin (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were leated about the midst of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason \* Samuel chose these two where the arke places, to either of which he came yeerely to give judgement to the Ifraelites; of was, out times which two, Gilgal (as is faid) was necre lordan on the East fide of this Tribe; and ipeake of fefti- Mit/paneere the West sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also Samuel vsed yere-

tings: and be - ly to come, is \* Bethel: which also was seated in this Tribe of Beniamin. But to re- 20 fide the Priefts turne to Gilgal which was the first place, where the Arkeresided, after they past ouer bring the 4the Iordan from whence it was carried to Silo, & thence to Kiriath-ieharim, and at length to Hierusalem) here in Gilgal it was that Iosua pitched vp the twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of Iordan when it was drie, that the Ifraelites might passe ouer it, by which Storie, as it is set downe 10st. 4. it appeares, that the same day that they passed ouer Iordan, they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit many other memorable things, it was that Samuel he wed Agag the King of the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitsa, whither also Samuel came yeerely to give Judgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held; as that for the reuenge of the Bethel other-Leuites wife against Gibha, and the Beniamites, Iud. 20. 1. and another against the Phi- 30 wife then for the Citie Relistims 1. Sam. 7.12. Thither also Indas Macchabaus gathered the Iewes (when Hie-Junius allo take rusalem was possest by the Heathen) as it is 1. Macc. 3.47 in which place this reason it for the place of their meeting is added; Quià locus Orationi fuerat Mitspa anteà Israeli. Touching this Mitflu, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: Mitspa of Juda, of which 10f. 15.38.\* Mitspa of Gilead, of which wee have spoken alreadie in the Tribe of Gad: Mitspa of the Moabites, where Danid for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of Moab 1. Sam. 22.3 and laftly, this chiefe Mitspa of the Beniamites. And as in this place the 11,0.05 ap peares by that chiefe meetings were held both before Hierusalem was recourred from the Iebusties, which is added and also in the time of the Macchabees (as we have faid ) when Hierusalem was held by 40 Serfar crietom, the wicked under Antiochus, so also in the time of Hieremie, after the destruction of the three quar. the Temple by the Chaldeys, Gedaliah whom Nabuchodonofor left in Jewry as Gouernour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *lewes*) he was flaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall blood of Inda, as it is Herem. 14.

Necre veto this Mitspa, the \*Scripture mentioneth Beth-car, after called Aben-Hezer, that is, the Stone of helpe: where Samuel pitched up the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching Bethel which (as it seemes) was the third place where Samuel held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was aunciently called Luz, and 50 how it was taken by the iffue of Tofeph (though it belonged to the portion of Benin the Tribe of iamin, as it is Nehem. 11. 31. and Iof. 18.22.) and how another Citic called Lux \*neere Affer. \* 1.Sam 7.11. adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citic which shewed the entrance to the spies, as it is Indg. 1 and of the occasion of the name from Iacobs vision: and how

God) made it \* Beth-auen, that is, the house of Vanitie Hof. 4.15. & 10.5. as also one incightour ther memorable things of this place, they are so wel knowne, out of the Histories of towne in the the Scripture, that we may well passe them ouer. The territorie of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the tenne Linds and Ifred Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of Abia against Ieroboam (of which 2.Chr. between Hai 13.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdome of Inda: and so it continued, as appeares by the Storie of Ioshia: which performed the Prophecies against See 9.8 16 the altar of Bethel, 2.Reg. 23. whence those coastes 1. Mace. 11.34. are called Apple. Of this Remains 1 vides 10 rema, which Greeke word fignifieth as much as, A thing taken away, to wit, from the fland the place tenne Tribes. It was one of the three Seigniories or Prefectures which Demetrius in 1. Mac. 11 34.

18.22 is called Hophram, belonging to this Tribe of Beniamin. Not farre from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often men- wyeelds to the tioned in the Scriptures, Rama, Gibba, and Gebah. Of the name Rama, \* it is noted likes out of alreadie, in the description of Ephraim, that there were many townes so cailed, the country of because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out Rama in the Tribe of lying toward Detailed their right management of the fact of the bardered Bethlehem) and ailo the Bart of the Bart o 20 out of Brochard and Breidenbach make Silo to have beene called Rama, and finde yet date ward the another Rama in Zabulon; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of Rama VVolt and A. in the Tribe of Affer, as it seemes, wee have testimonie 10f. 19.29; and of an other in which even Nephthalim Iof. 19.36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount Ephnaim 1.54, nowweffake) 25.1. which more often is called \* Ramatha, and 1. Sam. 1.1. Ramathaim Tophim: for with between which the Septuagint haue Aramatham-fophim, taking the Article affixed in the be- the two other, ginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke lofeph of Armathea Mat. 2.7.57 A fixt News it

Of a fourth Rama we reade 2. Reg. 8. 29. which is Ramoth in Gilehad. The first, Tribe of Since which is most often mentioned, is Rama of Beniamin, seated as we faid, neere Bethel on toward the 20 the vttermost South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause 10f. 9 8.18 cal-Baufha in the time of \$1/4 King of Iuda, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from the South, and him to Afa. Of this Rama, or Ramatha I should rather thinke Iofeph was, that buried otherwise Ba-Chrift: because it was necret to Hierusalem, and after the captivitie belonged to His halath bee, dea, as it appeares Efd. 2, 26. where in that it is joyned with Gebah, it is plaine that he fruction, that speaketh of that Rama with whose stones (after B.sasha had ceased to build it) Asa (as is, Gouerning it is 1. Reg. 25.22.) built Gebah adioyning to it: both being in Beniamin. And as Rama a genitiue was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, so was Gebah the North-border of the whence the Kingdome of Iuda: whence 2. Reg. 23. 8. weercade that Iofiah through all his King. Palgarout of dome, cuen from Gebah, which was the North-border, to Beer-fieba which was the the Septuagint read 16,2433. 40 South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie Gibba which was the Citie of Saul (the wickednesse of which mice for which Citic in the time of the Iudges had almost veterly rooted out this Tribe) Adricho-lis Phiscasi (see miss confounds with Gebah, making one of two (asthey are euidently diffinguished this word is Esat 20.27. of which word \*Gibbas, in another forme Gibbath, he imagineth Gabaath appellatine figur. nother Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie also to Rama fyling 4 Hill) nother-Lite in this 1 ribe, making two orone. The vicinitie of this lite and to Admin of Beniamin, appears Ind. 19.13, where the Leun with his wife not able to reach to Rema, tooke vp his lodging at Gibha. By that place of 1. Sa. 22. 6. it feemes that there was itee of his, in this Gibha some tower or Citadell called Rama: where Junius reades in exce fo, for in builds his Ci-Rama: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was Rama: as it pon this Text 50 feemes that in Rama of Samuel, the name of the chiefe place where Samuel with the and placethir Colledge of Prophets abode, was Najoth. The great Citic of Hat ouerthrowne by 16f in Benamin, which is the control of the cont which 10f.7.2. is placed neere Beth-duen upon the East of Bethel, was in this Tribe as words adjoined is proved Nehe. 7.10.30. though it be not named by Iofuac. 18 for it was burned by note that this him and laid defolate, as it is Iof. 8.28. In folitudinem in tumulum perpetuum; Another Mountaines of Citic Ephraim.

Ieroboam, by creeting one of his calues here, of Bethel (which fignifieth the house of \*Borrowing confines of the his Epiftle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Iewes, out of the Sa-med lor one maritan Country. A part of it, as appeares 2. Chron. 13.19. was Hephraum, which lof. or the three

Gabaath Phi-

410

\*The word much as dati (as it were a Dee date) or as lunius expounds it deditingit is vied.t chron 9.2, and in Eldras and Mehemias of-

Citie of cheife note reckoned Jos. 18.25. in this Tribe was Gibbon, the chiefe Citie of the Heuites : whose cunning to bind the Ifraelites by oath to saue their lines, is set downe Iof.9. whence they were reckoned among the \* Nethingi or Profelits: and were bound to certaine publique services in the house of God: which oath of sauing these Gibeonites broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine 2. Sam. 21.1. This Gibeon or Gibbon with Aimon and Iebah ( of both which wee have spoken) and with Hanothoth the natall place of Hieremie the Prophet, were faid Iol. 21.28.to be given to the Leuites by the Beniamites. Neere to this Hanothoth was Nob. as appears 1. Reg. 2.26. where Ebiathar the Priest, which was of Nob before it was de-

> Saul raised in this place (as it is set downe 1. Sam. 21. and 22.) in the judgemen of Inmius, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time. Micmus also in this Tribe Nehem.9.31. was a place of fame, of which Esai 10.28. where also be nameth Gallim, and Migrom in this Tribe. In Micmas Saul had his Campe 1. Sam. 12.2. (when he left Gibba to Ionathan) and there also was Ionathan Macchabeus his aboad. r. Macc. 9.73. Of Gifcala in Galilee Iofephus makes often men tion, but of any heere in Beniamin, which they make the natall place of S. Paul, whence (they fay) when it was taken by the Romans, hee failed with his parents to 20 Tharfis, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of leffe importance lomit, and come to the Citie of Hierusalem, and the Princes and Gouernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of Beniamin, whence Iof. 18. 28.it is

> stroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hanothotb: It is reckoned in the Tribe of 10

Beniamin, Nehem. 9.31. and though in the time of Saul the reliding place of the

Arke was at Kiriath-iearim: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloodlhed, which

of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

\* See in the hither halfe of Manaffe.



named among the Cities of Beniamin.

T what time titerufalem was built (which afterward became the Prin- 30 ceffe of , all Ciries ) it do the not appeare. Some there are who imagine that Melehifedee was the founder thereof in Abrahams time. But \*according to others, that Citic out of which Melehifedee incountred Abraham (in his returne from the ouerthow of the Affyrian and Per-

fian Kings or Captaines, when Lot was made prisoner) standeth by theriner of tordan, in the halfe Tribe of Manasse bordering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, and by the Greekes Solima.

Hierufalem (whenfoeuer or by whomfoeuer built) was a principall Citie in 10fua his time : yet not fo renowned as Hazor the Metropolis (in those daies and before) of all the Cananites. Adonizedek (whom Iofua flew) was then King of Hierufalem. 40 That it was belonging to the Iebusites it is manifest: for how long socuer they held it before Molestime, they were Mafters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeares after him : euen till Danid wanne it : and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Iebufai (the children of Iebusaus the sonne of Canaan) built; after whom it was called Iebus. And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when David attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

2.Sam.5.v.6.

David after he had by Gods affiltance possestit, and turned out the Iebusites, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from 50 Iebussalem, the Citie of the Iebusites, to Hierusalem, which the Geekes call Hierosolima. After Davidstime Salomon amplified, beautified and ftrengthened it exceedingly.

10(cont. Appl.). For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned strabogggd.1.6 among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and wals, could not any where in the world CHAP. 12. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

bee exampled and besides that it had 150000 inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60, foote of depth: cut out of the very rocke: and 250 foote of breadth: whereof the like hath feldome beene heard of, either fince or before.

After the death of Salomon, and that the Kingdome of the Jewes was cut asunder. Shiftar King of Agypt, and his predecessour, having bred up for that purpose, Adad 2. Chronit; the Idum.ean, and Ieroboam, Salomons servant; and both married to AEgyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: Sifhae first inuaded the Territorie 2.Kin.14. of Justa: entred Hierufalem, and fackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches 10 of Salomon, but of all those spoiles which David had gotten from Adadezer, Tohu; the Ammonites, and other Nations. It was againe fackt and a part of the wall

throwne downe by Ions King of Ifrael, while Amafia the twelfth King thereofgo- 2 Kin.16. Not long after Achaz the fifteenth King of Inda impourtified the Temple; and presented Teglatphalassar with the treasures thereof. And Manasse the sonne of 1.chron 5.26, Ezekiah, the sonne of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah, to the Embassadours 2.Ki g.25. of Merodach, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures It was againe fooiled by the Babylonians, toakim then reigning. But this ungratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflicti-20 ons, but perfifting in all kinde of impictic, filling the Citie even to the mouth with innocent blood, God railed up that great Babylonian King Nabuchodonofor; as his 2. King 19. scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Pa- 2. Par. 18; laces therein, and the wals and towers which imbraced them, eiten and leuell with the dust: carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavie yoake of bondage and servitude full 70. yeeres, insomuch as sion was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, Hierufalem a heape of stone, suich 3. Hier. and rubble; the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and bri- 25.26.29. ers, but (as Hierome speaketh) Euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beafts to tread on that defiled foile.

Then 70 yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of Daniel, and the Tewes Hirro 3, Had. by the grace of Cyrus returned : the Temple was againe built, though with inter- Heb. ruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without wals or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till Nehemia by the fauour of Artaxerxes rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoiled by Bagofes, Networks. or Vigoles, the Lieutenant of Artaxerxes: after by \* Ptolomeus the first, then by 34 oc. Antiochus Epiphanes : and againe by Appollonius his Lieutenant. By Pompeyit was Thefittof takenlong after but not destroied not robbed though Conflucin his Parthing private the digition takenlong after; but not destroied, nor robbed, though Crassus in his Parthian expedition tooke as much as he could of that which Pompey spared. But the damages which it fustained by the violence of facrilegious Tyrants, were dos, who dif-

40 commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary Religion, came contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captinitie, the ypto Hien/apeople of the land through the exhortation of of godly Kings, made many and large time offer secrifice. In the second sec offerings to repaire the Temple of Salomon. The wrong done by Ptolomaus Lagi to ant. 1. the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne Ptolomeus Philadelphus. The mischiefe wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to Hierusalem out of other Nations. Finally all the loffes, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might wel are end feeme forgotten in the reigne of Herod that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent cylin King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous 30 workes did so adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the daies of Salomon.

Of the destruction of Ierufalem by the Romanes.



N this florishing chate, it was at the comming of our Saniour Christ le-Jus: and after his death and afcention, it to continued about 40. yeres.
But then did Titus the Romane, being flirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of Chriff his death; and to punish the tenes sinful lingratitude, incompasse it with the Romane armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee

began the fiege at fuch time as the lewer, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the Paffeouer: fo as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thou- 10 fands of all forts; and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the civile diffension, oppress them within the walles: a forcible enemic affailed them without. The Idumeans alfo, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Iewes Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citic, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonofor tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all forts, from the first belieging to the consummation of the vi-

Eld. 1.64.0.45. Etorie, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe, and demolifhed, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thercof, could hardly beleeve that there had beene any fuch place or habitation. Onely the three Herodian towers (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, af- 20 well for lodgings for the Romane garrifons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that thereouer became victorious.

After this, fuch lewes as were feattered here and there in Judge, and other Proninces, beganne againe to inhabite fome part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuildit, and firengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Romane State : but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to revolt, and rebell, Alius Adrianus the Emperour flaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three Herodian Towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himselfe had 30 foretold; That there should not stand one stone uppon another, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appealed, and the Prophecie accomplished he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulcher of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, hee agains made it a Citic of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, Elia Capitolia. In the gate toward Bethe!, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despight of the Iewes Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thenceforth euer enter into the Citic, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

Gxl,Tir.Bel.Sa. l.14.c.12. Onuphrius Chro.

G Tir. 1 8.c.5.

But the Christian R eligion florishing in Palastina, it was inhabited at length, by all 40 Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500, yeeres. It was afterward in the 636. veere after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens,

who held it 400 and odde yeeres.

In the yeere 1000, it was regained by Godfrey of Buillon, by affault, with an exceeding flaughter of the Saracens, which Godfrey, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained under the fuccessours of Godfrey 88. yeeres : till in the yeere 1197, it was regained by Saladine of AEgypt: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of Selim, the Turkes cast out the AEgyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumobares, or the Holy Citie. 50 Neither was it Ierufalem alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made defolate, but all the great Cities of the world have with their inhabitants, in feuerall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods inst will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the

CHAP.12. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

impietic of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and by flauerie; but hee hath renenged himselfe of the very places they posses, of the wals and buildings, yea of the foyle and the beafts that fedde thereon.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulneffe; witneffe the many hundreds of thoulands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of Iuda and Ifrael; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged 10 to Amelek, no not any finall number of them to bee facrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that Achan himselfe was stoned, but that his moucables were also confumed and brought to ashes.

IIII.

Of the vaine and malitious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient lewes.



F the original of the Iewes, prophane writers have conceived diverfly and injuriously. Quintilian speakes infamously of them, and of their leader; who (faith he) gathered together a pernitious Nation.

Diodore and Strabo make them AEgyptians. Others affirme that while Is gouerned AEgypt, the people were so increased, as Ierosolymus, and Indas ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by Mojes and Aaron: for the name of Moses was accidentall, because hee was taken up and saued out of the waters. But Instine, of all other most malitious, doth derine the Lower from the Syrian Kings; of Instin. 1.36. whom, Damaseus, faith hee, was the first: and to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Ifrael. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that Israel had

30 tenne fonnes, among whom hee divided the land of Inda; focalled of Indas his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of Israel he calleth Inseph: who being brought up in AEgypt, became learned in magical Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and fignes prodigious, and this tofeph (faith hee) was father to Mofes: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should insect others, were banished AEgypt. Further, hee telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Defarts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seuenth day, for this cause ever after observed the seauenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a braunch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie 40 out of their owne Tribles, least discouering their vincleannesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the AEgyptians. These and like fables hath Iustine.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grolly belie them in affirming That in the inmost Oratoric of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Asse, which they adored. But herein Tacitus forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the fift booke of his owne Historie truely confessed of the lemes, that they worshipped one onely God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deitie by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like 50 this hath Alexander Polyhistor, in Stephanus; who also makes Iudas with Idumaa, the first parents of the lewes.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from Indaus, whose parents were Sparton and Thebus, Citedby Stewhence it came that the Spartans or Lacedemonians challenged kindred of the He- phantin lubrewes: but they did it as descended of Abraham, faith Iosephus. Some of these re-

Nn 2

ports seeme to have been gathered out of divine letters; though wrested and peruerted, according to the custom of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Storic of the Creation, of Paradile, of the Floud; and given new names to the children of Adam in the first age : to Noah and his sonnes, in the second; and so to Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, Moses, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the Hebrewes: all which fainings, as touching the Iewes and their originals, Iofephio against

Tert.in Apol.

Appion, and Tertullian have sufficiently answered. For that the Hebrewes were the Children of Arphaxad and Heber, no man doubteth: and so Chaldeans originally, taking name either of Heber, the some of Sale, or else (faith Montanus) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth Stephanus, the Greeke Grammarian, 10 deriue the Hebrewes or Iewes, from Abrabon; having mistaken the name of Abra-

Caleb.f.63.

ham, who was the fonne of Heber, in the fixt descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of Abram: for after Iacob, otherwise Israel, the chiefe part were called Ifrael, another part after Efau or Edom, Edomites; at length the remnant of Iacob, being most of the Tribe of Inda, honoured the name of Iudas, the sonne of Iacob, and became Iudeans or Iewes: as also for a time in the name of Ephraim the fonne of Iofeph, the chiefe of the Patriarches of the ten Tribes; therest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of Israel fell. The Indeans continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, vnder Nabuchodonosor. The government which this Nation vnderwent, was first paternall: which 20

continued till they served the AEgyptians. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and leaders, Moses and Iosua, by a pollicie Divine. Thirdly, they fubicated themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they defired a King, and had Saul for the first: Of whom and his successours, before wee intreat, wee are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder ludges, after the death of Iolua: with fomewhat of the things of

Fame in other Nations about these times.

Снар.

The desert Aralia Arabia the Stonie Agræi Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans speyled lob Syria da masci

## CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable thinges that happened in the world, from the death of Iosva to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of IEPHTHA.

ð. I. of the inter-regnum after I o sv A's death; and of OTHONIEL.

HEN Iosua was now dead, who with the aduise of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held bezek prisoner the greatest and cruellest Com-

authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the Tribe of Iuda (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the Canamites, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the affistance of Simeon) they became victorious. In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew ten thousand, but made Adoni-

mander, both' of the Canaanites and Perizites, This tyrants crucitic as elfe-where hath beene fignified, they returned in the fame 30 kinde vpon his owne head; and so by the tornients which he now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malitious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iust indgement against himselfe.

The Tribes of Inda and Simeon did also master and possesse during this inter-

regnum (or as somethinke, before the death of Iosua) the Cities of Azotus, Askalon, Ekron, and Hierusalem, which they burnt, and the Jebusites afterward reedified. They tooke also the Cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, afterwards Horma. And although it be not fet downe in expresse wordes that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as Moses and Iosua did : yet it seemeth that Caleb was of greatest authoritie among them : and that hee with the aduise of 40 Phinees directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded without a chiefe, the good fucceffe which followed their undertakings witneffeth. the contrarie. And it was Caleb euen while Iosua gouerned, as appeares Ios. 10:39.

to Othoniel his yonger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation among them, and may be effected the fecond cause of his preferment and election for their first Indge soone after. But while those of Inda made warre with their borderers, from whom they only recoursed the mountainous Countries (for they 50 could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valleis, because they had Chariots of gron.) ind 1.191 The rest of the Tribes sought also to inlarge and establish their owne Territories:

that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter Achsah: which he performed

in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Infephrecouered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recouer from Dan all Ind. 1.252 the plaine Countries: and forst them to saue themselues in the Mountaines. And Ind. 1,3%.

now the Ifraelites vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculoufly a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better adulted them in the Inter-regnum) did not only ioyne themselues in marriage with the Heathen Nations : but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idolls of Baal, and Asteroth, with other the dead Gods of the Canaanites and Amorites. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their Idolatrie; deliuer them into the handes of the Aramites of Mesopotamia: whom Chushan Rishathaim at that time commanded. But after

Iud.3.10.

2608. 2648.

they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp Othoniel to bee their Judge and 10 Leader: who by God affifted, deliuered his bretheren from oppression: and inforst the Aramites to returne into their owne Defarts, and into Mesopotamia adioyning, after which the Ifraelites had peace fortie yeares, during all the time of otheriels gouernment. This Othoniel is thought by Toflatus to have beene the yonger brother of Caleb, for as much as in the booke of Indges he is twice called Othoniel the sonne of Cenaz Calebs yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (Calebs yonger brother) as if they fignified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that Calebs Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that Othoniel should have beene the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of Caleb (as some learned men ex- 20 pound it) and as the very wordes of Scripture seeme to inforce. For Caleb was the fonne of Iephunneth, and Othoniel the fonne of Cenas, Calebs yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to Caleb, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not only lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cosen German Calebs daughter. How long it was from the death of Iofuah to the government of othoniel, it can-

not be found: but it feemes to have beene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. Lais was then taken (as is thought) by the Danites; and the best writers are of opinion that between the times of Ioluah and Othoniel that civill warre brake out betweene the Beniamites and the rest of Israel, for the forcing to death of the Leuites wife. For it is written that in 30 those daies there was no King in Ifrael, but every man did that which was good in his owne cies. And as Juda led the people against the Canaanites during the Interregnum, so was hee commanded to doc against Beniamin, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have beene when Iofuah was dead, and before the government of Othoniel, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leaue to haue attended such a civill Warre, if their power had beene as great, as it was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such 40

Of the memorable thinges of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

Here lived in this age of Othoniel, Pandion or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fift King of Athens: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeare of Othoniel, and gouerned fortic yeares. Hee was father to E- 50 rictheus: his Daughters were Progne and Philomela, fo greatly men-

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebes: of whose Daughter Semele was borne Dienysius or Liber pater : vnder whome Linus the Musitian lived. In his

time also the Cities of Melus, Paphus, and Thurfus, were built. Ida and Duitylus flourished in this age, who are faid to haue found out the vse of iron : but Genesis hath taught we the contrarie, and that Tubalcain long before Gen. 4.22. wrought cunningly both in fron and braffe. Not long after this time, Ambhion and Whence came the name of Zethus gouerned Thebes: whom divers hronologers finde in Ehuds time. But S. Au- Vultan by Aenfline making a repetition of those fables, which were denised among the Gracians pharefit of the and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with Triptolemus two first letters of whose parentage there is a little agreement. Wines you the thirteenth Chapter 1,18,113. of S. Augustine de Cuitate Deis, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that delires his pedigree may finde it. La-

Elantius and Eufebius make him native of Artica: and the sonne of Eleusius King of Eleusina: which Eleusius by carefull industric had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This when vpon the like occasion Triptolemus could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Scain a kinde of Galley or long Boate, which carried in her Proue a grauen or carued Serpent: who because

ried by Serpents through the aire Whether the times of the fe Kings which lived together with Othoniel, and after and him with the rest of the Judges and Kings of Ifrael and Inda, be precisely set downe, I cannot anow , for the chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life; and therefore I delire to be excused if in these comparisons I erre with others of bet ter judgement. For whether Eusebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they beganne to rule) have hit the marke of time of all other the farthest off. and most defaced. Leannot, but greatly doubts First, because the Authors themschool, from whom the ancientest Chronologorshaue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but conjecture : Secondly, because their owne 20 disagreement and contention in those elder daies, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among the mhath, yet so edified any mans understanding, sauchis owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne

he made exceeding great speeds to returne and to relieue his people with Corne,

from some neighbour Nation 1, it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was car-

to creech his buildings.

This difagreement is found not only in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath fummed up, as in that of Abrahams birth; and after in the times of the Indges and the oppressions of Ifrael, in the times from the egression to the building of Salomons Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seventie Weekes, and in what not? Where focuer the account of times may fuffer examination, the arguments 40 are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many wates to vincouer the Sunne, that the daies thereby are made more darke, and the cloudes more condenst than before, I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations; and therefore that such and such Kingsand Kingdomestooke beginning in this or that yeare, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion : which I submit to better judgments. Namin priseis rebus veritas non ad unguem quarenda; In ancient Y

thinges we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, faies Diodore.

of EHVDs time, and of PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS, TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, and others that lined about these times.



4.18

Fter the death of Othoniel when Ifrael fell back to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged Mont to inuade and suppresse them: to performe which he joyned the forces of Ammon, and Amalee vnto his owne, and to (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath 10 abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to

make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations, had an easie conquest ouer Israel: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miferable estate they continued full eighteen yeares under Eglon King of the Monbites. and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance : but raised vp Ehud the sonne of Gera to deliuer them: by which weake man though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the Israelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resoluted to attempt upon the per- 10 fon of Eglon, whom if he could but extinguish, he affured himselfe of the following victorie : especially giving his Nation no time to reestablish their government, orto choose a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, Ehud went on as an Embassador to Eglon, loaden with presents from the Israelites, as to appeale him, and obtaining private accesse vpon the pretence of some secret to be reucaled: he pierst his bodie with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the dores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may feeme that being confident of his good fuccesse, hee had prepared the strength of Ifrael in readinesse. For sodainly after his returne, he did repasse Jordan, and invading the Territorie of Mont, overthrew their Armie confifting of 10000, 30 able and ftrong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that Samgar his Successor had miraculously paine 600. Philistimes with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of Ifrael lined in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeares from the death of othoniel, which terme expired in the Worlds yeare 2691.

In the daies of Ehud Naomi with Elimeleth her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauailed into Moah, and so the storie of Ruth is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourfcore yeares which are given to Ehud, it was that Oreus King of the Molossians: otherwise Pluto, stale Proferpina, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of Hipponium in Sicilia : or (according to Paulanias) by the River Cephilus, which elsewhere he calleth Chemer, if he mean not two distinct Riners. This stealth 40 being made knowne to Pyrithous with whom Hercules and Thefeus ioyned themfelues, they agreed together to recour her : but Plute or Oreus ( whom others call Aidonius) had (as they fay) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on Pyrithous, and tare him in peeces, and had also wearied Theseus, but that Hercules speedily rescued him : and by fireigth tooke and maftered the Dogge Cerberus : whereof grew the fable of Hercules his delivering of Thefens out of Hell. But Zezes, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For Theseus and Pyrithois faith he, attempted to feale Proferpina Daughter to Aidonius, King of the Mologians who had Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferpina. Proferpina being a generall name allo for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to Aidonius, Theseus 50 and Pyrithous were both taken, and because Pyrithous was the principall in this conspiracie, and Thefeus drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for food to Aidonius his great Dogge Cerberus, the other held prisoner til Hereules by the instigation of Euriftheus deliucred him by strong hand. The Atologic

which Stephanus writes with a fingle (S) were a people of Epirus inhabiting neare the Mountaines of Pindus: of which Mountaines Octa is one of the most famous, where Hercules burnt himselfe. The River of Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) rifeth out the same Hills. There is an other Nation of the Molo Rin Theffalie but thefe are neighbours to the Cafiopai, faith Plutarch in his Greek quæstions.

CHAP. 13. S.z. of the Historie of the World.

The rape of Orithya the Daughter of Erietheus, King of Athens, taken away by Boreas of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North winde, because Thrace is situate North from Athens. In his time also Tereus 10 rauished Philomela, of which the fable was deused of her conversion into a Nightingale. For Tereus having married her fifter Progne, conducting Philomela from Athens to fee her fifter, forft her in the paffage, and withall cut out her tongue that fhee might not complaine; perswading Progne his Wife that Philomela died in the midway: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behauiour towards her, Philomela expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it Progne. In reuenge whereof Progne caused her only Sonne Hys to be cut in peeces, and set before Tereis her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinarie soode : of which when he had eaten his fill: shee caused his head, handes, and feete, to be presented vnto him: and then fled away with fuch speede towards Athens where her Father Pandion yet lived, as 30 the Poets fained, that thee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed Strabo finds to be Daulis in Phocis: and the Tombe of Tereus, Paufanias 10 hath built neare the Rocks Mergi, in the Territorie of Athens. By which as also by Pau, in Att. the name Daulis, where these thinges are supposed to have been edone (whence also Philomela is called Daulias ales ) it appeares that it is true, which Thucydides notes by Thucydia way of digreffion in his Peloponnefian Warre, That this Tereus was not King in that which is now called Thracia, or in Odryfa, (as the Poets call him Odryfius) but that Phoeis a Countrie in Greece not farre from Attica, a Citie whereof is called Daulia, was in Pandions time inhabited by Thracians: of which this Tereus was King: whence Pandion to have amiltie with his neighbours, made him his fonne in law; as it is good 30 to beleeue, faith Thioydides, that Pandion King of Athens, made that alliance with a neighbour King from whom he might haue fuccour, rather then with any Tereus, that should have held the Kingdome of Odryle, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for Progne to be turned into, may feeme to haue beene partly because, as Paulanias saics: Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines; As if a Swallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and to her fifter, did for euer hate that place.

Neare this time Melampus (who is faid to have understood the voices of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Phisician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of Pratus King of the Argines, who (as the 40 Poets please) were made mad by Iuno: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into pout to the woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries, where Homer O. off, at the ground was light, they did vie often to plough with Kine.

In the 47 years of Ehud, Tros beganne to raigne in Dardania; and gaue it his owne name, about which time Phemone the chiefe Priest of Apollo in Delphos, deuised the Paul. Heroicall Verfe.

Of the same date was Tantalus; King of Lydia : whom Eusebius makes King of Phrygia: and also of that part of which the people were anciently Maones. Of Tantalus was denised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love : and fome to the couctous that dare not inion his riches. Eufebius calls this Tantalus the Eufeb. prap. E-50 fonne of Iupiter, by the Nymph Pleta : Diaconus and Didymus in Zezes, give him an wang l. z. Zeces other Mother. He was faid to be the fonne of Inpiter, as fome will haue it; because big. 10.cbil. 5. he had that Planet in his afcendent, betokening wifedome and riches. It is faid that when he made a feast to the Gods, having nothing more pretious the caused his owne

Sonne to be flaine and dreft for the banquet: of whom Ceres cate part of one of the

shoulders: whereby was fignified that those men which seeke after divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children. of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that he had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom ouid:

> Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat TANTALVS, boc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here T ANTALVS in water feekes for water, and doth miffe, The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discoursed the fecrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisedome and vertue to mortall men: which storic Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly express in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise and say, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirflie of more aboundance, was neuer fatisfied. Of whom Horace against coue-

> TANTALVS à labijs sitiens fugientia captat Flumina quidrides? murato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirsting TANTALVS doth catch at streames that from him flee. Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceine where it is fained of Tantalus, that he gaue the Nectar and Ambrossa of the Gods to vaine and vnworthic men, that hee was therefore by them in 30 that fort punished. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus.

> Immortalitatem quòd furatus, Coetanijs conuiuis Nectar Ambrofiamá, dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie, He did both Nectar and Ambrofia gine To guestes of his owne age to make them line.

Whereby it was meant that the secrets of Divinitie, ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meates in a foule stomack, are therein corrupted, to the most high and reserved mysteries are often peruerted by an uncleane

Mark.4.11.

2.Cor.11.

To you it is given ( faith Christ in MARKE) to know the mysteric of the Kingdome of God, but unto them that are without all thinges be done in parables. So is it faid of him, that he expounded all thinges to his Disciples a-part. And therefore doth Gregorie Na-Gregin Orat, de Zianzene inferre vpon a place of S. PAVL. Quod fi PAVLO licuisset effariea, quorum rellaratione dif. ipsi cognitionem exclum tertium & of que ad illud progressio suppeditauit, sortasse de Deono bis aliquid amplius conftaret; If PAVL might have ottered the thinges, the knowledge 50 whereof the third heavens, and his going thither did bring outo him, peraduenture wee might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, faith Reuclin, thought it not the part of a wife man, Alino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, que itareciperet, vt Sustubam, & filem graculus, & unquenta ScaraCHAP.14. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

baus: quare silentium indixit discipults, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana patesucerent, qua roeditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur; To fet an Affeto a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a lay a viall, or Scarabies and uncleane flies soueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples: shatthey should not disclose divine mysteries to the common fort, which are easier learns by meditation than by babling. And therefore did the Agyptians communicate their myfleries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their fecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar; and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of Aod, or Ehud, with him it is also said, that Tityus lived whom Apollo flew, because he sought to force his Mother Latona. Euphorion hath it thus, that Tityus was the Sonne of Elara, the Daughter of Orcho. menus; which Elara being beloued of Jupiter, to avoid Juno's revenge, he hid Elara in the earth, where shee was deliuered of Tityus: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. Pausanias spead king of the graue of this Gyant, affirmes that his bodie occupied the third part of a furlong. But Tebullus hath a louder lie of his stature out of Homer,

Porrectufá, nouem TITYVS per ingera terra Assiduas atro viscere pascit aues:

Nine furlongs stretcht lies Tirvs, who for his wicked deedes The hungrie birds with his renewing liver daily feedes.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of Panopea, a Citie in Phocis, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was fill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet fill lined, and had his flesh

Admetus King of Theffalie lived alfo in this Age, whom it is faid that Apollo first 30 serued as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having flaine Hyacinthus he croft the Hellespont, and fled into Phrygia. where together with Neptune, hee was entertained by Laomedon, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of Troy, not by making the brickes leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in onid which

> Ilion aspicies, firmatas, turribus altis Mania, APOLLINE AE structa canore bra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high Built with the harpe of wife APOLL o's harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his handes, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the Labyrinth in Greece, all the Paulin dit. Megariens witnesse, faith Paufanins.

In these daies also of Ehud, or (as some finde it) in the daies of Deborah, lived Perfeus the sonne of supiter and Danaco, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of Peloponnesus to seeke their adventure on Affrica side) Meduja the Daughter and Succeffor of Phoreus, being weakely accompanied as shee hunted, neare the Lake

50 Triton, was surprised and flaine: whose beautie when Perfess beheld, he caused her triton a Lake of head to be imbalmed, and carried into Greece: the beautie whereof was such and Affrica which for much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof Palasian. grew the fiction, that all that looked on Medula's head, were turned into Didymin perce. ftones,

Cecrops the second of that name and 7. King of Athens, and Acrifius the 13. or Eules, in Chron, after Eulebrus, the 14. King of the Argines, began also their raignes, as it is said, in the time of this Judge: of which the first ruled 40 yeares, and the second 31 yeares. Also Bellerophon lived in this age, being the sonne of Glaucus, the sonne of Silyphus: who inticed by Antea or Sthenobia the wife of Pratus of the Argues, to accompanie her, but refuling it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon Pratus fent Bellerophon into Lycia, about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law tobates : giving fecret order to Tobates to dispatch him : but Iobates thinking it dishonorable to lay violent handes on him : imployed him against Chimera, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) 10 pittying his innocencie, fent him the winged Horse Pegafus, sprung vp of the bloud of Medufa, formerly flaine by the Souldiers of Perfeu in Affrica, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but Minerua : vpon which beast Bellerophon ouer-came Chimura: and performed the other feruices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to lobates in safetie: whom Tobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters : and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew fo infolent, as he attempted to flie vp to heauen voon his Pegafiu: whose pride Iupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies to to vexe Pegalus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his back, into the Valley of 20 Cilicia, where he died blinde: of which burthen Pegalus being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in Impiters owne stable, Aurora bee'd him of Iupiter to ride on before the Sunne. This tale is diverfly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeserued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded : according to that which is faid of Bellerophon: that when he was exposed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-prowd and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of forrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, That under the name of Chimera, was meant a cruell Pyrate of the Lycians, whose ship had in her 30 prowe a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beafts this Monster Chimara was said to be compounded, whom Bellerophon pursued with a kinde of Galley of fuch fwiftnesse that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of failes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors : but it is not vnlikely, that Chimara was the name of a ship, for so virgil calleth one of the greatest ships of

Plutar.in claris

L.S. Eneid.

Ion also from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their pa-Homer in hymno rent Iauan) deriue their name of Iones, is faid to have beene about Ehuds time: Homer calls them Iaones, which hath a neare resemblance to the word Ianan. Perhaps 40 Ci.Doi.1.18.c.15 it might be so that Ion himselfe tooke name from Iauan it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his iffue.

The inualion of India by Liber Pater, is by some reported as done in this age: but S. Augustine makes him farre more ancient: placing him between the comming out of Egypt, and the death of Iofua.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to Ehud, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who gave name to Peloponne fus in Greece, now called Morea.

50

à. IIII.

of DEBORA and her Contemporaries.



Fter If reel had lived in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giver of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because of the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and of Gods deliuerance by Ebnd, and after him by Samear, the rest because the same and the same gan to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For ×

as Plentie and Peace are the patents of idle fecuritie; so is fecuritie as fruitfull in be-10 getting and bringing forth both danger and subversion : of which all estates in the world have talted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, Iabin. King of Hazor, after the death of Ehud, inuaded the Territorie of Ifrael, and having in his service 900, yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp Deborah, the Prophetesse, who incouraged Birac to leuie a force out of Auphtalin, and Zabulon, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of Nepthalim were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that Barac had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grienance, which in them was more fentible, than in o-20 thers, because Hazor and Harofeth the chiefe holds of labin, were in Arothalim. So in the daies of leptha the Gileadites tooke the greatest care, because the Ammonites with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them; as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of Ebudto deliner I frael from the Moabite; and by the counsaile and courage of a woman; to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the valiant Sifera by Jachthe Kenites wife, to was it his will at other times ; to worke the like great thinges by the weakest melines. For the mightie Assyrian Nabuchadonofor, who was a King off Kings, and relitbeffe, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy : and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humilitie of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all 30 power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of Senacherib by his Angell; or as he did the Agyptians in Ofofes time: fomtime by dead bodies, as when he drowned Pharas by the waites of the Sea : and the Canaanites by haile-stones in the time of Iofua: sometimes by the ministeric of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, Chedorlaomer, and his companions, by the houshold servants of Abraham. He caused the Mabites and Ammonites to fet vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the Idumites; and having flaine them to kill one an other in the fight of tehofaphat: and of the like to the fe a volume chron. 1.10. of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did Deborah the Prophetesse speake vnto Barae in the le wordes: But this journey that thou takeft, hall not be for thine honour, Judas. 40 for the Lord shall sell Siser a into the handes of a Woman. In which victoricall the strength of the Canaanite Iabin fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of

which Warreit seemeth that Labin himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last

Verse of the fourth of Iudges. After all which Deborah giveth thankes to God; and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, shee sheweth the weake estate whereinto Ifrael was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations in these wordes: Was there a shield or speare seene among fortie thousand of Israel? 1ud.5.w.18. shealso sheweth how the Israelites were settered and amased, some of them confined ouer Iordan, and durst not io yne themselues to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead: V.17.

50 that the Asperites kept the Sea-coast, and forlooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of Dan who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for fasctie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curfeth the inhabitants of Meroz, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to affist I frael, and then bleffeth tael

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the wife of Heber the Kentte, who nailed Siferain her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Ifracties. For though the Familie of Heber were inforced in that milerable time of subjection, to hold correspondencie with Jabin the Camannes, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee decident he Mother of Sifera who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her self-gand described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directed her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of Iddins oppression to the end of that peace, which Deborath and Barac purchased vinto Israel, there passed 400 yeares. In which time the King- 10 dome of Args, which had continued 5,44, yeares was translated to Assemble. The translation of this Kingdome Piurs our of Paulantae written to this effect. After Danaus, Israeus succeeded in Args, after whom this whichen of Adurch to some of Israeus since education of the Args, after whom the whichen of Adurch to some of Israeus since the Kingdome of which Acrisius being eldest held they on the letter the sum of the translation of the Args of the State of the

Now Aerifius was forecold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the some of his Daughter Dane: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is 20 sained that to man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is 20 sained that topier turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enloyed her, of whom Perseus was borne: who when he grew to mans estate, either by chame (saith Cressus) or in shewing his grand-sather the inuention of the diseas; or leaden ball, slew him vinwillingly. After this Perseus; to auoide the instance of Patricide in Argos, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle Persus: and built Caspeane. This imprisonment of Danne, 3sphales: reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brisen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie streace hath this wittle observation.

Rebustag, fores, & vigilum Canum
Tristes excubia, municrans satis
Nessumia ba adulteris:
Si non A CR ISIVM Virginis abdite
Custodem pauidum, IVPITER & VENVS
Rissent, forcenim tutumiter & patens,
Converso in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Issu silvinine.

Inclusam DANAEN, turris abenea.

The brasen Tower with dores close bar'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the Maidenhead
Of Danae from secret loue:
Till smiling Venvs, and wise Iove
Beguild her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did powre
Himselse, and tooke his pleasure.
Through gardes and stonie walls to breake,

The thunder-bolt is farre more weake, Then is a golden treasure. The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Inachus the first King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of Iacob, and the 61. of Isaac. From which time to the end of Sthenelus, Castor misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, Eusebius accounted to have stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. Io was the Daughter of this Inachus: whom the Expriums called Isaac.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Pirafus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Dunaus.

Lynceus, Abas, Acrilius, Pelops.

After the translation to Appens, Mar. Scotus finds these Kings, Perseus, Sthemelus, Eurysthems,

Attreus and The sonnes of Pelops by Hippedamia: Attreus by Thyestes Surope had Agamemon and Menciaus.

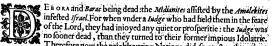
Agamemon.

Ægysthus, Orestes, Tis amenus, Penthilus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Busting leave out the two sirst, and the last: beginning with Eurysis and ending with Penthilus. In Tifamenus time the Heraclida returned into Peloponnesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, were Mides who raigned in Phrygia; and Ilas who built Iliam: with others mentioned in our Chronologicall table, as contemporaries with Debora.

of GIDEON, and of DAEDALVS, SPHINX, MINOS, and others
that lined in this Age.



Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did for mafter them in a 10 flort time (the hand of God being with held from their defence) as to faue them feltes, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing all the plaines and structul vallies: and in hardest time by themselves and the multitude of their cartledestroying at that grew vocouring the fields as thick as graffe-hoppers: which seruitude lasted search yeares.

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1ud.c.6. - 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp Gideon the sonne of Ioash, afterward called Ierubbaal: whose feare and vnwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precifely fet down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000 men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hefts, Each of thele 300. by Gideons appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing foloude a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteemed the Armie of Israel to be infinite, and strucken with a fodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken : and were slaughtered in 10 great numbers : two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephramites began to quarrell with Gideon because hee made warre without their affiltance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten : who (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt haue held themselues happie by being neglected. But Gideon appealing them with a mild answere followed after the enemie, in which pursuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the flaughtering of his enemies, he defired reliefe from the inhabitants of Succoth, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had faued themselues by flight. For they were soure Princes of the Nations which had inuaded and wasted Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which 20 were taken already, and Zebah and Salmunna which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of Succoth fought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of Pennel, who in like fort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the profequation of the other two Princes he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flesh of those of Succoth with Thornes and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of Pennel: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the I/raelites, especially after so great a victorie: I may presume to make coniecture; it feemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer Iordan, and in the way of all inualions to be made by the Moabites, and Ammonites, and Midianites, into Ifrael, had either 30 made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that Zeba and Salmunna were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men : as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both ennic and maligne others, if they performe any praise worthy actions, for the honour and safetie of their owne Countrie, though themselves may bee affured to beare a part of the finart of contrarie successe. And such malitious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrie should suffer hazzard, and want, than that fuch men as they millike should be the Authors or actors of any glorie or good 40

fan as it is thought.

Now Gideon, how or wherefoeuer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his wearie and hungrie Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and purfued his A place in Ba- former victorie to the vttermost : and finding Zebah and Salmunna in Karkor (suspeeting no further attempt vpon them) he agains surprised them, & slaughtered those 15000, remaining having put to the fword in the former attempt 120000, and withall he tooke Zebah and Salmunna priloners: whom because themselves had exequuted Gideons bretheren before at Tabor, he caused them both to be flame or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refuling it; and in his returne from the consummation 50' of this meruallous victorie, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of Succeth, and of the Citizens of Penuel, forguing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his bretheren the Araelies. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found foon after his death, according to that which hath been faid before. The

debts of crueltic and mercie are neuer left vnsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of Succeth with great and vnufuall torments, fo were his owne 70. sonnes al, but one; murthered by his owne bastard Abimilee. The like Analogie is observed by the Rabbines, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the AEgyptians, who having caused the male children of the Hebrewes to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning Pharaoh and his armic in the redde sea. And hereof a world of examples might bee given, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

CHAP.13. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

10. In the end so much did the people reverence Gideon in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soucraigntie ouer them; Ind 8.23, and to establish him in the Gouernment; which hee refused, answering; Intil not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall coc. But he defired the people that they would bellow on him the golden ea-rings, which every man had gotten. For the Ismaelites) neighbors, and mixt with the Midianits vsed to weare them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred. Shekels of gold, which makes of ours. 2380. liif we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar: And because he converted that gold into an Ephod, a garment of gold, blew sike, purples Carlet, and fine linnen belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in Lucy 8.22. 20 his owne Citie of Ophra or Ephra, which drew Ifrae! to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of Gideon and his house.

There was another kinde of Ephod besides this of the High Priests which the Leuitesvsed, and so did David when he daunced before the Arke: and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for Gideon with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies and afterward 1500c. which remained, wee may remember that although Gideon with 3 0 0 gave the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written ; That the men of Ifrael being gathered together out sade just. 30 of Nephtalie, and out of Afher and out of Manaffe, purfited after the Midianits : for

this armie Gideon left in the tents behind him, when hee went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyle of his 300. trumpets came after him to

There lived with Gideon AEgeus the sonne of Pandion, who reigned in Athens: Euristhesis King of Mycena: Atress and Thyestes the sonnes of Pelops, who bare dominion ouer a great part of Peloponnefus, and after the death of Euriftheus; the Kingdome of Mycena fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Atreus who holding his brother in lealousse as an attempter both of his wife and crowne; flew the children of Thyester, and causing their slesh to be drest did therewith feast their fa-40 ther. But this crueltie was not inteuenged." For both Atrew and his forme Agamemnon were flaine by a base sonne of Thyestes, year the grandchildren, and all the linage of Atreus died by the same sword.

In Gideons time also those things were supposed to have beene done which are written of Dedalas and Icarus. Dedalas they lay, having flaine his Nephew Attalus; fled to Minos King of Crete for fuccour, where for his excellent workerminshippe he was greatly effeemed, having made for wines a Labyrinth like vinto that of AEgypt. Afterward he was faid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for Peliphie the Queene, that The, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by patting her felfe into the Cow satisfie her lust, a thing no leffe vnnatural than incredible; had not that shame-50 leffe Emperour Domitian exhibited the like beaftly spectacle openly before the people of Rome in his Amphitheater 3 of purpole as may feeme to verifie the olde fible. For foir appeares by those verses of Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magnificth the abhominabe frew as a goodly Pageant in those vitious times.

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Iunctam

Iunctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec se miratur Casar longeua vetustas Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Pasiphae, Sernius makes a leffe vnhonest construction of it, thinking that Dadalus was of her counsell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretarie of Minos called Taurus, which fignifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that she being deliucred of two sonnes, the one resembling Taurus, the other her husband Minos, it was fained that she was deliuered of the Mon- 10 ster Minotaur, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practife being discouered, and Dedalus appointed, to be flaine, he fled out of Crete to Cocalus King of Sicil: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued him with boats which had oares onely, Dadalus framed failes both for his owne boate, and for his fonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention Icarus bearing himselfe ouerbold was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of Dadalus that he made Images that could move themselves, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him could onely present the bodie and head of those men whom they 20 cared to counterfait, and yet the workmanshippe was esteemed very rare. But Plutarke who had seene some of those that were called the Images of Dadalus found

them exceeding rude.

With Gideon also florished Linus the Theban, the sonn of Apolla, & Terpsichore who instructed Thamaris, Orpheus, and Hercules. Hee wrate of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was flaine by Hercules his scholler with his owne harpe.

Herind.Plat.

Pauf.lib.9.

Strab-l.9.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of Sphinx and Oedipus are thought to have beene performed. This Sphinx being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthian Armie ledde by Oedipus ouercome. But that which was written of her 30 propounding of riddles to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere Thebes which she defended, and by Oedipus dissoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which Palaphatus reports of Sphinx were more probable did not the time disproue it, for he cals her an Amazonite and the wife of Cadmus: who when by her help he had cast Draco out of Thebes (neglecting her) he married the fifter of Drace, which sphine taking in despightfull part, with her owne troope she held the mountaine by Thebes, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the Thebans till by Oedipus ouerthrown. About this time did Mines thrust his brother out of Crete, and held sharpe warre 40 with the Megarians, and Athenians, because his sonne Androgeus was slaine by them. He possest himselfe of Megara by the treason of Seylla, daughter of Wisus the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of delinering him enery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute Theseus released as shall bee shewed when I come to the time of the next Judge Thala. In the end hee was flaine at Camerinus or Camicus in Sicilia by Cocalus the King, while he purfued Dadalus: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those Hands. To this time are referred many deeds of Hercules, as the killing of Anteus the gy-

ant, who was faid to have 60. and odde cubites of length, which though Plutarke doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by Sertorius the Roman 50 in Lybia, where Hercules flew Anteus: yet for my felfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That Anteus was of great firength, and a cunning wreftler, Eufebius affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, hee was sained to bee the sonne of the Earth. Plinie faith that he inhabited neere the gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. S.

Augustine affirmes that this Hercules was not of Greece, but of Lyhia: and the Hydra Aug. deci.de also which he ouercame, Plato expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister. Eufeban Chres.

## è. V I.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts,

Bout the eleuenth yeere of Argonauts: of which many the fumme of which is this.

Pelias the former of the contract of the cont Bout the eleuenth yeere of Gideon, was that famous expedition of the Argonauts: of which many fabulous discourses have beene written,

Pelias the sonne of Neptune, brother by the mothers side to Eson, who was Iasons father, reigning in Ioleus a towne of Thessalie, was warned by the Oracle of Apollo to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This Pelias afterward facrificing to Neptune, inuited Iason to him, who comming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon Pelias demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede to which question when Iason had briefly answered, that he would fend him to Colchos, to fetch the golden flecce, Pelias immediatly commaunded him to vndertake that feruice. Therefore Iason prepared for the voyage having a shippe built by Argus, the sonne of Phryxus, by the Counsell of Pallas: wherein hee procured all the brauest men of Greece to faile with him : as Typhis the Master of the shippe, Orpheus the famous Poet, Castor and Pollux the sonnes of Tyndarus, Telamon and Pelius, sonnes of Aacus, and fathers of Aiax and Achilles, Hercules, Thesius, Zetes and Calais the two winged fonnes of Boreas, Amphiaraus the great South faver. Meleager of Calidon that flew the great wilde boare : Ascalaphus and Ialmenus or Almenus the sonnes of Mars, who were afterwards at the last warre of Troy, Laertes the father of Vlyffes, Atalanta a warlike virgine, Idias and Lynceus the fonnes of Abhareus, who afterwards in fight with Castor and Pollux slew Castor, and wounded Pollux, but were flaine themselves : Lynceds by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter with 30 lightning.

These and many other went with Isson in the ship Argo: in whose prowe was a table of the beech of Dodona, which could speake. They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of which Iland, having flaine all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life, were neuerthelesse contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the Country about Cyzicus: where dwelt a people called Doliones: ouer whom then reigned one Cyzicus: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the Doliones, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering ene-40 mies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, infomuch that the Argonautes flew the most part of the Doliones together with their King Cyzieus: which when by daylight they perceived, with many teares they folemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arrived shortly in Mysia, where they left Hercules and Polyphemus

the sonne of Elates, who went to seeke Hylas the darling of Hercules, that was rauifhed by the Nymphes.

Poliphemus built a towne in Mysia, called Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules returned to Argos. From Mysia the Argonautes sailed into Bythima, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the auncient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom Amicus the sonne of Neptune was then King. He beeing a strong man, compelled all stran-50 gers to fight with him, at whorlebattes, in which kinde of fight hee had flaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by Pollux. The Bebryces in reuenge of his death flew all vpon Pollux, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They failed from hence to Salmydessus, a towne in Thrace (perhaps of Thracia Adriatica) wherein Phineus a Soothfayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with

the Harpyes. The Harpyes were faid to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for Phineus, came flying in, and denouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craued his aduife, and direction for their voyage : you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the Harpyes, and then afterwards to aske my Counfaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be coursed, and meat set on; which was no fooner fet downe, then that presently in came the Harpyes, and played their accustomed prancks: when Zetes and Calais the winged young men faw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre; some say to that both the Harpyes and the young men died of wearinesse in the flight, and purfuit. But Apollonius faith that the Harpyes did couenant with the youthes, to doe no more harme to Phineus, and were thereupon difmiffed : for this good turne Phineus gaue them informations of the way, and aductifed them withal of the daungerous rockes, called Symplegades, which by force of windes running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the pass fage: and if that passed safe, then to aduenture after her: if not, then by no meanes to hazard themselues in vaine. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the rockes and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of the poope was 20 bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the Symplegades have flood fill: for the Gods, fay they, had decreed that after the paffage of a fhippe, they flould be fixed. Thence the Arganautes came to the Mariandyni, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river Parthenius, where Lyeus the King entertained them courteoully. Here Idmon a Soothfayer of their company was flaine by a wild boare; also here Typhis cice: and Anexus vndertooke to fleare the shippe. So they passed by the river Thermodon, and mount Causasius, and came to the river Passis, which runnes through the land of Colebos; when they were entred the hauen, Isson went to Lees the King of Colebos, and told him the Commanusement of Pessas, and cause of 30 his comming, defiring him to deliver the golden Fleece, which Lees to the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoake together two brazen hooft bulles, and plowing the ground with them, sowe dragons teeth, which Minerua had given to him, being part of those which Cachus did Gow at Thebes. These bulles were great and fierce, and breathed out fier: Vulcan had given them to AELES.

Whilest Infon was in agreat perplexitie about this taske, Medea the daughter of AEtes, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre foorth, that being excellent in Magique, she came privily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this Infon agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his bodie and his ar- 40 mour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which hee should fowe, and fet vpon him. To remedie which inconvenience, shee bad him throw ftones among ft them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. Infon followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demannded the Fleece. But AEetes was so farre from approuing such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the Argonautes, and burne their shippe, which Medas perceiuing, went to Ison, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpvon an oake in the groue of Mars, where they fay it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer flept. This Dragon was by the Magique of Medea cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, the went with Islan into the thippe Argo; having with her, her brother Absyrtus.

AEtes vnderstanding the practises of Medsa, provided to pursue the ship, whom when

when Medea perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, & cutting him in pieces she scattered his limbes in diverse places, of which AEetes sinding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe the parts of his sonne hee buried in place which thereupon he called Tomi; the Greeke word signifiest Division. Afterwards he sent many of his subjectes to seeke the shippe Argo, threatning that if they brought not backe Medea they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the Argonaust were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River Eridanus, which is Po in Italie.

Impiter offended with the flaughter of Abstrus, vexed them with a great tem10 peft, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Isands AbSpritdes, there the shippe Argo (that there might want no incredible thing in this
Fable) spake to them, and said that the anger of Impiter should not cease, till they
came to Ausonia, and were clensed by Circe, from the murther of Assistant palling through
the sea of Sardinia and along the coast of Isanda said salia, and palling through
the sea of Sardinia and along the coast of Isanda said salia, and palling through
the sea of Sardinia and along the coast of Isanda said the the sea, wherein
Circe dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the Syrens,
who sang to allure them into danger: but Orpheus on the other side sang so welthat
he stayed them. Only Butes swamme out vnto them, whom Yenus rauished, and caried to Lyshbaum in Sicilie to dwell.

Hauing past the Syrens, they came betweene Seylla and Charybdia, and the strag-

ling rockes which seemed to cast out great store of slames and smoke. But Thetis and the Nereides, conneyed them safe through at the appointment of Juno. So they coasted Sicilie where the beenes of the Sunne were, and touched at Coreyra the Iland of the Phaces, where King Aleinous reigned. Meane while the men of Colchos that had beene sent by AEetes in quest of the shippe Argo, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselues to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of Corcyra, others in the Ilands Abfyrtides, and some comming to the Pheaces, there found the shippe Argo, and demanded Medea of A'cinous: whereto Alcinous made answere, that if shee were not Iasons 20 wife they should have her, but if shee were alreadic married he would not take her from her husband. Arete the wife of Alcinous hearing this, married them : wherefore they of Colchos not daring to returne home, stayed with the Pheaces; so the Argonautes departed thence, and after a while came to Crete. In this Iland Minos reigned, who had a man of braffe given to him (as some of the Fablers say) by Vulcan. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed vp with a brazen naile, his name was Talus: his custome wasto runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee faw the shippe Argo passe by, he threw stones at it, but Medaa with her Magique destroyed him. Some fay that the flew him by potions, which made him madde; others that 40 promising to make him immortall, she drew out the naile that stopt his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that fay he was flaine by Pean, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the Argonautes failed to AEgina where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly from AEgina they failed by Eubaa and Locris home to Iolcos, where they arriued, having spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this iourney of Isson, understand the mysterie of the Philosophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also other superfine Chymists, draw the twelve labours of Hercules. Suidas thinkes that by the golden Fleece, was ment a booke of Parcement, which is of sheepeskinne, and therefore called golden, 50 because it was taught therein how other mettals might be transmuted. Others would signific by Isson wisdome, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of Dercilus, that the Storie of such a passage was true, and that Isson with the rest went indeed to robbe Colchos, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from Caucasus there are certaine steepe

CHAP.13. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

falling torrents which walh downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vse to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which Strabo witneffeth to be true The many rockes, straites, fands, and Currents, in the passage betweene Greece and the bottome of Pontus, are Poetically converted into those herie bulles, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the Syrens, Scylla and Charybdis, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the Mediterran sea, difguised, as the rest, by Orpheus, under poeticall morrals : all which Homer afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of Vlysses his trauailes on the 10 fame Inland-feas.

Of Abimelech, Tholah, and Iair, and of the Lapytha, and of Theseus, Hyppolytus &c.



Fter the death of Gedeon, Abimelech his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the Sechemites, remembring what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who defired to make him and his their 20 perpetuall Princes; and as it feemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on

them the Soueraigntie, practifed with the inhabitants of Sechem (of which his mother was natiue) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moved with the glorie, to haue a King of their owne, redily condescended and the better to inable Abimelech, they borrowed 70 pieces of filuer of their Idoll Baalberith, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the flaughter of his 70. brethren the sonnes of Gideon, begotten on his wives, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but lotham the youngest, who hid himselse from his present furie : all which hee executed on 30 one stone, a crueltie exceeding all that bath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither bath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being : but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with soue that hath no end. All other passions and affections by which the squiles of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes relifted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of Satan, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may ferue it: remembring nothing, what soeuer iustice, pietie, right or 40 religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effectes of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the vndertakers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and beganne in Angels: for which thy were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more auncient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practife the other, as befitting euery age, and mans condition.

In the youngest of Gideons sonnes having escaped the present perill, sought by his best persuasions to alienate the Sechemites, from the affilting of this mercilesse 10 tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subjection, had refufed to receive as vnlawfull, what others had not power to gine, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people)

had appointed them by whome and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it felfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweet nesse, and the Vine with the good juyce it had; the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downcall the rest, and accepted the Soucraigntic. He also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and confume the Cedars of Libanon.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right leddeon) Gaal the sonne of Ebed withdrew the Citizens of Sechem, from the service of Abimelech : who therefore after some affaults entred the place, and maistred it; to and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll Baalberith was worthipped; and put all the people of all forts to the flaughter. Lastly, in the affault of the Castle or Tower of Teber, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, he commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie; thereby to avoid the diffionour of being flaine by

While Abmelech vsurped the Gouernment, the Lapitha and Centaures made warre against the Thebanes. These Nations were descended of Apollo and were the first in those parts that denised to mannage horses, to bridle and to sit them: in somuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of Pindus; into the much as when they mit came downe from the modern thought them creatures palephanel, to compounded of men and horses; so did the Mexicans when Ferdinando Cortes the de weredo, Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of Abimelech, Thola of Isfachar governed Israel 23, yeeres, and after him Jair the Gileadite 22. yeeres, who feemeth to bee descended of Jair the sonne of Manasse, who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and calfonne of Manalle, who in Mojestime conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his owne name, Haboth Jair. For to this Jair there remained thir, Name 14.4. tie of those Cities, which his auncester had recourred from the Amerites. Of these ludges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all ludges. /: their times, Ifrael lived without disturbance and in peace.

30 When Jair indged Ifrael, Priamus beganne to reigne in Troy, who at fuch time as Hereules facked Ilium, was carried away captine with his lifter Hesione into Greece, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned Troy; and so farre inlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all Asia the leffe. He married Hecuba the daughter of Coffeus King in Tuft, of Thrace, and had in all (faith Cieero) fiftie fonnes, whereof feauenteene by Heta. ba, of whom Paris was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt Hestoric tooke He-

lena the wife of Menelaus the cause of the warre which followed. Theseus the tenth King of Athens began likewise to reight in the beginning of List: fome writers call him the sonne of Neptune and Ashra: but Platark in the 40 Storie of his life findes him begotten by Egens, of whom the Gretim feet betweene it and Asia the leffe tooke name. For when Minos had maistered the A= thenians, so furre as hee forst them to pay him seauen of their sonnes every yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a Labyrinth, to bee denoured by the monfter Minotaur : because belike the sonnes of Taurus, which hee begat on Passiphae the Queene, had the charge of them: Among these seauen Thesens thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countrie of that slanerie occasioned for the death of Androgeus, Minos his sonne.

And having possest himselfe of Ariadnes affection, who was Ainos daughter, hee receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himfelfe 50 through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the Labyrinth, made in all like that of the Citie of Crocodiles in Egypt; by meane whereof having flaine Minotaur, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father seguis had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in fafetie; hee flould vie a white faile in figue thereof, and not that mournfull blacke faile, under

Verfis.

which they left the port of Athens. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, Ageus descrying the shippe of Thejeus with a blacke saile cast himselfe o. uer the rockes into the sea, afterward called of his name Ageum.

One of the first famous actes of Thefeus, was the killing of Seyron, who kept a pasfage betweene Megara and the Peloponnesian Isthmos, and threw all whom hee maftered into the sea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to Cerevon. by wrestling, who ysed by that Arte to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of Procrustes, who yied to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastned by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their springing backe tare them asunder. So did hee roote out Periphetes and other 19 mischieuous theeues and murtherers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the Amazons. who after many victories and valtations, entred the Territorie of Athens. The. feus hauing taken their Queene Hyppolita prisoner, begat on her Hippolytus; with whom afterward his mother in law Phadra, falling in loue, and hee refuling to abuse his fathers bed, Phadra perswaded Theseus that his sonne offered to force here after which it is fained that Thefeus befought Neptune to revenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. Neptune taking a time of advantage sent out his Sea-Calues, as Hippolytus passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which milerable and vndeserued destinie, when Phadra had heard of, shee strangled 20 herselfe. After which it is fained, that Diana entreated Asculapius to set Hippolytus his pieces togither, and to restore him to life : which done, because hee was chaste, shee ledde him with her into Italie, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that Hyppolytus, when his father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and received many woundes in forcing his passage and escape; which woundes Asculapius, to wit, some skilfull Phisician, or Chirurgion healed againe, after which hee past into Italy, where hee lived with Diana, that is the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of these auncient prophane Stories, Plutarch saith well, that as Cosmographers in 30 their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beastes, birdes, and fishes, and with Ma-\* thematicall lines, so doe the Gracian Historians and Poets, imbroder and intermixe the tales of auncient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous difcourfes. True it is, that Theseus did many great things in imitation of Hercules, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the Athenians, from being difperst in thinne and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for denifing them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say per Ostracismum, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a device of his 40

Strab.li.o. Pan (in Con.

Frd.10.3.

Hee stole Helen (as they say) when she was 50. yeeres olde, from Aphidna, which Citie Castor and Pollux ouerturned, when they followed after Theseus to recouer their lifter. Erasistratus and Pausanias write that Theseus begat her with child at Argos, where shee erected a Temple to Lucina: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth Ouid, Nontamenex facto fructum tulit ille petitum &c. The rape Eufebius findes in the first of Jair, who governed Ifrael 22. yeeres, to whome fucceeded Iephta or Iepte fixe yeeres, to whom Ibzan who ruled seauen yeeres, and then Habdon eight yeere : in whose time was the fall of Troy. So as, if Thesens had a childe by her in the first of Lair, (at which time wee must count her no lesse 50 than fifteene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne so young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeere olde at the destruction of Troy: and when shee was stollen by Paris eight and thirtie: but herein the Chronologers doe not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting with Halicarnasseus

doe in effect consent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yeere of Demophoon King of Athens, the successour of Afrestheus, the successour of Theseus, feauenteene dayes before the Summer Tropique, and that about the eleventh of September following, the Troians croft the Helleffont into Thrace, & wintred there, and in the next spring that they nauigated into Sialia, where wintring the second yere, the Punt Chron. Fig. next summer they arrived at Laurentum, and builded Lauinium. But S. zingustine hath it otherwise, that when Polyphides governed Sieyon, Mnellheus Athens, Tautanes Affria, Habdon Ifraell, then Aneas arrived in Italie, transporting with him in twentie shippes the remainder of the Troians: but the difference is not great: and hereof 1816.19. 10 more at large in the storie of Troy at hand.

In Sicyonia Phastus the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of Thola. His fuccessours, Adrasus who reigned foure yeeres, and Polyphides who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of Lair, sois also Mnestheus King of Athens, and Atreus, who held a great part of Peloponnesus. In Assyria, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Judges, Mitreus and after him Tautanes reigned. In Ægypt Amenophis, the sonne of Ramses, and afterwards Annemenes.

). VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

N this age was the warte of Thebes, the most auncient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of. Wherefore the Romane Poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point held truely against the Peripateticks) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this

–Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumque & mundi, semperque aterna fuere, Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troia, Non alias aly quoque res cecinere pocta?

If all this world had no originall, But things have over beene as now they are: Before the liege of Thebes or Troyes last fall, Why did no Poet fing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times Greece was very saluage, the inhabitants being often 40 chaced from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whercon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or fow more corne than was necessarie for their suftenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was n ot heard in Greece, when Homer did write, who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattel; saying that the golden armour of Glaucus, was worth 100. becues, and the copper armour of Diomedes worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the viuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not 50 many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycense the principal Citie in Peloponnefus was a very little thing, and it may wel be thought that the rest were proportionable : briefly, Greece was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the



Athenians because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in general was very rude it will easily appeare to such as consider, what Thuc, Males the greates for their Historians hath written to this effect, in the præsace to his Historie. Wherefore, as in the selatter times, side Chnomiders vse when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great frostes, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade, so did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings, remember onely the great shoods which were in the times of Gyzes, and Deucalian: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulteric committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begar, without writing ought that sauou- to red of humanitie before the time of the warre of Thebes: the briefe whereof is this.

OEdipus the sonne of Laius King of Thebes, having beene cast foorth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle forctolde what cuill should come to passe by him. did afterwards in a narrow paffage contending for the way, flay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of Thebes, by marriage of the Queene locasta, called by Homer Epicaste: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two fonnes, Eteocles and Polynices. But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee viderstood the grieuous murther and incest hee had committed, he 20 tore out his owne eyes for gricfe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that OEdipus having his eyes pulled out, was expelled Thebes, bitterly curling his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howfoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and so by course rule interchangeably: but this appointment was ill observed. For when Polynices had after a yeeres Gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when Eteocles had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to give over the rule to Polynices. Hercupon Polynices fled vnto Argos, where Adrastus the sonne of Talaus then reigned, vnto whose pal-30 lace comming by night, hee was driven to feeke lodging in an out-house, on the backfide.

There hee met with Tydeus the sonne of OEneus, who was fledde from Calydon: with whom striuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. Adrastus hearing the noyse, came foorth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the shield of Tydeus a Bore, in that of Polynices a Lyon, hee remembred an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduifed to give his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore : and accordingly hee did bestowe his daughter Argia vpon Tydeus, and Deipyle vpon Polynices, promiling to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as he could draw 40 to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carrie Amphiaraus the sonne of Oicleus a great Soothfayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But Apphiaraus, who is faid to have foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely Adrastus, did both vtterly resuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. Polynices therefore dealt with Eriphyle the wife of Amphiaraus, offering vnto her avery faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to affist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of Polynices. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therfore whereas a great controuerfie, betweene Amphyaraus and Adrastus, was by way 50 of compromise put vnto the decision of Eryphile, either of them being bound by folemne oath to stand to her appointment : shee ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more case to foresee than avoide destinie, sought such comfort as reuenge might affoord, giuing in charge to his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother and make strong warre vpon the Thebanes.

Now had Adrastus affembled all his forces, of which, the seauen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippomedon (in steade of whom some name Mecisteus) all Argines, with Polynices the Theban, Tydeus the AEcolian, and Parthenopaus the Arcadian sonne of Meleager and Atalanta. When the armie came to the Nemean wood, they met a woman whom they defired to helpe them to some water, she having a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argines to a 10 fpring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was Hypsipyle the daughter of Thoss the Lemnian, whom shee would have saved when the women of the Isle slew al the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For fuch her pietie, the Lemnian wives did fell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to Lycurgus Lord of the Country about Nemea, whose young sonne Opheltes or Archemorus, she did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When you the childs death shee hid herselfe for seare of her maister, Amphiaraus told her sonnes where they should finde her and the Argines did both kill the Scrpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chaunce, did institute solemne sunerall games called Nemean, wherein Adrastus wanne the prize with his swift horse Arion, Tydeus 20 with whorlebats, Amphiaraus at running and quoiting, Polynices at wrestling, Parthenopaus at shooting, and one Laodocus in dacting. This was the first institution of the Neman games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one Opheltus, a Lacedamonian. Some fay by Hercules, when hee had flaine the Nemaan Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here fet downe.

From Nemaa the Argines marching onwards, arrived at Citheron, whence Tydens was by them fent Embassadour to Thebes, to require of Escosles the performance of Couenants between him and Polynices. This message was nothing agreeable to Escosles, who was throughly resoluted to holde what hee had, 'as long as hee could:

30 which Tydeus perceiuing and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the Thebaus, hee made many challenged, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fittie men in ambulh to intercept him at his returnet to the armie, of which fiftie hee flewe all but one, whome hee fent backe to the Citie as a reporter and wittefle of his valour. When the Argiues understood how resolved Eteodes was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. Thebasis said to have had at that time seaven gates, which beliek Roode not farre assunder, seing that the Argiues (who asterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousandes then Thebas had gates) did compasse the towne. Adrassus

40 quartered before the gate Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogggian, Tydeus before Crenis, Amphiarsus at Pročisis, Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopeus at Electra, and Polynices at Hypfifa. In the meane feason, Eteoeles having armed his men; and appointed Commaunders vnto them, tooke adulke of Tirefus the Sooth layer; who promifed victorie to the Thebans, if Menacius the sonne of Creon a principall man of the Citie, would vowe himselfe to be estaine in honour of Mass the God of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so envious at his Creators glogie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and facrifice with all Diuine worthippe, but commaundeth vs to offer our selves, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clowded mens wnderstanding, 30 and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde devotion. And such abhomi-

nable facrifice of men, maides, and children hath hee exacted of the Sprians; Carthaginians, Gelles, Germanes, Cyprians, Sprians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superfittion. But as they grewe more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not

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leffe malitious in defiring the continuance of fuch barbarous inhumanitie. For King Diphilus in Cypres without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. Tiberius forbad humane sacrifices in Affrick: and crucified the Priestes in the groues where they had practifed them. Hercules taught the Italians to drowne men of have in stead of the liuing . yet among the saluages in the West Indies these cruell offerings have been practised of late ages: which as it is a fufficient argument that Satans malice is onely covered and hidden by this subtiltie among civil people: so may it serve as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in Greece. For Menecius as soone as bee vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as 10 hee thought) vpon Mars, killing himselse before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battell fought, wherein the Argines prenailed so farre at the first, that Capanews aduauncing ladders to the walles, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when hee fell or was cast downe, or (as writers haue it ) was stricken downe by Impiter with a thunderbolt, the Argines fled. Many on each part were flaine in this battell, which caused both sides to defire that Eteocles and Polynices might tric out the quarrell in fingle fight : whereto the two brethren according, flewe each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of Assaus behaued themselues very valiantly: Ilmarus one of the sonnes slewe Hippomedon 20 which was one of the feuen Princes: Parthenopaus being another of the feauen (who was said to have beene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was flaine by Amphidicus, or as some say, by Periclymenus the sonne of Neptune: and the valiant Tydeus by Menalippus : yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought vnto him by Amphiaraus, which hee cruelly tore open and swallowed up the braines. Vpon which fact, it is faid, that Pallas who had brought from Inpiter fuch remedie for his wound, as should have made him immortalil, refused to beflow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortall did perish through the beaftly rage, that hee shewed at his

The hoaft of the Argines being wholly discomfitted, Adrastus and Amphiaraus fledde; of whom Amphiaraus is faid to have been swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the river Ismenus, togither with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens fight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carcases or drowned in the river; and his bodie neuer found nor greatly fought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to Athens; where fitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies . For Creen having obtained the Gouernment of Thebes, after the death of Eteocles, would not fuffer the bodies of the Argines to bee buried : but caused Antigone, the only daughter then liuing of OEdipus, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and 40 buried the bodie of her brother Polynices, contrary to Creons Edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of Adrastus, did send foorth an armie under the Conduct of Thefeus, which tooke Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Argines to Sepulture: at which time Euadnethe wife of Capaneus, threw herselfe into the funerall fier, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at Thebes, that any leffer euenge should bee taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after having levied forces AEgialeus the sonne of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promachus of Parthenopaus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Ther Sander of Polynices, and Euripylus of Mecisteus, marched thither under the conduct of Alemaon the sonne of Amphiaraus: 50 with whom also went his brother Amphiloctus. Apollo promised victorie if Alemaon were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commaunded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were incountred by Landamas the son of Eteocles

then King of the Thebanes, (for Creon was only Tutor to Laodamas) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and flew Agialeus, yet was he put to the worst, and driuen to flie, or (according to Apollodorus Illaine by Alemaon, After this disafter the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuaied themselves with their wines and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called Estica. The Argines when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entring into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and laid it wast; howbeit it is reported by some that the Towne was faued by Ther fander, the sonne of Polynices, who causing the Citizens to 10 returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee faued the Citie from vtter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the Thebanes to the Warre of Troy, which very shortly after ensued.

### 8. VIII.

Of IEPHTA, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, IVD. 11. V.28. are to be reconciled with the places ACT. 13.20. I.R EG. 6.1. together with some other thinges touching Chronologie about theje times.

Fter the death of Iair (neare about whose times these thinges happened in Greece, and during whose gouernment, and that of Thosa, Ifrael lived in peace and in order) they revolted agains from the law, and feruice of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped Baal and Afteroth, they

now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and imbraced the fdolls of the Aramites, of the Zidonians, Moabites, and Ammonites : with those of the Indite. Philistims. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the Aramites, by the Amalekites, and Midianites: To now hee scourged them by the Ammonites, and after- Thepenequa-20 ward by the Philistims.

Now among the Ifraelites, those of Gilead being most oppress, because they bor 18, years and dered upon the Ammonites, they were inforst to seeke lephia, whom they had for sended in the merly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwith-

flanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of de- in which year uilish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the Gileadites to the Watre, vpon lephia began condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victorie. And when he had disputed with Ammon for the Land, disproued Ammons right, and fortified the title of Ifrael by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he beganne the warre; and being ftrengthened by God, ouer-threw them; and did not only beate 40 them out of the plaines, but forft them over the mountaines of Arabia, even to Min. wait, 18. nuth, and Abel of the vineyards, Cities express heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is faid, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to facrificathe first living creature hee incountred, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and only desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; because in her the issues of her Father ended : but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which But in Borrhaus and others proue fufficiently.

After these thinges the children of Israel, of the Tribe of Ephraim, either envious 30 of lephta's victoric, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grienous slauerie that ever Ifrael suffered, quarrelled with Iephra, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with Gideon. Iephia hereupon inforst to defend himselfe against their furie, in the incounter slew of them two and fortie thouland, which fo weakened the body of the Land, as the Philifims tall 4

CHAP-13. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

2925.

Iud.t 1.28.

AG.13.10.

1.King.6.1.

had an easie conquest of them all not long after: Iephta after he had judged Israel fix yeares died : to whom succeeded Ibzan, who ruled seuen yeares : after him Elon was their Iudge, ten yeares : in all which time Israel had peace. Eusebius finds not Elon, whom he calleth Adon, for in the Septuagint, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted. Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessarie vpon the occasion of

Iephta's account of the times Iud. 11.28. ( where he faies that Ifrael had then poffet

the East side of Iordan 300. yeares) to speake somewhat of the times of the Indges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagree- 10

ing: the first is in this dispute betweene Iephta and Ammon, for the right and posses, fion of Gilead: the second is that of S. Paul Act. 13. the third that which is in the first of Kings. Iephta here challengeth the possession of Gilead for 200. yeares: Saint Paul giveth to the Iudges, as it seemes, from the end of Iosua, to the last of Heli, 450. yeares. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of Ifrael out of Egypt, to the foundation of Salomons Temple, there were confumed 480. yeares. To the first Beroaldus findeth Iephta's 200. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of Iofus, 40. of Othoniel, 80. of Aod and Samgar, 40. of Debora, 40. of Gideon, 3. of Abimilech, 22. of Thola, and 22. of Jair : But Jephta (faith Beroaldus) putteth or propo-Id facit nume- seth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: Sie vt dieat annum agt propè trecente simum, 20 ex quo nullus litem ea dere mouerit Ifraeli; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yere, fince Ifrael possessed those Contries, no man making question of their right. Codoman on the contrarie finds more yeares than lephta named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in Israels captivitie, at severall

times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) lephta forbare to repeate the whole summe

or any great part, least the Ammonite should have justly objected, that 71. of those

yeares, the Ifraelites were in captinitie and vaffalls to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeares it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the reft.

To instifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captinitie or af-30 fliction, to be added to Beroaldus his 266. he addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: 20. yeares hee giues to the Seniors betweene Io/ua and Othoniel: and where Beroaldus alloweth but 18. yeares to Io/ua his gouernment, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to Iofephus; whereas S. Augustine and Eusebius give him 27. Melanchton 32. The truth is that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of thefe, we have the just number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that Iephta should leave out more than halfe 40 of these yeares of affliction : secing as it is already said the Ammontes might except against these 71. yeares, and say that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the Ifraclites had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. Martin Luther is the Author of a third opinion making those 300. yeares remembred by Iephta, to be 306. which odde yeares, saith he, Iephta omitteth. But because the yeares of enery Iudge as they raigned, cannot make up this number of 306. but doe only compound 266. therefore doth Luther adde to this number, the whole time which Moses spent in the Desarts of Arabia Petran; which fortie yeares of Moses added to the number which Beroaldus findeth of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant Luthers indgement herein: for in the di- 50 spute betweene Jephta and Ammon for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon in these wordes. Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came up from A gypt from Arnon unto Iaboc, &c now therefore restore those Landes quietly or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from Mofes departure

Iud.11,28.

out of Ægypt: but from the time that the Land was possess. For it is said, Quià cepit Israel terram meam; Because Israel tooke my Land: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking : which Iephtas answere also confirmeth in these wordes. When Ifrael dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeares: why did yee not then recover them in that space? so as this place speakes it directly, that Israel had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeares : and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that Ifrael had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for wee doe not vse to reckon the time of our conquests 10 in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and pos-

Iunius neuerthelesse likes the opinion of Luther, and saies that this time of 200. veares hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of Iephtas narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of Moses whole journey : to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of Indges in our translation in these wordes. But when Ifraelcame up from Ægypt, &c. and therefore Moles his 40. yeares (as he thinks) tunins in the 11 are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeares : and not only the time of ind. not. in which Ifrael possess Gilead, according to the Text and Iephtas owne wordes: of which I leave the judgement to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we 20 may not beginne the 480. yeares, from the deliuerance out of Egypt to the Temple, even from the first departure out of Agypt, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of S. Pauls and Iephtas account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have beene fignified. For first, touching tephtas 300. yeares of possession of the East side of Iordan, it is to be remembred that for a good while before the Israelites possessed it, Sehon and Og had dispossessed Moab and Ammon thereof: so that when the Ifraelites had conquered Sehon and Og, the right of possession, which they

possession of the two Kings Sehon and Og, whose right the Israelites had by the law 30 of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. Paul Act. 12. that from the end of Issua to Readthe 24 of the beginning of Samuel, there past 450. yeares. And this place Luther understan- 10/112, and the deth also besides the letter, (as I finde his opinion cited by Functius Krent semius, and Funct, coron. fol. Beza, for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of 4. Beza in his Moses, to the last yeare of Heli, but 357. yeares : and this hee doth the better to ap- Annotations proue the times from the egreffion out of Agypt to the building of the Temple, of the Affix is which in the first King. 6. is said to be 480. yeares.

Now for as much as S. Paul (as it seemes) finds 450. yeares from the death of Io-

had, passed to Israel; and so lephta might say that they had possessed those Countries

200. yeares, reckoning 266. yeares of their owne possession, and the rest of the

fua, to the last of Heli, and leaves but 30. yeares for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40 40. for David who ruled 40. and for Salomon who ware the Crowne three whole yeares ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore Luther takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrate out this peece of Scripture of S. Paul : to wit, Then afterward he gaue unto them Indges about 450. yeares, unto the time of S A- 48,13.20. MVEL the Prophet: the wordes then afterward, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of Iosua, as shall be hereafter proued. But where S. Luke rehearling the wordes of S. Paul wrate 350. yeares (faith Luther) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinitie of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one lignifieth 300. and the other 400. wrate Tetracosiois for Triacosiois 400. yeares, for 300. yeares, and 450. for 350. This hee feeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to 30 which opinion Beza in his great Annotations adhereth. A contrarie judgement to this hath Codoman: where Luther and Beza beginne at Moses death, he takes his account from the death of Iv/ua; and from thence to the beginning of Samuel he makes 430 yeares to wit, of the Indges (not reckoning Sampsons yeares) 319 and of yeares of seruitude and affliction under strangers 1 11. The reason why he doth not reckon

Iud.13. Iud.15.11.

Sampsons 20. yeares, is because he thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeares, in which the Philistims are faid to have oppressed Israel. For it is plaine that during all Samplons time they were Lords over Ifrael. So then of the Inages, belides the 111. yeares of seruitude, Codoman reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeares, which two fummes put together make 430. yeares, and whereas S. Paul nameth 450. yeares, he finds 20. yeares to make vp S. Pauls number, to have beene spent after the death of losus by the Seniors, before the captivitie of Chushan, or the election of Othoniel: which 27. yeares added to 430. make 450. according to S. Paul. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of 10 fua, and the fecond of Inages, in each of which places it is written, that Ifrael ferued the Lord 10 all the daies of Iosva, and all the daies of the Elders that over-lived Iosva, foasto these times of the Elders, Codoman giveth 20 yeares, which make as before 450.according to S. Paul. Neither would it breede any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20 yeares of the Seniors, betweene Tofua and Othoniel, should be denied. For they which denie these yeares and make Othoniels 4c. to beginne presently upon the death of losus, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20. yeares lesse than Co.loman, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeares of afflictionapart from the yeares of the Iudges) in the number of Sampfons yeares, and of the 40. yeares of the Philistims oppressing the Israelites, they have 20. yeares more than Codoman. For they reckon these 40. yeares of oppression all of them a-part from 20 Sampsons 20. but Codoman as is said makes Sampsons 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the Philistims oppressions; so that if the 20. yeares of the Seniors, be not allowed to Codoman, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the Philistims in an Inter-regnum, before Sampson judged Ifrael, vexed the Ifraelites 40. yeares besides the 20 while Sampson was their Indge, and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeares betweene the end of Iofina, and the beginning of Samuel, though wee admit not of any Inter-regnum of the Seniors, betweene Iofua and Othoniel: For if the times of their affliction be fummed, they make 111. yeares, to which if we adde the yeares of the Ineges, which are 239, we have the just summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to bee much more probable, than 30 theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceine that this time of 350. yeares, is to beginne immediatly, or soone after the death of Moles: certainly the place of S. Paul doth enidently teach the contrarie, though it bee received for true that there was vitium feriptoris in the rest. For these be S.P. suls wordes: And about the time of 40. yeares, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroid seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gaue unto them judges about 450. yeares, unto the time of SAMVEL the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moses and of his yeares spent in the wildernesse, then in the nincteenth verse he commeth to the acts of Iosua; which 40 were that he destroied seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: Then afterward hee gaue them Judges about 450. yeares, & and therefore to reckon from the death of Moles, is wide of S. Pauls meaning, so farre as my weake understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any waight in opinion of Codoman touching this place, in the Acts is that it seemes irreconciliable with the account 1. Reg. 6.11. For if indeede there were fpent 450. yeares betweene the end of Iosua and the beginning of Samuel, certainly there must needes be much more than 480. yeares betweene the beginning of the Israelites iournying from Agypt, and the foundation of the Temple by Salomon. To this difficultie Codoman answereth, that these 480. yeares 1. Reg. 6. 1. must begirne to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journying from Agypt, which he makes to be 25. yeares after the beginning of Othoniel's gouernment; from whence if we cast the yeares of the Indees, with the yeares of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we have already spoken,

make 397. yeares) and so to these yeares adde the 40. of Samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of Dauid, and the 3. of Salomon, wee shall have the inst summe of 480. yeares. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the annus egressionis 1. Reg. 6.1. should be undershood egressionis non incipients sed sinite, the yeare of their comming out of £gypt, (too so it is in the originall) or the yeare after they came out of £gypt, may well be understood for the yeare after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so wee finde that thinges which were done 40. yeares after they had set foot out of £gypt, are faid to have beene done in their going out of £gypt, as Psal. 114. When Israeleame out of £gypt, lordan was driven back, 10 and Deut. 4.45. These are the tessimonies which M os is spake when they same out of £gypt. And thus sarre it seemes we may very well agree with Codoman, for the interpretation of the word ab exitu, to be as much as guium eximissen, or ab exitu sinite. For

CHAPalz. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

pretation of the word ab exitu, to be as much as quium exiuissen, or ab exitu sinito: for if sunius Deut, 4,45. doe well reade quum exiuissen, for in exitu, as it seemes that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to ausside contradiction in the Scripture, exepound ab exitu to be, possigned mexiussen; the contradiction in the Scripture, exepound ab exitu to be cleared is how their iournying should bee said not to have

had end vntill the 25. yeare after the victorie of Othoniel. To this Codoman answereth that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the Danites at length feated themselues, as it is declared Ind. 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing doth Codoman reconcile the account of Iephta, and S. Paul, with that in the first of Kings c.6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the Danites was when Ind. 18.16 there was no King in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it is not necessarie that we should suppose that Othoniel lived all those 40, yeares of rest, of which Iud. 3.11 fo that by the 25. yeare after his victorie, either he might have been dead, or at least as Gideon did, he might have refused all soueraigntie, and so either way it might truly befaid that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeare after Othoniels victoric) there was no King in Israel. This opinion of Codoman, if it were as consonant to other Chro-30 nologers grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selferound enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good : especially confidering that the speeches of S. Paul, have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as abfolutely true, in fuch manner as they found, and are fet downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authoritie, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the confent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codoman that the conquest of Laish, by the Tribe of Dan, was performed in the fine and twentieth yeare of Othoniel? Or what other probabilitic hath he than his owne conjecture, to show that Othoniel did so renounce the office of a Judge after 40 flue and twentie yeares, that it might then be truly faid there was no King in Ifrael, but every man did that which was good in his owne eies.

Now concerning the rehearfall of the law by Mofes, and the stopping of Iordan, they might indeed be properly said to haue beene, when Ifrael came out of Egypt, like as we say that King Edward the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke he can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or saith by connerting the proposition, when Iordan was turning back, Ifrael came out of Egypt. Indeed most vnproper it were to give date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition sinished long before, namely to say that King Edward at his arrivall out of Palessina, did winne Seatland, or died at Carlie. How may we then beleeve that enterprize performed so many yeares after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the time of the deparations).

ture out of Agys: Or who will not thinke it most strange that the most notable

Ioj.14.1.

CHAP-14. S.8.

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T

Ewil. 3:

account of time, feruing as the only guide for certaine ages in facred Chrenologic, lhould not take name and beginning, from that illustrious deliuerance out of Agpr, rehearded often by God himfelfe among the principall of his benefits to Ifrael, where of the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewife are the year eard moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the year ypon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a 1 owne by Soo. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idolls to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon Codoman buildeth hath either no time guent to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in such a yeare, because it best stood with his interestical pretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selie.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostele S. Paul did not herein labour to fet downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, delinered them out of bondage, and ruled them by Indges, and Prophets, voto the time of Saul: did raise vp our Lord lesis Christ out of the seede of Danid the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should have no end. Now in rehearing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have beene the true (Messas) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation 20 of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleeued of the Ierres to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeares consumed in the wildernesse, whereof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40. yeares. In like manner he proceeded saying that from the divifion of the Land vnto the daies of Samuel the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. yeares. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and cleuen yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339, yeares of the Judges: for this had beene an impertment digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that 30 which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480, yeares is so expressly and purposely set downe.

Now that the wordes of S.P.:ul (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of Chronologie, but must be taken as having reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeares to the raigne of Saul: whereas it is manifest that those yeares were divided betweene Saul and Samuel, yeathat farr the greater part of them were spent under the government of the Prophet, how focuer they are here included in the raigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning for fake the generall opinion when it fauoureth not fuch exposition 40 as they bring out of a good minde to helpe where the neede is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The wordes of S. Paul were sufficiently instified by Beroaldus, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those daies, that the 111. yeares of seruitude were to be reckoned a part from the 339 yeares ascribed to the Indges; which accompt the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a quali, where he faith qualiquadringent is & quinquaginta annis; As it were four ehundred and fiftie yeares. But Codoman being not thus contented would needes haue it to be so indeede; and therefore dissoynes the members to make the accompt euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon 50all Anthors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precifely doth cast up the yeares from the departure out of Egypt, unto the building of Salomons Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given

faith to his owne interpretation of S. Paul, he thinketh it more needfull to find fome new exposition for that which is off it felle most plaine; than to examine his owne coniecture ypon a place that is full of controuers. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loosest himfelle in those wates whereis before him needs had was closely if one should vrge him to give reason of these woo opinions; he must need answere, That Othoniel could not governe above 25, yeares, because then was the taking of Lauly, at which time there was no King in Israel; That the Danites must need shave taken Laish at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the soundation of the soundation of the country of the strain of the str

And now to proceede in our florie. To the time of iephia are referred the death of titerales, the rape of Helen by, Marie, and the provisions which her his had Menzilus, raigning these in Aparta, and his brother ingumenton King of Mijenez in ade for her recoverie. Others referred his rape of Helen to the fourth yeare for the inch which time, if the Watte of Trey (as they inpole) did no beginned will the third of Mingre-Rom, yet; the Greeker had like yeares to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this Watte, longs preparation believes maffer into order in the attempt preparation begets a fleedy with the forest rechindred ten years in the attempt and Trey as it feemes yes entred, facts and burmuithetic third years by Hilledon.

Three yeares after Troy taken, which was in the fixt yeare of Habdon . I neas ar-

enough to vphold a paradoxe, I leave it to the decision of any judicious Reader.

riued in Halicy. Haledon in the tighten, year colhistule died? after lie had beene the Father of 40. Innies and 30. grands hild constand whereas it is imposed, that the Judicial Andrew in South the Halicy of the

or electhey must be exercised to the missing number ween the death of Habden, and the definerance of Haml by Samplon, such as it.

was.

inthe tables should be in the cloth the following the foll

1.King.6.

# CHAP. XIIII. Library Of the Warre of Troy.

Of the Genealogic of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historicall



HE Warre at Troy with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most Chronoingers is found in the time of Habdon, Judge of I/rael, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to intreate of in one intire narration, be- 20 ginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into peeces by rehearling a part indiners yeares the divertitie of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Trey is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teucer and

Dardanus were the two founders of that Kingdome: This is the opinion of Virgil: which if he (as Reineceius thinkes) tooke from Berofus, it is the more probable : if Annius borrowed it from him, then it refts vpon the authoritie of Virgil; who futh thus.

Eneid. 3:

Creta I ov 1 s magni medio iatet insula Ponto: Mons Idaus vbi, & gentis cunabulanostra. Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vberrimarcona: Maximus unde Pater (si rite audita recordor) 2013 and tord on T EV CR VS Rhateas primum est aduetties ad orace de mett Optauitá locum regno. Wondum Hum & areis 130 col polito Pergamea steterant : habitahant vallibus imisen york officers Him Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybanting, ara, 11500 Idaumá, nemus,

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie: Where I o v E was borne, thence is our progenie. There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land An hundreth great and goodly Cities stand. Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame) TEVEER the eldest of our grand-sires came To the R hætean shores; and raigned there Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they fought 50 In lowest vales. Hence CYBELS rites were brought: Hence Corybantian Cymbales did remoue: And hence the name of our Idean groue.

Thus

CHAP.14. S.1. of the Historie of the World.

Thus it feemes by Firgil, who followed furely good authoritic, that Tencer first gaue hame to that Countrie, wherein he raigned ere Troy was built by Dardanue; of which Dardanus in the same booke he speakes thus.

> Est locus Hesperiam Gray cognomine dicunt : Terra antiqua, potens armis atque vbere gleba. OEnotrij coluere viri, nunc famaminores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem. Hanobis propria sedes: hinc DARDANVS ortus: Iasius que Principe nostrum.

Hesperia the Grasians call the place: An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race. OEnotrians held it, now the later progenie Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it Italie, This feate belongs to vs, hence DARDANVS, Hence came the Author of our flock, laftus,

Alfo Aneid.

10

At q, equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis) Auruncos ita ferre fenes, his ortus vt agris DARDANYS Idaas Phrygia penetrauit ad wrbes, Threiciamá, Samum, qua nunc Samothracia fertur. Hincillum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profettum Aureanunc solio stellantis regia cali Accipit, &c.

Some old Auruncans, I remember well (Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell Of DARDANYS, how borne in Italie; From hence he into Phrygia did flie. And leaving Tuscaine (where he earst had place) With Corytus did faile to Samothrace, But now inthronized he fits on high, In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to fo many Authors, approuing and confirming it, Reineccius thinkes that these names, Troes, Teucri, and Thraces, are derived from Tiras 40 or Thir as the sonne of laphet: and that the Dardanians, Mysians, and Ascanians, mixt with the Troians, were Germane Nations, descended from Ashkenaz, the sonne of Gomer: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and River of Ascanius in Asia tooke name. That Ashkenaz gaue name to those places and people it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely that the Ascany, Dardani, and many others, did in after-times passe into Europe: that the name of Teucer came of Tiras, the coniccture is somewhat hard. Concerning Teucer, whereas Halicarnasseus makes him an Athenian, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. Virgil (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of Crete, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully fought, and in this did follow: seeing it no way concerned Augustus (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Reinescius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus and others, that thinke him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Sonne of Scamander and Ida, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus, founder of Troy. Reineccius further

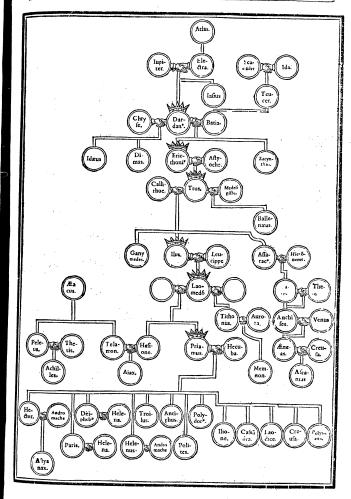
Снар.14. ....

thinkes that Atlus raigned in Samothracia, and gauch is Daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus: and that these were Parents to Chryse, first wise to Dardanus. Virgil holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the some of Electra by Inpiter, which Electra was the Daughter of Allas, and wise to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom shee bare Insign. Annius out of his Berofus singuistic, making him Father of Dardanus and Insign. Annius out of his Berofus singuistic, making him Father of Dardanus and Insign.; and surther telling vs very particularly of the faction between these Bretheren, which grew to such heate, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and thereupon shed into Samothrac. The obscuritie of the hissorie; gives leave to Annius of saying what he list. I that some not to vse such liber 10 tie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Sonne of Inpiter, it must have beene of some clear Insighter than the Father of those that lived about the Warre of Troy. So is it likewise probable that Atlus the Father of Electra was rather an Insighar than an African, which also is the opinion of Boccac. For (as hath of the beene slid) there were many Insighters, and many of sillings are such as the same of such properties.

Boccace.degen. V Deer,l.4.c.31. (

was rather an Italian than an African, which allo is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often beene faid) there were many Iupiters, and many of allmost leavery name of the Gods, but it was the custome to aferibe to some one the afts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my selfe with making any narrow search into the seabulous antiquities, but set downe the Pedigree according to the generall same; allowing to Tenter such Parents as Diodorus gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of Dardanus in manner following.

Atlas



CHAP.14. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Troian Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings raigne, I have chosen good Authors to bee my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greekes, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of thinges elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by Dioderus to be 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the 94th. Olympiad. Whereas therefore 372, did passe betweene the beginning of the olympiads, and the first yeare of the 94th. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is, 408. yeares went betweene the destruction 19 of Troy, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authoritie of Diodorus be good proofe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the Heratlide, which was 80. yeares after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeares before the first

Dionyf. Halic. Antiq.l.2.

Diod in praf.

Died.l.14.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of Dionisius Halicarnasseus, who placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seventh Olympiad, that is foure and twentie yeares after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of Troy. Solin Polibifica Solinus in expresse wordes makes the institution of the Olympiads by Iphitus, whom he calleth Iphidus, 408. yeares later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of divers other places in the same 20 Eufeb deprep. booke. Hereunto doth Eufebius reckoning exclusively agree : and Eratolihenes Enanglio. 23. (as hee is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) makes vp out of many particulars, the fame totall fumme, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewife exclu-

> The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by Clemens in the same place, doe neither cohere any way nor depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the yeare before the Olympiads foure hundred and eight: wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of Eulebius, who leades vs from Dardanus on-wards through the raignes of 30 foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fine and twentie yeares, and after of Priamus, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which paffed vnder Laomedon, wee are faine to doe, as others have done before vs, and take it vpon trust from Annus his Authors; beleeuing Manetho fo much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former Kings raignes and of Priamus, he is found to agree with Eusebius, which may give vs leave to thinke that Annius hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very scrupulous : for seeing that no Hiftorie or accompt of time depends upon the raigne of the former Kings, but only vpon the rune of the Citie vnder Priamus, it may suffice that wee are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeare.

True it is that some objections app aring waightie, may be alleadged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answeres I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the Greekes knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of Trey was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all Greece was the last Warre of Troy, which hath beene famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there affembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the 50 destruction of the great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in fundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the Troians, as by the victorious Greekes after their vnfortunate returne. All which thinges with innumerable circumflances of especiall note, haue beene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of many writers, especially by the Foems of that great Homer, whose verses have giuen immortalitieto the Nation, which might else perhaps have bene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes done both before and fince that time. For it is true which Horace faith :

> Vixere fortes ante AGAMEMNONA Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles Vrgentur, ignotique longa Nocte: carent quià vate sacro.

Many by valour haue deferu'd renowne Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lycall opprest Vnder long night, vnwept for and vnknowne: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers have with strange fables, or ( to speake the best of them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they have both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they fought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historic, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did menage them of Poets, in whose works are both profit & delight: yet fmall profit to those which are delighted ouermuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked trueth, shall finde matter in Poems, not vnworthy to bee regarded of Historians. For those thinges excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much difagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers confent with Homer, that the rape of Helen by Paris the sonne of Priamus, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was hereunto emboldened it is doubtfull.

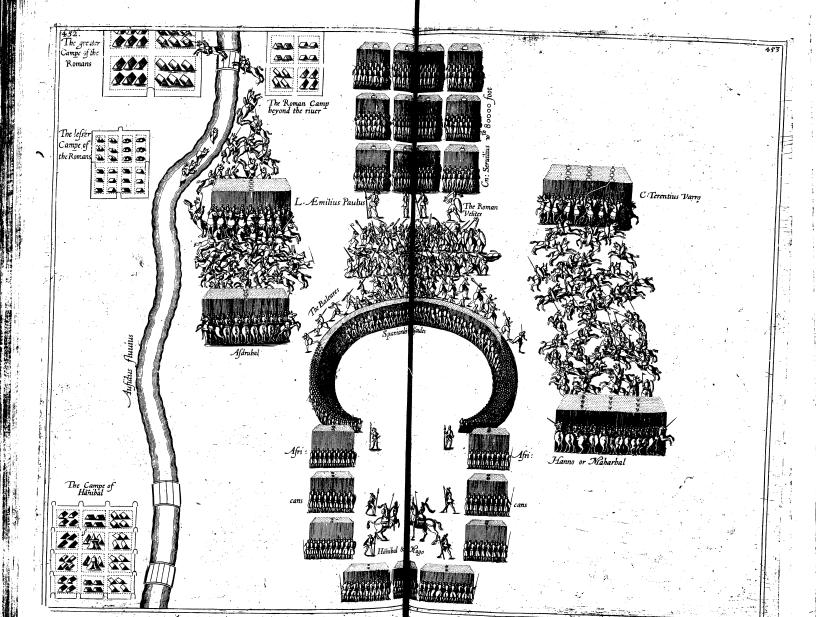
## ð. I I. Of the Rape of HELEN: and strength of both sides for the warre.

Erodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phanicians had rauished to, and carried her into Erret. the Greekes to bee reuenged on the Barbarians, did first raugh Europa whom they brought out of Phanicia into Creta; and afterward Medes, whom they fetcht from Co'chos, denying torestore her to her fa-

ther, till fuch time as they might be fatisfied for the rape of 10. By these deedes of the Greekes, Paris (as the same Herodotus affirmes) was imboldened to doe the like; not fearing such reuenge as insued. But all this narration seemes friuolous, For what had the King of Colchos to doe with the injurie of the Phanicians ? or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of 10, plead any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of Phanicians? Thucydides a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie maketh it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not vsed at all in Homers time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greekes themselves were not then called all by one name Hellenes, as afterwards. So that it were vnreafonable to think, that they should have fought revenge vpon all Nations as barbarous, for the iniu-30 rie receiued by one : or that all people else thould have esteemed of the Greekes, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probabilitie say, that the rape of Helen was to procure the redelinery of Helione, King Priamus his fister, taken formerly by Hercules, and given to Telamon. This may have been etrue.

for Telamon (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne Teucer durst not come in his fight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cypres, onely because his bro. ther Aiax (which Teucer could not remedie) had flaine himfelfe. Yet, were it fo that Hesione was ill intreated by Telamon, it was not therfore likely, that Priamus her brother would feeke to take her from her husband, with whom the had lived about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succeede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that Paris had no regard, either to the rape of Europa, Medaa, or Hesione: but was meerely incited by Venus, that is by his lust, to do that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greekes from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greekes, as Herodotus discourseth, but all people were ac- 10 customed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Country, or keepe them to their owne vie. So did Thefeus and Pirythous attempt Proferpina; and fo did Thefeus (long before Paris) rauish Helen. And these practises, as it appeares in Thucydides were so common, that none durst inhabite necre vnto the sea, for searcof pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no leffe lawfull than merchandife: wherefore Tyndareus the father of Helen, considering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which Thefeus had made, caused all her wooers who were most of the principall men in Greece, to binde themselues by solemne oath, that if shee were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouct her. This 20 done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose Menelaus brother to Agamemnon. So the cause which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge of Helens rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father Tyndareus. Hereunto the great power of Agamemnon was not a little helping; for Agamemnon besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many I. lands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the Areadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarqued for Troy in his owne ships, which were

more than any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition. Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, Agamemnon and Menelaus; or desirous to partake of 20 the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the Trojans. The Greekes Fleet was (by Homers account) 1200. fayle or thereabouts: but the veffels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes, onely they vsed (as Thucydides saith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man(except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Gracian armie confifted of 100000 men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that cuer was raifed out of Greece: and the greatnesse of this amie, doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie not the tenth part of this 40 number, as Agamemnon faid in the second of Homers Iliades; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mijsia, and the greatest part of Asa the lesse, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazones also brought them fuccour. And Rhe [us out of Thrace, and Memnon out of Allyria (though some thinke out of Ethiopia) came to their defence.



ð. III.

Of the Gracians tourney, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenaes being detained in Ægypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia



of Iphigenia

Herefore the Greekes vnwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might bee compounded by treatic, sent Menelaus and Vlisses Embassa-

dours to Troy; who demainded Helen and the goods were taken with her out of Menelau his house. What answere the Troins made hereunto it is wecertain. Herodous from the report of the Expytian Priests makes it very probable that Helen was taken from Paris before his returne to Troy.

makes it very probable that Helen was taken from Paris before his returne to Troy.

The fumme of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with Helena, being driven by foule weather vnto the coast of

Ægypt, was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken

Sanctuarie. Proteus then King of Agypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing Paris without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demaunding Helen had answere, that she was in Egypt: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending Menelaus to aske his wife of Proteus. Homer and the whole Nation of Poets (except Eurypides) vary from this Hiftorie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his Odysses, Homer speakes of Menelaus his being in Agypt, before he returned home to Sparte; which voyage it were not easily beleeved, that he made for pleasure : and if he were driven thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that Paris was likely to have beene an driven thither by foule weather. For Paris immediatly vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking fuch windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Hauen in the Greeke scas; whereas Menelaus might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and served for his Na-

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirme the faying of the Agyptian Priests, which is, that if Helen had beene at Troy, it had beene vtter madnesse for Priamus to fee fo many miferies befall him, during the warre, and fo many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for 40 Hecfor was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that Lucian spake not more pleasantly than truely, when he said that Helen, at the warre of Troy, was almost as old as Queene Hecuba, considering that she had beene ranished by Thefeus the companion of Hereules, who tooke Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further, that the was fifter to Caffer and Pollux (the and Pollux being faid by some to have beene twinnes) who failed with the Argonautes, having Telamon the father of Aiax in their companie before the time that Hesione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Aiax, that was a principall commander in the Troian warre. But whether it were fo, that the Troians could not, or would not reftore Helen, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very 50 well intreated; for there wanted not some that admised to have them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards Troy: at which time Calchas (whom some say to have beene a runnagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answeres and diminations. For he would have Agamemnons daughter facrificed to appeale

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Diana, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were facrificed, or whether (as some write) the Goddesse was contented with a hinde, it is not needfull heere to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the deuill which awaits for al opportunities, is neuer more importunate than where mensignorance is most. Calchas also told the Greekes, that the taking of Troy was impossible till some fatall impediments were remoued and that till tenne yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise; vnder the commaund of Agamemnen, who was accompanied with his brother Menelaus; Achilles the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend Patreelus, and his Tutor Phanix; Aiax and Tencer the sonnes of Telamon; Idomeneus, 10 and his companion Meriones; Nestor, and his sonnes Antilochus, and Thrasymedes; Viffes, Mnestheus the sonne of Petreus, captaine of the Athenians: Diomedes the sonne of Tydeus, a man of fingular courage; the wife and learned Palamedes; Mcalaphus, and lalmenis, the sonnes of Mars, who had failed with the Argonauts; Philottetes also the sonne of Pasan, who had the arrowes of Hercules, without which Calchas said that the Citie could not be taken; Aiax the sonne of Oileus, Peneleus, Thoas, Eumelus, Tifandrus, Eurypilus, Athamas, Sthenelus, Tlepolemus the sonne of Hercules; Podalyrius, and Machson, the sonnes of Asculapius: Epeus who is said to have made the woodden horse, by which the towne was taken; and Protesiaus, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

## d. IIII.

# of the Actes of the Gracians at the fiege.

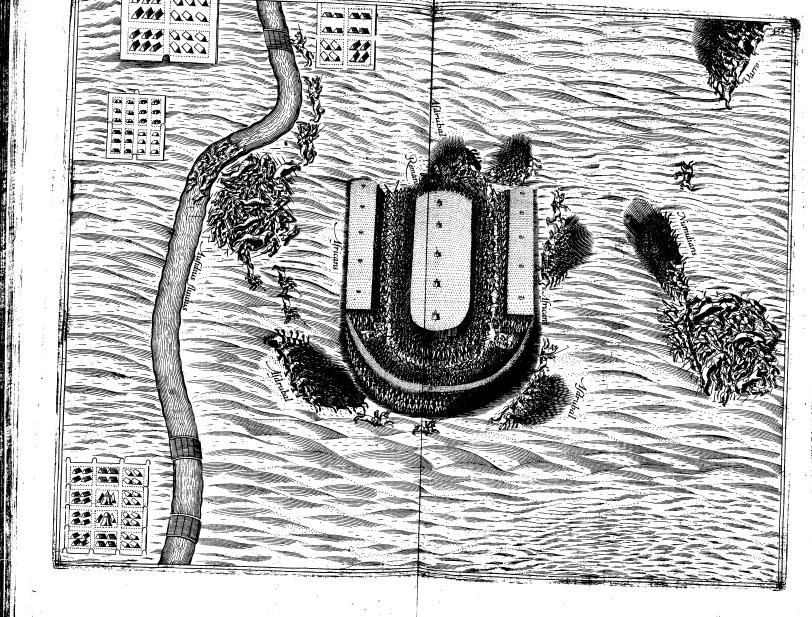


Hele and many other of leffe note, arriving at Troy, found fuch sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the war would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter they lost Protestlaus, whom Hetter slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the Trojans: sauc onely that by their numbers 30

of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselues in, as appeareth in Thueydides. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armic. Hereupon they were compelled to fend some part of their men, to labour the ground in Cherronesse: others to robbe vpon the sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmilhes were, yetcould the towne receive little losse by them, having equal numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more saferetrait, if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore Ouid faith, that from the first yeare till the tenth, there was no fighting at all : and Heraelides commends as very credible the report of Heraelicus; That the Greekes did not lye before Troy the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the feas, exercifing their men, and inriching themselues, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned not untill the fatall time drew neere, when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which Priamus made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them, and therefore fitting vpon an high tower (as Homer tels) he learned their names of Helen: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have beene supposed that hee should so beeignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeerestogether. Betweenethese relations of Thucydides and Herodicus, the disference is not much, the one faying that a few of the Greekes remained in the Campe before Troy, whilest the reft made purueyance by land and sea : the other that the



whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sta-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly distagree from these authours: for they make report of many townes and I-lands wasted, and the people carried into Captinitie; in which actions Achilles was imployed, whom the arme could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to bee performed before the Citie. Howsocuer it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which Troy was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe; and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which Homer saith that Apollo sent in reurage of his Prickes daughter, whom Agamemnen had resused to let goe, for any rainsome but to theratikes interpreting the place, saith that by Apollo was meant the Sunne: who raised pestilent sogges, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish peece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was over-pestered with those, who had been eabroide, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their shippes within the for tifications.

About the fame time arose much contention betweene Agamemnon and Abbillerabout the bootie, whereof Agamemnon, as Generall, having first chosen for his part a aptive woman, and Abbiller in the second place chosen for himselfe an other, then Ains, Viyser, and so the rest of the Chieftaines in order: While the Sooth saver and the Abbiller abbi

The Troids were now relieved with great faccours, all the neighbour Countries haufng fent them ayde: pairtly drawnero that warre by their Communicates 30 who affifted related for morey, wherewith be abounded when the warte beganne (as appeares by his words in Homer) or for lotte of firm Cife and his formes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters, partly also (as we may well gueffe) incited by the wrongs received of the dreeks, when they walked the count tryes adioyning with Trop. So that when Hellor Mued out of the towne ; thee was little inferiour to his enemies in frambers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the Trotal aprile, were Hetter, Parts, Derphobia, Helenis and theother formes of Primar ( Engle; Ameno, and his tonnes, relydether, Supple don, Glancus, Afine, and the formes of Painthus, befores Rhofes, who will finde the first night of his arrivall, Menman; Queene Penthestier, and offices whereanie to 40 wards the end of the warre. Betweene there and the overthe were many batters fought: the greatest of which wire; that at the combeofking the vion the plante! and an other at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein the Brake through the fortifications of the Greeker, and began to fire their thips; at which winter the fonne of Telemon with his brother Tener, were in that mer the whely men of hore that remaining vinwounded, made head again the work which the nate of the order was almost desperate and an arrangement of the contract of the

Another battell(for so airtiquitie cals it) of bather the satist persewed, with sought by sarockus, who hadding obtained feare, drew forth Arbiter froops releasing the wearie Greekes with affelh supply. Agamemnon, Diomedes, Poffer, satist affects of the Princes, though fore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of Patrockus, tepelled the Trains very hardly. For in that sight Patrockus was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into, the Campe: the armour of Achilles which he had put on, being torne from him by Hector. It was the manner of those warres, having stained aman, to strippe him

and hale away his bodie, not reftoring it without ransome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought allon foote, flightly ar-

med, and commonly followed the fuccesse of their captaines; who rode not vpon

horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by fome truitie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were

directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting them-

felues where neede required, threw first their lauelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with fwords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of the footmen, or elle returning to their Charlots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loft, or broken. Their armes defensine to were helmets, breft-plates, bootes of braffe or other mettall, & shields commonly of

leather, plated ouer. The offentiue were fwords and battel-axes at hand; and ftones,

arrowes or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (be-

fides the fwiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were

much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest warre hea-

nicft : also that from them they might throw their Jauelins downewardes, with

the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one

or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to returne to their Tents

for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change

any pecce were loft or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like if he had any

fitting, taken from fome Captaine whom hee had flaine, and stripped : or else to

borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas there-

fore Achilles had loft his armour which Hector (as is faid before) had taken from the

body of Paireslus, he was faine to awaite the making of new, ere he could enter the

fight: whereof he became very defirous, that he might reuenge the death of Patro.

his concubine Brileis; but giving him very great gifts, and exculing former matters

not onely put the Traises to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if

Homer may herein be believed) hee chaced three times about the walles of Troy.

But great question may bee made of Homers truth in this narration. For it is not

likely that Hector would stay alone without the Citic (as Homer doth report of him)

when all the Trojans were fled into it a nor that he could leave ouer the rivers of Xan-

thus and Simois, as he must have done in that flight : nor that the Troians perceiving

Hector in such an extremitie, would have forborne to open some of their gates and

let him in, But this is reported only to grace Achilles, who having (by what meanes

focuer) flaine the noble Hector, did not only carry away his dead bodie, as the cu-

them; tyed him to his Chariot; and dragged him shamefully about the field, selling

the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ransome. But his crueltic and

conetousnesse were not long vnreuenged; for he was shortly after slaine with an ar-

row by Paris, as Homer layes in the Scean gate, or as others in the Temple of Apollo,

whither he came to have married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he

was too farre in loue, hauing flaine so many of her brethren, and his body was ran-

fomed (as Lycophran faith) at the felfe fame rate that Hectors was by him fold for.

Not long after this, Penthefiles Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy; who after

and the contraction

fome proofeginen of her valour, was flaine by Pyrrhus the fonne of Achilles.

frome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrufting leatherne thongs into 40

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himselfe vnto Achilles, not onely restoring

as well as he might. In the next battell Achilles did fo behave himfelfe, that he did 30

or none; every man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if 10

Of the taking of Troy, the wodden Horse, the Booke of DARES and DYCTIS, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.

Inally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Cities was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treasons of the many and antenor; or by a wodden Horse, as the Poets, and common same (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is vectoratine. Some write that you one of the gates of Troy called Seas, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horse. It may well bee that with some wodden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romans in after-times yied to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the wals vponthe sudden and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a wodden horse, it had beene a desperate aduenture, and seruing to no purpose. For either the Trojans might have perceived the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this re-20 port they are faid to have thought vpon) or they might have left it a fewe dayes without the Citie (for it was valikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their walles vpon the fuddaine to doe it ) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by iffuing forth vnscasonably discoursed the inuention. Whereas further it is faid, that this horse was built so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall, to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that 30 without their helpe there was way fufficient for the armie, so that the surpriling of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

Ion Baptiffa Gramay in his Historic of Asia, discoursing of this war, shith that the Greekes did both batter the wall with a wodden engine, and were also let into the Citie by Antenor, at the Seean gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleete of the Grecians had housted faile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Troians into fecuritie. That the Citie was betrayed the bookes of Dares and Lielys must proue, which whicher we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in auncient times, would not, as they 40 did, have followed the reports of Homer and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having ferued in that warre made against the Common report had it not been that either those bookes were euen in those times thought friuolous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre which Dares and Dystis fay to have been about 600000. on the Troian lide, and more than 800000. of the Greekes, it is a report meerely fabulous; for a fmuch as the whole fleete of the Greekes was reckoned by Homer, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as hee could, to bee somewhat lesse than 1200. soile, and the armye therein transpor-30 ted over the *Greeke* leas, not much about 100000 men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their Auncients: for which cause both Homer magnified the Captains of the Greekes, that forned in the war; and Firzul with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the Troi. ns and their Citie, from which the Romanes descended. Yeathe Athenians

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clus his deere friend.

long after in the warre which Xernes the Persian King made against all Greece, did not forbcare to vaunt of the great cunning which Mnefleus the sonne of Peteus had shewed, in marshalling the Grecien army before Troy: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto Gelon King of almost all Sielly, the Admiraltie of their Seas, notwithstanding that hee promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in fuch their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie came of 10 the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romanes, brought into that Countrey by Aneas : the Venetians first seated in Padira; and the Countrie adioyning by Antenor: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the sonne of King Priamus. To which Hellanicus addeth that the posteritie of Hestor did resemble such of the Trojans as were left, and raigned over them about Troy.

## 0. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.



Oncerning the Greekes, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought upon the Trojans. For Thucidides notes that by reason of their long abode at the fiege, they found many alterations when they returned fothat many were driven by their borderers from their auncient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some

were flaine anone after their arrivall: others were debarred from the Soucraigntie among their people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may feeme to have beene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the salamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into 30 fo many peeces under seuerall Commaunders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels ariling vpon the dinision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set faile, Agamemnon and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to Minerus. Hereupon they fell to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with Agsmemnon, the rest of them sailing to the Ile of Tenedos; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to Agamemnon; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was fore vexed with tempelts: for Pallas ( as Homer faith) would not bee perswaded in

They who returned fafe were Neftor, and Pyrrhus, whom Orefles afterward flew: alfo Idomeneus, and Philocetetes, who neuertheleffe, as Vingilltels, were driven soone after to seeke new scats: Idomeneus among the Salentines, and Philostetes at Petiliain Italie. Agamemnon likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer Ægysthus, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. Menelaus wandring long vpon the Seas, came into Agypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather seeme) to setch her. Visses, after ten yeeres, having lost all his company, got home in poore cstate, with much adoe recouring the mastershippe of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and sime to feeke out new habitations.

Ains the sonne of Oileus was drowned; Teucer fled into Cyprus; Diomedes to King Daunus, who was Lord of the lapyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driven into Affricke, others into Italie, all the East part whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason of so many townes which the Greekes were driven to erect

to etect upon that coast. Finally it appeares in Homer that the Greetan Ladies, whose husbands had beeneat the warre of Trey, were wont to call it; The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the valuekie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene faid, happened in the time of Habdon Judge of Ifrael, whom Samfon after a variance or Interregnum for certaine yeeres succeeded.

## CHAP. XV.

Of SAMSON, ELI, and SAMVEL.

Of SAMSON.



HE birth and actes of Samson are written at large in 2970. the 13.14.15. and 16. of Indges; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition therof. But these things I gather out of that Storie. First that the Angell of God forbad the wife of Manoah the mother of Samfon, to drinke wine or ftrong drinke, or to cate any unclean meate, after the was conceined with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and us it were wither and thrinke the child in the mothers wombes Though this were even the counsell of Godhimselfe,

and deliuered by his Angell, yet it feemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept: the most part for bearing nor drincks, 20 nor meats, how ilrong or vncleane focuer, filling themselues with all forts of wines, and with artificiall drincks farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men

Secondly it is to be noted, that the Angell of God refused the facrifice which Manosh would have offered him, commaunding him to present it vnto the Lord : and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they facrifice, may affuredly know that they are Deuils who accept therof, and not good Angels, who receive no worthip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this Samfon was twice betrayed by his wines, to wit, by their impor-40 tunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. Quem nullavis superare potvit, voluptas euertit; il'hom no force could ouermafter, Voluptuousnelle ouerturned.

Fourthly we may note, that he did not in all deliuer Ifrael from the oppression of the Philistims; though in some fort he reuenged, and defended them : for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30, of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly vponit: yet so much did Israel feare the Philissims, as they assembled 3 000 men out of inda, to besiege Samfon in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, vling these wordes. Knowest not thou that the Philiflims are Rulers over vs? &c. After which they bound him, and delive-50 red him vnto the Philistims, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loofened, but he gaue them another ouerthrow and flew 1000. with the lawbone of

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wise, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the

pillars of the house at the feast wherto they sent for Samson, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely faid of Seneca; Patientia Capelala vertitur in furorem, Patience often wounded is converted into furie : neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

Of Eliand of the Arketaken, and of DAGONS fall, and the fending backe of the Arke.

He Storie of Eli the Priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the

beginning of Samuel; who foretold him of the destruction of

his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though Leui Ben Gerson to extenuate this filthie offence of forcing the women by the fonnes of Eli, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites vnder the swords of the Philistims; of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000, and in the second battell 30000, footmen; among whom the fonnes of Eli being flaine, their 20 father (hearing the lamentable fuccesse) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke, Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of Ithamar the fonne of Auron, before whose time it continued successively in the race of Elegzar the eldest brother of Ithamar: for A.ron was the first, Eleazar the second, Phinees the fonne of Eleazar the third, Abifue the fonne of Phinees the fourth, his fonne Bocci the fift, Ozs the some of Bocci the fixt, and then Eli, as Iosephus and Lyranis out of divers 1. King. c. 3.27. Hebrew authours have conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Pricithood continuand 1. Chres. 6. ed after Eli to the time of Salomon who cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock and Achimaas and their successors. The Arke of God which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as David witnesseth. God 30

Pfal.78.

Now as it pleased Godat this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permitthe Chaldeans to destroy the Temple built by Salomon; the Romanes to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to ouerthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the facrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himfelfe, they would have observed his Lawes, and served him onely : which when so uer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke 40 at all, nor in the times of the Machalees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselues by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enligne; David witnessed when he fled from Absalon. For when the Priests would have carried the Arke with him; he forbad it, and caused it to be returned into the Citie, vling these words. If I shall finde tauour in the eyes of the Lord, hee will bring mee againe: if not, let him doe to me as feemeth good in his eyes.

greatly abhorred Ifrael, fo that he for soke the habitation of Shilo : even the Tabernacle

where he dwelt among men, and delinered his power into captinitie &c.

1,S.im.15.

The Troians beleeved that while their Palladium or the image of Minerus was kept in Troy, the Citie should neuer bee ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against Saladine carrie into the field, as they were made beleeue, 50 the very Crosse whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But Chrisostome vpon Saint Matthew ( if that bee his worke) giueth a good judgement, speaking of those that ware a part of Saint Johns Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preservative. Si tibi ea non prosunt in

CHAP.15. S.2. of the Historie of the IV orld.

auribus quomo so proderunt in Collo? If those words doe not profit men in their cares ( to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached ) how should it prosit them by hanging it a- \* best their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Croffe, but the reverence of the Father that gave the one for a memorie of his Covenant : and the Faith in his Sonne, which flied his blood on the other for redemptition, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The Philiftims returning with the greatest victorie and gloric which ever they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to Azotus, and fet it vp in the house of Dagon their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from about to the 10 ground, and lay vider the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and fet it vp, and fet it againe in his place. And it fell the fecond time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were fundred from the armes. For God and the Deuillinhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at fuch time as it pleafed him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and fent him into the world, that all the Oracles wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had never beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, thining vpon the earth which had beene leng obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great God Pan, as hee stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of fo great an alteration : yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Inpiter, Diana, and the whole rable became speachlesse.

Now while the Philistums triumphed after this victorie, God strook them with the grieuous disease of the Hemorrhoides of which they perished in great numbers For 30 it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered that the Arke should be removed from Azotus to Gath or Gethanother of the five great Cities of the Philiftims; to prove, as it feemeth whether this difeafe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee (mote the men of the Citie both (mall and great, cre. And being not yet fatisfied, they of Gath lent the Arke to Ekron or Accaron, a third Citic of the Philifims : but they also felt the fame fmart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by 40 the adulfe of their Priefts, the Prince of the Philiftims did not onely resolue to return the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Ifrael, remembring the plagues which had fallen on the Agyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his feruice by strong hand. Wherefore confelling the power of the God of Ifrael to bee almightie, and that their owne Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vling these words; so yee shall give glorie to the God of Israel that hee may take his hand from you, and from your c.b.v.s. Gods and from your land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemie doth approue our cause? according to Aristotle; Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus. So did Pharao confesse the living God, when he was

50 plagued in Egypt: and Nabuchodonofor, and Darius, when they had seene his mira-

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hemorhoides, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to bee chosen, fuch as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed; but they

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durit not drine or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make triall whether it

were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Arke of God were

carried towards Beth fremesh and into the territoric of Israel: then they should re-

folue that from God onely came their late destruction. For the Philifims knews

that the milch kine which drew the Arke, could not be forced from their calues.

but that they would have followed them wherefocuers much leffe when they were

left to themselves would they travell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in

the world if calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them

through woods, and defartes by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauai-

of one Iolua of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the

Philistimes perceived, they returned to Ekron: After which, God spared nothis owne

people the Bethflemites, in that they prefumed to looke into the drke. And because

they knew God and his commar ndements and had beene taught accordingly : he

ftrooke them more grieuously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them

fiftie thousand and seventic. From hence the Arke was carried to Kirriath-iearim

and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written that it remained twentic

Now whereas it is faid, that in the meane while the Arke was in Nob, Milpah

and Galgala, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time seuered from the Arke: 20

or at least, it was for the a present occasion brought to these places, and anone retur-

yeere in the charge of Eleazar his sonne, vntill Dauid brought it to Hierusalem.

led directly towards Bethshemesh: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, 10

in Samuel judged were Maspha or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Beniamin neare Inda: also booke, a.12. S.1 Gilgal, and Bethel, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

CHAP. 16. S.I. of the Historic of the World.

I he Philistims taking knowledge of the affembly and preparation for Warre at Milpa in the beginning of Samuels gouernment, gathered their Armie and marched 10 towards the Citie: at whose approach the Ifraelites strucken with seare, and with the memorie of their former flaughters and feruitude, befought Samuel to pray to God for them: who was \*then performing his facrifice when the Philiftims were in view. \* Platableto. But God being moued with Samuels praiers (as he was by those of Moses, when Is-ports of Nume rael fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia) It pleased him of Reme, that with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philissims, when as hee according to the prophecie of Hanna, Samuels Mother. The Lords aduer aries fhall be was facrificing destroyed, and out of heaven shall be thunder upon them, &c. 10 sephus affirmes that a part that the eneof the Philistims were swallowed with an earth-quake; and that Samuel himselfeled mics approchthe Ifraelites in the prolequition of their victorie. After which Samuel erected a dilmaied, and 30 Monument in memorie of this happy successe obtained by the miraculous hand of sweed, Ego God, which Iofephus called lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of allistance: autemfacrifico. and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victoria, the Ilraelites re- 1. Sam. 2. 10. couered diners Cities of their owne formerly loft, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any inuation or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be affaulted from divers parts at once; having the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The cstate being thus settled, Samuel for the 30 case of the people gaue audience and judgment in divers places by turnes, as hath

2.Sam c.6.6 1.Clron.c.12. a See in this booke (b.12. § 1. in the margent.

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Of SAMVEL and of his Government.

Hese Tragedies ouerpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Inege and Gouernour of Isla-el. He was descended of the samilie of b Chore or Korach. For Leu 30 had three sonnes 3Gerson, Chesth, and Merari: Chesth had Amram, and Izaar : of Amram came Moses and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore : and of

the familie of Chore, Samuel. His father Elcana a Leuite, was called an Ephratean, not that the Leutes had any proper inheritance, but because he was of 6 Mount Ephraim, like as lesse, Davids father was called an Ephratean, because borne at Ephrata, or Bethelem. Hannah his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers s, whence for and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren diffinction we in respect of the bleffing of God both to Abraham that his seed should multiply, as reade Rank.1.1 the Starres of Heauen, and the fands of the Sea, as in the beginning to Adam, In-Betbleebemote. crease and multiply, & c. and in Deuteronomie the seauenth; There shall bee neither male 40 bade, the towne nor female barren among you.

Samuel was no fooner borne, but that his mother according to her former vowe dedicated him to God, and his service, to which she delivered him even from the dugge. For as the first borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed till they were fine yeeres old for fine sheekles, and betweene fine yeeres and twente is in Mount E- for twentie sheekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the To a whence the control of the contr

Saint Peter reckons in the Actes the Prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom viually this name of a Prophet was given, 50 and yet did Moses account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of Deuter. The Lord thy Godwill raisevp unto the a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But hee is diftinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as, Before time in Israel, when a man went to seeke an answere of God, thus hee spake; Come and let us goe to the Seer:

ned to Kiriath-iearim.

Evinatha which is Both com in Inda, Sca.25. phraths, which

for the which wa- in the tribe of E. thraim.

Yer(.15. I.Sam 9.

# CHAP. XVI. Of SAVL.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



beene elsewhere faid.

V T when age now beganne to ouer-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to under-goe the burthen of fo carefull a gouernment, he put off from himfelfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, loel and Abyah, who judged the people at Beersheba, a Citic, the very vtmost towards the South of Indea. And as the place was inconvenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the instice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of couctousnesse the more it Evalloweth, the more it drieth, and defireth, finding tast in nothing but gaine; to recouer which they did

fet the Law at a price, and fold Iustice and judgment to the best Chapmen. Which

when the Elders of Ifrael Obscrued, and saw that Samuel as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not fo well differne the errours of his owne, they praied him to confent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable succession which followed the rule of Eli his fonnes, when those of Samuel by their first bloffomes promifed to yeeld fruit no leffe bitter, they faw no way to put the gouernement from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choise of a

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from 10 God: which furely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speech or motion dispieating him, hee yield his best arguments to dehort them : which when he perceived to bee over-feeble, hee delivered vnto them from Gods reuclation, the inconveniences and miferies which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intollerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is fo still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vie their fonnes in his owne feruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not only not grieuous, but by the vaffalls of all Kings according to their birth and condition defired: it be- 20 ing very agreeable to Subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no leffe proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: Hewill take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Oline trees, and give them to his feruants; with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne diferetion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwife, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their Soner agnes 20 hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of Deuteronomie, where God fore-sheweth this change of gouernment from Judges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many thinges vnto the Kings, as many wives, conetoufnesse, and the like:he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer I/rael, should write the Law of Deuteronomie, or cause it to be written; and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all daies of his life: that he may learne to scare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the wordes of this Law, and thefe ordinances for to doe them : that he may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes. But to take away any other mans field, fay they, is contrarie to the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, That which 40 is inst and right shalt thou follow, that thou maiest line. Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst eate out of an other mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leffe lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the ow-Deut. 23. v.24. ner, and give it to an other. Neither are the wordes of the Text (fay they) fuch as doe warrant the Kings of Ifrael, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not faid that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes:

and againe, this shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seuered from pietic, (because it is accountable to

who tooke from Naboth both his Vineyard and his life, contrarie to the trust which

God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, That his

people should be indeed with righteous indgement. Wherefore though the King had offered vnto Naboth composition, as a Vineyard of better valew, or the worthin

God only) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in Achab, 50

Deut.if.

Deut.17.

owne Citic and abiding.

Fter that Samuel had difiniffed the affembly at Auzpah, he forbare the election of a King, till fuch time as he was therein directed by God:who fore-told him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of Beniamin, whom hee commanded Samuel to annoint. So

money which he refused : yet because he was falsly accused and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how gricuously Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for Achab against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of I/rael. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, cuen as Dauid testifieth of himselfe. Posuisti me in caput gentium: For this of S. Augustine is very true. Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata aquitas non est aquitas : sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Fained innocence. and tained equitie are neither the one nor the other; but the fault or offence is there doubled to in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disputation who thinke this place to containe the description of a T yrant. But the arguments on the contrarie fide, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of The true law of free Monarchies, which Treatife I may not prefume to abridge, much leffe here to infert. Only thus much I will fay, that if practife doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of Juda and Israel were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did what soeuer they pleased in the greatest thinges; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne bretheren to be flaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though David confessed his offence for the death of Friah, yet Salomon killing his elder brother and others, the fame was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of Israel should receive this change of government, it was not only fore-told by Moles in Deuteronomie, but prophecied of by Iacob in this Scripture. The Gen. 190 Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, &c. It was also promised by God to Abraham for a Gen. 15. bleffing. For it was not only affured that his iffues should in number equal the Starres in heaven, but that Kings should proceede of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the Patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall : and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other gouernments, hath beene by many judicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is gar-20 nished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Iudges every man hath observed what civill Warre Israel had: what outragious flaughters they committed upon each other: in what miferable feruitude they lived for many yeares; and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrie. The Ammonites held much of Gilead ouer Iordan: the Philistims the Sea-coasts: and the Iebusites Hierus alem it selfe, till Davids time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subjected all the Neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaffalls. But whether it were for that the Israelites were moued by 40 those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live vnder a Monarch, or whether by this meanes they fought to be cleared from the fonnes of Samuel, they be- T. Cam. 8. came deafe to all the perswalions and threats which Samuel vsed, infisting vpon this point that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them; where-

à. I ſ.

vnto when Samuel had warrant from God to consent, hee sent every man to his

of the election of SAVL.

I.Sam.16.

(whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promifes) and Saul also hauing wandred diners daies to seeke his Fathers Asses, at length by the aduise of his Servant travailed towards Ramath, to finde out a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beafts. In which journey it pleafed God (who doth many times order the greatest thinges by the simplest passages and perfons) to elect Saul, who fought an Affe, and not a Kingdome : like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheepe of Jethro; and after to make choise of Danist the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaits, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making to him of all other the most victorious King of Inda and Ifrael. So Iohn and Iacob were taken from casting their nets, to become Fishers of men, and honoured with thetitles of Apoliles, a dignitic that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe:

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God shewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much leffe knowing the Honour which attended him: asked Samuel in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt, 20 Samuel answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and praied Saul to go before him to the high place, where Samuel fetting him according to his degree, aboue all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed

him King of Ifrael.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should incounter him by Rahels Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asses were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of loofing his beafts, to doubt the losse of his some: that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a companie of Prophets; and that he should be partaker 30 of Gods spirit and prophecie with them : and that thereby his condition and dispofition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by dinine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errours of their Kings, and wrought mira-Chrysia plat 43. cles; of which number were Aloses, tofua, Samuel and after them Gad, Nathan, Alnus, The Prim Elist, Elifeus, Ifay, Ieremic, and the rest; for these Prophets saith S. Chrysostome, and townin in Omnia tempora percurrant, praterita, prasentia, & sutra: but they were of those of of the High whom S. Paul speaketh of 1. Cor. 1 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts expounded 49 Priest were in-ferted within the Scriptures and the Law.

At Aufjeth Samuel assembled the people that hee might present Saul to them, which therefore who as yet knew nothing of his election : neither did Sant acquaint his owne Vncle wasdapilicatum, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did Saul acquaint his owne Vncie they were pla. Therewith, when he asked him what had past betweene him and Saunuel: for either ced in the pe- he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to Rorallouer a reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall confent. When the Tribes were afof the High fembled at Mizpeth, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. Chimbi Prieft. It is thinkes by the answere of \*Vrim and Thumm: that is, by the answere of the Prieft, pain matthey wearing that mysteric voon his brest when he asked countaile of the Lord. But the pretions flores cashing of lots was not only much ysed among the terres, but by many others, if not 50 rating or fors was not only much yield among the *letters*, but by many others, if not made by the by all Nations. The Land of promife was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to Artificers, See be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a sigure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. Cicero, Plantus, Pausanias, and others have remembred divers forts of lots,

Samuel went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainement of Saul but permanent and euerlasting in Gods endlesse Ringdome.

yfed by the Romanes, Gracians, and other Nations : as in the division of grounds or honours; and in thinges to be vnder-taken: the two first kindes were called diuiforie; the third divinatorie; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kindes howfoeuer they may feeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God : as in the Prouerbs. The lot is rast into the lap, but the whole diffosition is of the Lord. And in like fort fell the Kingdome of Ifrael on Saul, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue Samuel former knowledge of his election : from which election Saul with-drew himselfe in modestie, as both Insephus consters it, and as it may be gathered by his former answeres to Samuel, when he acknowledged himselfe to the least of the least Tribe. But Samuel inlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them know that he was the chosen King of Israel, whereupon all the multitude faluted him King, and praied for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him prefents as the manner was : of whom Saul, to avoide fedition, 1. Sam.c. 19: tooke no notice.

#### ð. I I I.

## Of the establishing of SAVL by his first victories.

O sooner was Saul placed in the Kingdome, but that hee received knowledge that Nahas King of the Ammonites prepared to beliege knowledge that Nama King of the Cammonies prepared to beinge falses Gilead: which Nation lince the great ouer-throw given them by Iephra, neuer durft attempt any thing you the Ifraelites, till the beginning of Saud his rule. And although the Anymonites did alwaies attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the Amorite, and then Ifrael disposses them of which they made the ground of their innalion in Iephta's time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more advantage 30 than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly fubmit themselves to this new King: secondly they were remembred that the Philistims had not long before flaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and belides had yfed great care and pollicie that they should have no Smithes to make them fwords or speares: neither was it long before that of the Bethfremesites and places adioyning, there perilhed by the hand of God more then 50000, and therefore in these respects, even occasion it selfe invited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: Iabes Gilead being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be coniectured that the Ammonites were imboldened against tabes Gilead, in respect of their weakenesse, since the Israelites destroied a great part of them, for not 14d.271 40 joyning with them against the Beniamites: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the Beniamites: and therefore they were not likely to have beene increased to any great numbers: And if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that Israel having for long time been difarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroied. But contrariewise when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would give them no other condition to ransome themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be vtterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath beene spoken: Saul, both to valew 50 himselfe in his first yeares raigne, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the Gileadites, and given to the Beniamites, gave order to affemble the forces of Ifrael: hewing a yoke of Oxen into peeces, and fending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus. That who seeuer came not forth after SAVL and after SAMVEL, To should his Oxen be served: threatning the people

the pectorall,

40 Samuel arrived.

by their goodes, and not by their lives at the first. Seven daies had Saul to affect ble an Armic, by reason that the Gileacites had obtained the respite of these seuen daies to give Nahas the Ammonite an answere : who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from Israel. and to Eccome Vallalls and T ributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saul affembled the forces, which repaired vnto him at Bezee, neare Iordan, that he might readily passethe River; which done he might in one day with a speedy march arriue at labes, under the Hills of Gilead.

1.Sam.11.8.

The Armie by Saul led confifting of three hundreth and thirtie thousand; hereturned an answere to those of Jabes, that they should assure themselves of succour to by the next day at noone. For as it feemeth S.ul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee surprized the Armie of Namas the Ammonite. And to the end that he might fet on them on all lides, he divided his force in three parts, putting them to the fivord, untill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of sauls troupes, inforst them to give over the pursuit. Now the Ammonies were become the more careleffe and fecure, in that those of Jabes promifed the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happy fuccesse the people were so farre in love with their new King, that they would have flaine all those that it murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and refisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly 20 men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despiglitfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe,

1.Sam.ti.

I,Sam.12.

After the Armieremoued, Samuel summoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here Samuel vsed an exhortation to all the affembly, containing precepts, and a rehearfall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After Saul had now raigned one yeare before hee was established in Gigal or Galgala, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he affigned 1000 to attend on Ionathan his sonne at Gibeah, the Citic of his 30 natiuitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in Micmas; and in the Hill of

Of SAVLS disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philipims and Amalekites, which caused his fi-



ONATHAN with his finall Armie or Regiment, that attended him, 40 taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of Philislims: the fame, as fome thinke, which Stul paft by, when he came from Rams where he was first annotined by Simuel, which they thinke to have beene Cariath-testim: because a place where the Philistims had a Gar-

rifon 1. Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they understand of Cariath-iewim: but Linius vinderstands this Garrison to have beene at Gebah in Beniamin neare Gibha where Ionathan abode with his thousand followers. How socuer by this it appeareth that the Philistims held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territorie of Ifrael: and now being greatly inraged by this surprize they affembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where-with they inuaded in-50 des, and incampedat Machinis or Michinis, a Citic of Beniamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Hierufalem, and in the midst of the Land betweene the Sea and Iordan. With this fuddaine inuation the Ifraelites were strucken in so great a feare, as fome of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines, other fled over Iordan

into Gall and Gilead : Saul himfelte with some 2000, men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at 6.1/gala in Beniamin, not farre from the passage of jojua when hee led I/raei ouer Iordan. Here Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the comming of Samuel seauen daies. But when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he prefumed (as fome expound the place 1.5am. (3.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commaundements: others expound the word, obtalit, in this place, by obtulit per Sacer dotem, and so make the sinne of Saul not to have beene any intrution into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commaundement, in not flaying according to the appointment. Secondly a diffidence or millrust in Gods helpe, & too great relying vppon the strength of the people, whose departing

Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of fo godly a man might procure him. But what focuer was his finne, not with flanding his excuses, he was by Samuel re- 1.5am.c.13. prehended most sharply, in termes vnfitting his citate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene given to Samuel so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a

from him he could not beare patiently, and lattly a Contempt of the holy Prophet

man after Gods owne heart ) both from Saul and his posteritie.

After this Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul when he had taken view of his armie found it to confift of 600, men; for the most were fled from him and feattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but Saul and his sonne Ionathan only. For the Philistims had not left them any Smith in all I frael, that made weapons; besides they that came to S. w came ha- 1. Sams 3.7. filly and left fuch weapons & armour as they had, behind them in the garrifons; for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should bee able the vecre before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour labes Gilead with 330000. men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend them-felues withall, faue onely in the hand of Saul and Ionathan his sonne. But how-30 focuers all the rest of the people were formerly distanced by the Philistims, and all those craftesm in carried out of the land that made weapons : there being left viito the If raelites onely illes to tharpen and amend fuch stuffe as ferued for the plough, and for nought effected that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, or els they durst not have attempted upon the Philistims as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any fword in all Ifrael, but onely that there was not any found amongst those 600. Souldiers which stayed with Saul after Samuels departure: 1.5am.13.22. and it feemeth that when Samuel had publiquely reprehended Saul, that his owne guards for fooke him, having but 600, remaining of his 3000, ordinarie fouldiers, and of all the reft that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before

With this small troupe he held himselfe, to his owne Citic of Gibesh, as a place of more fireigth and better affured vnto him, then Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the Philistimes should thus disarme the most part of the Ifracites, how focuer in the time of Samuel much had bin done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by fword or speare, but by thunder from heaven and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of Israel, no meruaile if they could not in a short peace under Samuel bee replanted againe. For this tiranny of the Philistims is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder Samuel: and yet vnder him it is to bee thought that by their craftes they 30 proceeded in the pollicie, not fuffering their artificers to teach the Ifraelites, and fo even to the times of Saul kept them from having any store of armour. The same policie did Nahuchodonosor vse after his Conquest in Indea : Dyonisius in

Sicilie; and many other Princes elsewheere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the Israelites might repaire in Gilead, for ouer Iordan the Phili-

1.Sam.14.12.

1.Sam.14.

stims had not inuaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessitie ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the Beniamites exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of Chronicles the twelfth Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour Danid against Saul, while he lurked at Siklag, That they were wesponed with bowes, and could we the right and the left handwith stones; & with a sling it was, that David himselfe slew the gyant Goliah.

While the State of Ifrael stood in these hard termes, the Philijlims having parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at

once; ionathan strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of Philistims were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) beeing incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though hee were discourred before he came to the hill toppe, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies : yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God hee flewe twentie of the first Philistims that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, scare, and scalousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: wherupon those Hebrewes which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly Saul himselfe taking know-20

ledge of the rout and diforder, together with those Israelites that throuded themfelues in mount Ephraim, fet vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victoric oner them. Heere was that prophecie in Deuteronomie fulfilled by Ionathan, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand,

This done, the small armie of Ifrael made retrait from the pursuit. And though Saul had bound the people by an oath not to take foode till the euening, yet his fon Ionathan being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a droppe of hony in his passage: for which Saul his father would have put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of Saul and Ionathan, seemes to have reduced vnto the Philistims remembrance their former ouerthrowelikewise miraculous in the daies of Samuel; so that for some space of time they held themselues quiet. In the meane while Saul being now greatly encouraged, undertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely the Moabits, Ammonits, Edomits, and the Arabians of Zobah, against all which he prevailed. Hee then assembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 2 10000. men, and receiving the commaundement of God by Samuel, hee inuaded Amalee, wasting and destroying all that part of Arabia Petras, and the defart, belonging to the Amalekits, from Haulah towards Tigris vnto Shur, which bordereth Agypt; in which warre he tooke Agag their King prisoner. But whereas he 40 was instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted I/rael, when they left Agypt in Moles time : he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of Agag, but reserved the best of the beastes and spoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God. Therfore did Samuel now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in Saul for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, had there bin no former precept to that effect: yet seeing Saul could not be ignorant how seuerely it pleased God to inione the Ifraelites to reuenge themselues vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcusable. For 50 God had commanded that the Israelites should put out the remembrance of Amales from under heaven. For the crueltie which the predecessors of this Agag vsed against

the Ifraclites, especially on those which were our wearied, faint, sicke, and aged

people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400. yeres afterward;

and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselfe having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of S.muel witnesse: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be child 1.5am.15.33. leffe among other women; at which time Samuel himselfe (after he had bin by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with Saul) did cut Agag in pecces before the Lord in Gilgal, and soone after he departed to Ramath, and came no more to see SAVL untill the day of his death.

Of the occurrents betweene the rejection of SAVI and his death.

Ow while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a King for Israel, among the sonnes of Ishai: which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) feared in a fort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might ausoide both the surption, and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wifedome he fought to avoide the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, doe no o-20 therwife avoide the perills and dangers thereof than as men flupified in the opinion of fate, or destinie, neglecting either to begge counfaile at Gods hand, by praier, or to exercise that wisedome or fore-fight, where-with God hath inriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct Samuel, to avoide the furie of Sanl, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of Ishai, Samuel by God directed, made choise of David, the yongest, having refused Eliab, the first borne; who though he were a man of a comly person and great firength; yet vnto fuch outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God feeth not as a man feeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. Hee 30 alforefuling theother fixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had 1.Sam. altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him the Lord faid to SAMVEL, arife and anoint him, for this is he: which done, Samue! departed and went

to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to seeke the life of David:in which bloudy mind he continued till he died, ouercome in battaile by the Philistims. The Philiftims having well considered (as it seemes) the increase of Saul his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still and forborne to give impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as intelly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to Ifrael might be repaied with aduantage, if euer opportunitie should serue their often iniu-40 red neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike promitions, the Philiflims had reason to thinke themselves equall, if not superiours to Israel. The successe of their former wars had for the most part been agreable to their owne wilhes; as for late difafters, they might, according to humane wifedome, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse searchad fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neare to the Armie which King Sanl drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, 30 not ioyning in groffe, but maintaining some skirmillies, as refusing both of them to paffe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of seare they had on both fides; especially the Philistims, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angrie hand of God Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide

Exod.17.

the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

stroake from heaven were to be feared. Goliah of Gath a strong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertooke to defic the whole hofte of Ifrael, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it felfe as ouercome in groffe, and become vaffall to the other. This gaue occasion to young David, whom Samuel by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publicke notice of the people. For no man durft expose himfelfe to encounter the great strength of Goliah, vntill Danid (fent by hisfather of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offenfine or defenfine than a fling, wherewith hee ouerthrewe that 10 haughtic gyant, and after with his owne fword strooke off his head. Hereuvon the Philistims, who should have yeelded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne fide propounded, fled without flay; and were purfued and flaughtered even to their owne gates. By this victorie the Philiftims were not so broken, that either any of their townes were loft, or their people discouraged from infelting the Territories of Israel. But David, by whom

God had wrought this victoric, fell into the grieuous indignation of his maller

Saul, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such

time as the spirit of God departed from Saul and came vpon Dauid, he then became

uid in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the fword of his own

conquest taken from Goliah; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg murthered

to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contra-

Danids innocencie, as also once before for talting the hony, when his fainting for 20

hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions

E.Sam.16.v.13. a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse and irreligious. Because the high Priest Atimelech fed Da-20

this abimelech and 85. Pricits of Nob, but also he destroyed the Citie, and (moternit) theedge of the fword both man and woman, both childe and fuckling, both Oxe and Alle. and sheepe. And he that had compassion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an enemy

rie to the Commaundement and ordinance of God, both by Mofes and Samuel, had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords servants the Priestes of Ifrael. Yea he would have flaine his owne fonne Ionathan, for pitying and pleading

1.Sam.24.23.

Cedren.pa.69.

of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impictie towards God. The former he thewed in denying David his daughter, whom he had promifed him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as Dauid had twice spared his life in the Territory of Ziph, and Saul twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impictie towards God he shewed, in that he fought counfell of the witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For wheras when he fought counfel from God he had been alwaies victorious : from the Oracle of the Deuill this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with 40 his neerest and faithfullest servants, were all slaughtered by the Philislims: his bodie with the bodies of his fonnes (as a spectacle of thame and dishonour) were hung ouer the wals of Bethfan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Tabes Stolne their carcafes thence and interred them. This was the end of Saul, after he had gouerned Ifrael, togither with Simuel 40. yeres, and by himselfe after Samuel 20. yeeres, according to Cedrenus, Theophilus, & Injephus. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of Samue', Saul did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25 chapter, it is written Theoph. 1.3. p. 3.
Joseph. 1.28. that Samuel died; and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of Dauid, Nabal, and Abiguil, after which the death of Saul quickly enfued. An exceeding valuant man he was and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories

which David afterward obtained, for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the Syrians, and their adhærents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

of luch as lived with SAMVEL and SAVL; of HELLEN and HERCVLES, and of their issues : upon occasion of the Dores, with the Hera-CLIDAE, entring PELOPONESUS about this time.

CHAP-17. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

N the second yeare of Samuel, according to Enfebius, was David borne: after Codoman later, and in the ninth yeare : after Bunting in the tenth. For Dauid, faith he, was thirtie yeares old when he beganne to raigne: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the fortie years. which are given to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh of Samuel

Aneus Siluius the fonne of Posthumus beganne his raigne over the Latines in Alba. who gouerned that State 3 1. yeares. There are who place before him Latinus Silmins, as brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth from Aneas, and fourth King of Albs, wherof I will not stand to dispute. In the elementh of Samuel, Dercilus fate in the Throne of Asyria, being the one and thirtieth King; hee ruled that Empire 40. yeares. In this age of Samuel the Dores obtained Peloponnesus, and at once with the Heraelida, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof 328. yeares before the first Olympiad, according to Diodorus and Eratofthenes. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the lonians, Dono rians, and Edians: at length it was called Helles, and the people Hellenes, of Hellen, the sonne of Deucalion, Lord of the Countrie of Pthiotis in The ffalie. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till fuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and fundriegreat victories obtained, the illues of Hellen had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themselues generally by one name, and vecteuery severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of Hellen, who had raigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not becamille to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

30 Ispetus (as the Pocts fable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such fignification:

or perhaps for his knowledge in Astronomie and Philosophia,

Ispetus begat Prometheus, and Epimetheus : of whom all men haueread that haue read Poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion : and Epimetheus, Pyrrha. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrharaigned in Theffalie, which then was called Pyrrha (as Cretenfis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrhathe Queene. In Deucalions time was that great floud, of which we have spoken elsewhere. Deucalion begat Hellen : whose somes were Xuthus, Dorus, and Folius: of Dorus and Folius, the Dores and Folians had name. The Foles inhabited Baotia. The Dores having first inhabited fundrie parts of Thessalie, did af-40 terward feate themselves about Parnassus: and finally became Lords of the Countries about Lacedamon: Xuthus the eldest sonne of Hellen, being banished by his bretheren, for having discreted from them to his owne vie fome part of their Fathers goods, came to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of King Erictheus, hee begat on her two fonnes, Achaus and Ion. Of these two Achaus, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into Peloponne fus: and feating him felfe in Laconia, gaue name to that region: from whence (as fome write) he afterwards departed; and leaving an Armie recourred the Kingdome of his grand-father in Theffalie.

Ion being Generall for the Athenians, when Eumolpus the Thracian inuaded Attiea, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby fuch loue and honour of the people, that 50 they committed the ordering of their State into his handes. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called Agialos, or Agadia: In which Countrie Solinas then raigning, thought it fafer to give his daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So

Ion married Helice, and built a Towne called by his wives name in Egialia, where he and his posteritie raigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaueto that Land the denomination. But in after-times the Dores affifting the Nephewes of Hercules, inuaded Peloponnesus, and ouer-comming the Achaens possessed Laconia, and all those parts which the zeher had formerly occupied. Hereupon the Acher driven to fecke a new feate, came vnto the lones, defiring to inhabite Agialia with them, and alleadging in vaine, that Ion and Acheus had beene brethren. When this request could not bee obtained, they fought by force to expell the lonians, which they performed; but they loft their King Tilamenes, the sonne of Orestes, in that Warre.

Thus were the lones driven out of Peloponne sus, and compelled to remove into Atties, from whence after a while they failed into Asia, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any universall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the ionesinto Aia nath beene mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140 yeares after the warre of Troy, and 60. yeares after the descent of the Heracina into Peloponnesius. These Heraclida were they of whom the Kings of Sparta iffued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeares. Of their Father Her cules many strange thinges are delinered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to have beene true, others perhaps must be alegorically 20 vnderstood. But the most approued Writers this ke that there were many called Hercules, all whose exploits were by the Greekes ascribed to the sonne of Alemena, who is faid to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the Nemean Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent Hydra, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place. The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore aliue, which hanted mount Erymanthus in Arcadie : The fift was the cleanling of Augias his Oxe-stall in one day, which hee performed by turning the River Alpheus into it: The fixt was the chaling away of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis: The feuenth was the fetching a Builfrom Crete: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which 30 Diomeies King of Thrace fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the Queene of the Amazons: The three last were, to fetch Gerions Beeues from Gades, the golden Apples of the Helperides; and Cerberu, from hell. The Mythologicallinterpretation of these I purposely omit as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no leffe perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by Hercules understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make Hercules the Sunne, and his trauailes to be the twelve fignes of the Zodisc. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the expolition cannot have more validelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke Elis, Pylus, OEchalia, and other Townes, being affifted by fuch as either admi- 40 red his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many Thecues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. Histrauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from Hercules Libyous. But fure it is that many Cities in Greece were greatly bound to him : for that he (bending all his indenours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of Greece (Athens excepted) requited the vertue and deferts of Hercules, with constant protection of his children, persequuted by the King Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was sonne of Sihenelus, and grandchild of Perfeus; he raigned in Mreene, the mightiest Citie then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard taskes upon Hercules, who was bound to obay him 50 (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madnesse hee had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others fay, because hee was his Subject and Servant : wherefore there are who commend Eurystheus for imploying the strength of Hercules to so good a purpose. But it is generally

agreed by the best writers, that Hercules was also of the stocke of Perfeus, and holden in great iealousie by Euryjtheus because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous feruices, wherein hee was imployed, fo that hee grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many wines and Concubines aboue threefcore children. These children Eurystheus would faine haue got into his power, when Hercules was dead : but they fled vnto Ceyx King of Trachimis, and from him (for he durft not withftand Euryfiheus) to Athens. The Athenians not onely gaue them entertainment, but tent them ayde, wherewith they encountred Eurystheus. Iolaus the brothers sonne of Hercules, who had affisted him 10 in many of his trauels, was captaine of the Heraelide. It is faid of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of Pluto to line againe till hee might revenge the injuries done by Eurystheus: whom when he had staine in battell, he died againe. It scemes to mee, that whereas he had led Colonies into Sicilie, and aboad there a long time forgotten : hee came againe into Greece to affift his cofins , and afterwardes returned backe. When the Peloponnesians understood that Eurystheus was slaine, they tooke Atreus the sonne of Pelops to their King : for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people. Against him the Heraclada marched under Hyllas the sonne of Hercules. But to avoid effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that Hyllus should fight with Echence King of the Tegeria a people of Arcadia, who affifted Atreus, with condition 20 that if Hyllus were victor, hee should peaceably enjoy what hee challenged as his right : otherwise the Heraelida should not enter Peloponnesu in 100, yeeres. In that combat Hills was flaine, and the Heraclida compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under Ariflodemies (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue faid, that they came under the conduct of his children and brought with them the Dores, whom they planted in that country, as is before thewed, having expelled the Achei, over whom the iffue of Pelops had reigned after the death of Eurystheus four generations.

#### d. VII.

Of HOMER and HESIOD, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.



Bout this time that excellent learned roce trome integral and the Channel of the Bout this time that excellent learned Poet Homer lived, as many of the

long after these times, rashly framing his Era according to a Archilo- a This author serous with Bechus in the tract, or rather fragment de temporibus; & makes seuen more of this name rosus and o-40 to have florished in divers Cities in Greece. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversitie thers, first at of online northness in different of the native Citie of Homer. According to this with type An-Archilochus, Functius findes Homer about the time of Alans fle King of Iuda, and Nu- mushis Comma of Rome. Hee was called Melefigenes from the place of his birth, and at length ment at Ant-Homer, because blind men follow a guide, which fignification among others, is in the fidei. verbe oung in this Homer in his latter time was blinde. \*Clemens Alexandrinus re- Naucler f. 147. cites many different opinions touching the question of the time when Homer lived. in the 32-ge. So also b Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Affrius in his Oration ad gentes. Paterculus rec- neration in kons that Homer florished 950. yeeres before the Consulfhippe of Marcus Vinutius: the time of sawhich Mercator casteth up in the worlds yeere 3 0 46. and after Troy taken, about "stromstum 1.5" 50 260. yeeres : and about 250. yeeres before the building of Rome, making him to b Nat. Attic. L haue florished about the time of Jehosaphat King of Juda. But Clemens Alexandrinus 174.21. and Tatianus aboue named, mention authours that make him much auncienter. The difference of which authours in this point is not vnworthie the readers confideration, that by this one instance hee may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the

port his opinion recum Phil. porum. Phil.in comm. in Archiloz.

a man may hardly linde out what to follow. For Crates the Grammarian (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports) gaue being to Homer about 80. yeeres after Troy taken, neere the time that the Herselide returned into Peloponnefus and \* Eratofthenes after Troy 100. yeeres. Theopompius 500. yeeres after the armie of Greece failed into Phrygia for the warre of Troy. Euphorion makes him contemporarie with Gyges, who began to reigne in the 18. Olympiad (which was 45. yeeres after Rome was built ) and 43. gain or region in the Lo. So, may me the first olympiad: which hee seekes to proue by the times of Charillus and his sonne Wieander; Philocorus placeth him 180. after Troy: Ariflarchus 140. in the time of the scating of the Colonies in Ionia. Apol-10 lodorus affirmes that hee lived while Agefilaus governed Lacedamon; and that Lycurques in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the Ionian plantations, came to Het. in vita Ho. vifit him, necre 240. yeeres after Troy taken. Herodotus findes Homer florishing 622. yeeres before Nerwes enterprise against the Gracians: which Beroaldus accounteth at 168. yeeres after the Troian warre. Eusebius seemes to make him to have beene about the time of Joas King of Juda 124, yeeres before Rome built: though elfwhere in his Chronologie he notes, that fome place him in the time of Samuel, and others in the end of David, and others in other ages. In his Evangelicall preparation where out of Tatianus Affyrius he citeth fundry opinions touching the time when Homer lived, hee reckoneth many other Greeke writers more auncient than Homer, 20

errours in the computations of auncient time: feing in fuch discriftie of opinions

Noft. Attic.l.3.

phion, and others.

Now whether Homer or Hesiodus were the elder, it is also much disputed. Aulus Gellius reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes affirme, that Homer preceded Hefiod: and on the contrarie, that Luc. Accuss the Poet, and Ephorus the Historian make Hestod of an elder time than Homer. Varro leaves it vaccertaine which of these learned Varro de imaz. fablers was first borne : but he findes that they lived together some certaine yeeres, wherein he confirmes himselfe by an Epigram, written vpon a Treuit, and left by Helion in Helicon.

as Linus, Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Ariflaus, Orpheus, Mufaus, Thamyras, Am-

Nen in Chron.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. yeeres before Rome built: while 30 the Siluij reigned in Alba, about a 140. yeeres after the fall of Troy. b Euthimenes findes them both 200. yeeres after Troy taken, in the time of Acalius the sonne of Pelias, King of Theffaly. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the reader with the opinions, but onely to shewethe apudclem, alex. vncertaintie and disagrement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiotitic of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his Iliades with the word Menin, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof Lucian faining himselfe to haue beene in hell, and to haue spoken with Homer, there asked him the cause why he beganne his booke with that word : who answered, That he began in that fort, 40 because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that Senyes, or after Macrobius Senemires, ruled Egypt at this time: for Tanepher sobris was his succession who preceded Vaphres, father in law to Salomon.

Euf & Call. in

About the end of Sauls government, or in the beginning of Davids time according to Cassiodorus, the Amazones with the Cymmerians inuaded Asia, Latinus Sylvius then ruling in Italie. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of Tray (which fell 103. yeeres before Danids time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations : but there fprung vp, somewhat neerely together, fixe Kingdomes into greatnesse not before erected. In Italie, that of the Latines in the South part of Greece, those of Lacedemon, 50 Corinth, and the Achai. In Arabia, Syria Soba, and Damafeus, the Adads made themselues Princes, of which there were tenne Kings, which beganne and ended with the King of Israel in effect : and somewhat before these, the State of the Israelites having now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourilh under Kings, of

which David, in a fewe yeeres, became mafter of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the Indeans, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect, and grieuous slauerie; to wit, the Edumeans. (Mashites, Ammonites, Midianites, Itureans, and the rest of the Arabians, with the Philoftims, lebusites, Gesburites, Machathites, all which acknowledged Danid for their Soneraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

# CHAP. XVII. Of DAVID.

of DAVIDS estate in the time of SAVI.



HE hazards which Dauid ranne into while he was yet onely defigned King, and liuing as a prinate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first perfonal act of fame, was his killing of Goliab in the viewe of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to Saul, and so highly affected of Jonathan the sonne of Saul, that hee loued him as his owne foule: In fo much as when Saul fought to perswade his sonne, that David would affuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause,

30 Jonathan could never be perswaded, never forst, nor ever wearied from the care of Davids life, and well doing. It was not long after this fignall act of Davids, but that Saul became exceeding icalous of him, though hee were become as his houshold feruant, and his Efquire, or armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an euill spirir, was aduifed to procure fome cunning Musitian to play before him vpon the harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde case, which came to passe accordingly. He entertained Danid for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giving him a place of Commaund among the men of warre. But the lealous tyrant foone waxed wearic of his good affections, and fought to kill David, being thereunto moued onely through enuic of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middest of his ra-40 uing fit, at which time hee threw a speare at David that was then playing on his harpe to doc him cafe.

Cenforinus remembreth one Afelepius a Phylitian, who practifed the curing of conferience the Frenzie, by the like Mulick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from paffion. That Pythagoras did also the like by such a Kinde of harmonie, Seneeain his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of Saul came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, how soeuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that mulicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musitian than to the King.

Saul having failed in fuch open attempts, gave vnto David the Commandement 50 of 1000. foldiours, to confront the Philistims withall. For hee durit not trust him as before, about his person, searing his revenue. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, hee promifed him his daughter Merab to wife: but having married her to Adriel, hee gaue to Danid his younger daughter Michel, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskinnes of the Philistims: hoping rather (in re-

1.Sam.19.

1.Sam.21.

1.5am.24. 1.Sam 16,

I unfen in pfal.

\* It feemeth that Simon neuer obtained Siglag till this time, for it is faid in the 1.of Sam.c.27. v 6 therefore Siglag pertai-King of tadah Visto this day.

2.Sam.1.

spect of the valour of that Nation, that the Philiftims would take Danids head than he their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now Davids victories begat new feares and icalouties in S. al, hee practifed with Ionathan, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this hee fought to murther him in his owne house, but Michol his wife delivered him. So Dauid fought Samuel at Ramah, and being purfued by Saul, fled thence vinto Nob in Beniamin, to Abimilech, then to Achie the Philylim, Prince of Geth : where to obscure himselse, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill affured among the Philishims he couered himselfe in the Caue of Adullam: and after conveying such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him into Aleab, 10 he hid himselfe in the desarts of Ziph, Maon, and the hilles of Engaddi, where hee cut off the lap of Sauls garments, and spared his life : as he did a second time in the defart of Ziph, after his passage with Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired to Achis of Geth the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master Saul was knowne to profecute him.

Of Achis David obtained \*Siklag in Simeon, pretending to invade Indaa : but hee bent his forces another way and strooke the Amalekites, with other enemies of Ilrae', letting none liue to complaine vpon him. Achis suppoting that Pauld had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himfelfe affured of him : and therefore preparing to inuade Ifrael, fummoneth Danid to affift him, who diffembling his 29 intent, feemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the Philistim Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company; and therefore hee withdrew him Celfe to Siklag. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wines with the wines and children of his people taken by the Antalekites: Hereuupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and affurance to recourrall againe which he did.

This armie of the Philistims commaunded by Achis, encountred Sanlat Gilborin which hee and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes with Sauls Crowne and bracelets were brought to David at Siklag, in his returns from being victorious over atmalech, by a man of the same Nation, who anowed (though falfly) that himfelfe 30 at Sauls request had flaine him. David, because hee had accused himselfe, made no fcruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant; and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong cuidence withall. Otherwife it followeth not that euery man ought to bee believed of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the lawe; In F. dequell. Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nist approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, vnleffe some other proofe informe the conscience of the Judge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodisreorum l. siconsessus, et incap. de panis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Glosse reconcile these two pla- 40 ces in this fort. Si quis iniudicio sponte de seipso consiteatur, & possicamaneat in consessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perfeuere in his confession, it is enough. That David greatly bewailed Saul it is not improbable, for death cutteth afunder all competition and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Ifrael also fell, could not but stirre vp forrow and moue compassion in the heart of David.

The victoric which the Philistims had gotten was so great, that some townes of the Ifraelites, euen beyond the river of Iordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may feeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious 50 as were the Philiftims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and feeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Civill warre immediatly breaking out betweene Dauid and the house of Sanl, wherein Inda was divided from the rest of Israe!, gaue them hope of an easie victorie oner both; and thereby cau-

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.17. S.2.

fed them to attempt nothing at the present, least by so doing they should inforce their difagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should confume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquithed, would become a prey to the violence of fuch as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

#### ð. I I.

of the beginning of DAVIDS reigne, and the grarre made by ABNER for ISBOSETH.



Fter the death of Saul, Abner, who commaunded for Saul in the war. fought to advance Isbofeth ( or Ieboftus according to Iofephus) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of Ifrael: for Mephibofeth the first fonne of Ionathan lived. Against this Abner, and Ishofeth, David made a defensive warre, till Abner past Iordan, and entred the border of Iu-

da: at which time hee fent Ioab with fuch forces as hee had, to relist Abner: Isbofeth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebron. The armies encountred each other neere Gibeon, where it seemeth, that Abner made the offer to trie the quarrel by the hands an of a few; like to that Combat betweene the Lacedamonians, and the Argines, remembred by Herodotius, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the Heratif and Curiatif for the Romanes and Latines. The same challenge Goliah the Philistim made, whom David slew: a custome very auncient. Edward the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King; and Francis the French King to Charles the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this warre of David with the house of Saul, to wit, so many of Beniamin, and as many of Iuda: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to challenge the victoric. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of Iuda prest Abner go in groffe, and brake him. Three hundrethand fixtic men of Abners companions were flaine, and but twentie of Iuda; whereof Afahel the brother of Ioab was one: who when hee would needes purfue Abner, and by Abners perswasions could not a sent a be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the stroake of his speare. For though Ashel were an excellent footman, and

as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild Roe, and as Iofephus reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have maistered Abner (who as Afahel perswaded himselfe, had by being o- Eciles. uerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race is not to the hvift.

That this civill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of Samuel the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made Versite. probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the Rabbines conceine that Isboseth had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the partie of Isboleth after this, and till fuch time as there grew iealoufie betweene him and Isboseth for Sauls concubine: neither did the death of Isboseth instantly follow; but how long after the murther of Abner it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

30

of the death of Abner flaineby loab, and of Isboseth by Rechaband Baanah.

2.Sam.3.27.



Bner, reconciled to Danid, was anone by Ioab murdered; for Ioab Bher, reconciled to Danies, was allowed a could not endure a companion in Danies tauour, and in the commandation to endure a companion because growne to powerfull, as Danies because growne to powerfull, as Danies because growne to powerfull, as Danies because growne to be supported by the property of dement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as Da-aid forbare to cal him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himfelfe. I am this day weake, and the comen the connes of ZERVIAH beetoo

2.Sam.3.39.

Verf. 29.

hard for mee. In this fort David complained after Abners death, and to make it cleare 14 that hee hated this fact of loab, hee followed him with this publicke imprecation; Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subiest to vicer; to the leprose, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to powertie, &c. For could any thing have withflood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Ioab might greatly have indangered Davids estate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore David openly bewailed, so that all Israel perceived him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath bene alreadie shewed more at large. This office toab held in the armie of Inda, & thought 12 him felfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to Danie in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduerlitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemie should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature fo icalous of his dignitic and place, that hee afterward flew Amasa, his owne kinsman and the Kings, vpon the fame quarrell; taking it in high diffaine to fee him joyned with him leite as captaine of the hofte of Inda; much leffe could bee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had flaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But howfocuer Ioab did hate or delpife Abner, Danid effected highly of him as ofa Prince, and a great man in ifrael, exculing the overlight by which hee might feeme 36 to have perified, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as a man talleth be, overwicked men, fo (faid hee) diddeft thou fall. And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsocuer 1/2 boleth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all I/rael were possess with great feare: insomuch as two of Isboleths owne Captaines, Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isboleth,

2.Sam.3, Ver[.34.

3.Sam.4.

#### ð. IIII.

and prefenting his head to David, received the fame reward that the Amalekite lately

repaired to David at Hebron, where he was the third and last time annointed by ge-

did, for pretending to have flaine Saul. Isboseth being dead, all the Elders of Israel 49

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philistimes, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of DAVID.



nerall confent.

Hen David was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise 10 was upon the Jelufites, who in derifion of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which Dand soone after entred: all their other forces not with flanding. For having maistered the fort of

CHAP.17. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Zion ( which was afterward the Citic of Dania) hee became Lord of ilieralizem. without any great daunger, expelling thence the lebulites, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of Mojes and Iofina, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place other wife. Except then take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the Idols of the Iebulites: others, that it had reference to the Couchant made long before with Isaa and Isaab: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreftling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is till that Couenant) be broken Danidought not to moleft them. But for my felte I take it with 10/ephus, that they

10 armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of Danids attempt. For they that had held their Citic about 400. yeres against aithe Children of Ifrael, Jofua, the Inages, and Saul: did not doubt but to defend it also against David.

When he had now poffett himfelfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatoric Embaffadours & prefents from Hiram King of Tyre: he entertained divers other concubines & maried moe wives, by whom he had ten fons in Ierufalem, and by his former wives he had fix in Hebron where he reigned 7. yeres. The Philifims hearing that Danid was now anointed king as wel of Itals as of Ifrael,

they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountred by Danid at two feuerall times in the Falley of Rephaim, or of 2. Same 20 the Gimts, they were at both times overthrowne. After which hee called the place

Then Danie affembled 30000 choice Ifraelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house of Abracadab in Gibea, to the Citie of David, which businesse was interrupted by the death of Vazah the fonne of Aminadah, whom the Lord flewe for prefuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to flay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with facrifices, mulicke, dances, and all fignes of joyfulneffe, in which Danid himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon Michol derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorne. That hee was uncovered as a

30 foole in the eyes of the maidens his feruants; namely that hee forgat his regall dignitic both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himfelfe among the base multitude. dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and itreete's : not that the diffiked Davids behaniour (as I take it ) though the made it the colour of her derifion. But rather the aboundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glorie of her hufband to whom thee was delinered laftly by force, and remembring the miferable end ofher father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the some of Illui had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced fince his postession of Jerusalem, made her breake out in those despitfull tearmes, for which she aemained barren to her death.

40 This done, Dauid confulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the Temple or house of Ged: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had fined bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest, homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaft. The warres which David had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church : yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceine themselves, who thinke by bloudfhed and terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Almigh. tie, which is a damnable pride, not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or 30 feeke the bleffednesse promised by our Saniour vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of Danids founding, yet was his religious intent to well accepted, that hereupon hee received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promife of the euerlasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

ģ. V.

The cuerthrow of the Philistims and Monbites.

2.Sam.8.v.t.

Ooneafter this Danid ouerthrew the Philiflims, which made them altogether powerleffe, and vnable to make any inuation upon I fract in haste. For it is written, accepit franum Amgaris emanu Philisha orum: which place our English Geneua converts in these words. And DAVID tookethe bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiflims. The latine of Jumus giveth another and a better fense; for by that bridle of Amgar was meant the strong Citie of Gath, or Geth, and so the Genena hath it in the marginal note. This 10 Citie of Gath was the same which was afterward Dio-Cafaria, set on the frontier of Palastina at the entrance into Indea and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invasions, which being taken by Deuid and demolished, there was left no such frontier towns of equall strength to the Philistims on that part. The hil whereon Geth or Gath flood the Hebrewes cal Amme. Lanius in 8.c. of whereof and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Plinie in his first books, and the second of thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of Circo.

There was no nation bordering the Tenes that fo greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of Saul, (to the end they might not sharpen any wea- 20 pon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities & villages of that kind, but inforst them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoeuer they needed; fo as the Ifraelites till this time of David were feldome free from paying tribute to the Philistims.

1.5am.13.

After this he gaue them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the Meabites and Arabians came between. In the first of which he was indangered by Isbi-lenol, the head of whose speare weighed 300. Shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time Abifbai fuccoured David and flew the Philifim, 2. Samistive 17. whereupon the Councellors and Captaines of David (least the light of Ifrael might by his loffe be quenched) vowed that he should not thencefoorth hazard himselfin 30 any battaile. The fecond and third incounter and ouerthrow of the Philiftims was at Gob a place neere Gefar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of Geth, hee inuaded Meab, from whom notwithstanding in his advertitie he fought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not kowne.

The Rabines faine that Most flew those kins folkes of David, which lived under his protection in Sauls time, but question lesse Dauid welknew how that Nation had bin alwaies enemics to Israel and tooke all the occasions to vexe them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of Deuter. God commaunded Israel not to feeke the peace or prosperitie of the Mosbus, which David well observed, for he de-40 stroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his armic by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of Adadezer the sonne of Rehob King therof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy land: to which I referre the Reader.

The warre which DAVID made upon the Syrians.



T is written in the Text:D AVID (mote also HADADEZER &c. as hee 50 went to recouer his border at the river Euphrates. Now whether the words (as he wen to to recover his border) be referred to David or Hadadezerit is not agreed upon. Innius thinkes that the article (he) hath relation to David, who finding Tohu opprest by Hadadezer, ouer-

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.17.S.4.

threw the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion. that this recourse hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if Danid had intended any such enterprize towards Euphrates he was in farre better case to have proceeded after his victorie than before : feeing that (Adadezer being taken) he had now left no enemie on his back, either to purfue him, to take victuals and fupplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, seeing David was either to passe through a part of Arabia the desart, or by the plains of Palmyrena, his army conlilling of footmen, for the most, if not all : Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to cary his prouisions through those yo vicultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached Euphrates or any part therof. But we find that David returned to Hierusalem, after hee had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian armie, not bending his courfe towards the river Euphrates, but seeking to establish his purchases alreadie made. Wherby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King Dauid, that was going to inlarge his

The king of Syria Damascena, and of Damascus, wherof that region is so called, hearing that Adadezer was ouerthrowne by the Ifraelits, fearing his owne offate, & the loffe of his owne Contry which adioyned to Spria Zobah of Hadadezer, fent for an army of Aramites or Syrians to his succour : but these, as it apeareth, came too late for 20 Adadezer, and too sonne for themselves : for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of Damafeus, Tofephus (out of Nicholaus an ancient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of the same name & family as all those other Adads were: which now began to grow vp in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Affyrians, as is showed heretofore. Dauid having now reduced Damajous vnder his obedience, left a garrifon therin, as he did in Edom: having also fackt the adiovning cities of Betah, and Berati, belonging to Aladezer, of which Cities Piolomy calleth Betah, Tauba: & Berathi he nameth Barathena. Tohu or Thoi whose contry of Hamathioined to Adadezer (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceine) sent his son Ioram to congratulate this successe of David: partly because he 30 had war with Adadezer, and partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, filuer, and brasse, all which together with the golden sheilds of the Aramites, and the best of all the spoiles of other Nations Danid dedicated vnto God at his returne. Iunius translated the words (dypeos aureos) by ombones, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boffes only. The Septuagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden chains. But because Roboam made shields of braffe in place of these of Adadezer, at such time as Shiesb the Agyptian fackt the Temple of Hierusalem, it may be gathered thereby, that those of Adadezer were

This done David fent Embassadours to Hanam King of the Ammonites to con-40 gratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David in the time of his affliction under Saul, had beene relieued by Nahafh, the father of Hanum. But this Ammonite being ill aduifed, and ouer-icalous of his effate, vfed Dauids meffengers so barbaroully, and contemptuoully (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments ) as hee thereby drewe a warre vppon himfelfe, which neither his owne flrength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand souldiers of the Amalakites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaffalles of Adadezer twentie thou- Manchabethe fand, and of Machab and Ishtob thirteene thousand ( for which hee disbursed North part of a thousand talents of filuer) yet all these great armies together with the strength membred in 50 of the Animonites, were by Ioab and his brother Abifhai eafily broken and put to Denta 1. I flat or Theb ruine: and that without any great losseor flaughter at that time. And it is write accounty neer ten that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, Gad under the the one holding themselves within the wals, the other in their desarts adiopning, tockes of Ar. till loab was returned to Hierufalem.

2.Sam : 0

Tt2

the foords of Euglyates.

and sent for all the companies that he could leuie out of Mesopotamia, who under the command of Shobach passed Euphrates, and incamped at Helam, on the South side Helan or the thereof. David hearing of this new preparation, affembled all the ablest men of Ifrael lam which the and marched towardes the Syrian armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; long calleth de to wit, at Helam, a place no lesse distant from Damaseus, towards the Northeast, than Hierulalem was towards the Southwest. Now David (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrates ( which was the farthest-off journey that ever he made because he was now Lord of Damaseus, which lay in the mid-\* Sec 5.18.5 2. way. He also possess himselfe of \* Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterward 10 ilrongly fortified, and this Citie was but one daies iourney from Helam, and the riuer Euphrates. So had he two fafe retraites the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damaseus. In this incounter between David & the Syrians, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700 chariots, together with Shobach Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000 fouldiers footmen and so Iunius converts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of Israel confisting of footmen, could hardly have flaughtered 40000 horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on soote. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000 in the first of Chron, the o. in which number, as I conceine, all the fouldiers that ferued in them with the conductors are included : fo as there died of the Syrians in this warre against David, be-20 fore he fore't them to tribute; 1 00000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and belides all those that Joab slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites before Rabba. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Inda often but the kings of Ifrael they impourished euen to the last end of that State.

Hadadezer hearing that loab had difinified his armic, affembled his forces againe,

Danid having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians from the partie and confederacie of Ammon: He fent out Ivab the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege Rabbah, afterward Philadelphia, which after a while the Ifraclites mastered and possest. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with pretious stones, Danid set on his owne head, and carri- 30 ed away with him, the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though David stayed at Hierufalem, following the warre of Friab-his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie and readie to be entred : yet Iosb in honour of David forbare the last affault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people he vsed extreeme rigor (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with harrowes some he sawed as under, others he cast into burning kils, in which he baked tile and bricke.

## d. VII.

## of DAVIDstroubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

Vt as victoric begetteth securitie, and our present worldly selicitie a forgettulneffe of our former miferies, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodneffe: fo did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which fermerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his

Lawes and Commaundements. For having now no dangerous apparant ene- 50 mie (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee beganne to be adulfed by his owne humaine affections and vaine defires. For hec was not only fatisfied to take Vriahs wife from him, and to vie her by stealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with Prishs flaughter, giving order to his truffic fervant

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.17. S.7.

Into to marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gaue an assault 2.5am, 11.15. vpon the fuburbes of Rabba, when there was not as yet any poffibilitie of preuailing. And, that which could no leffe displease God than the rest, hee was content that manvothers of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with Frich, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe forrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God

10 to take the witnesse of Danids owne mouth against him, as Danid himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to have flaine Saul, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when Nathan the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour; in the person of another, to wit of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereauer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the lining Lord, that fuch a one shold die the death. And hereof although it pleased God to pardon David, for his life, which remission the Prophet Nathan pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods inflice together with his mercic in the tenour following; Now therefore the fiverd field nines deput from thy 2.5 m. 12. house, & Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife and hast slave V & 1 A 11 with the

no fword of the children of Ammon. Soone after this David loft the child of adulteric which he begot on Bersheba. Secondly, his owne sonne Ammen being in love with his halfe lifter Thamar, by the aduise of his Cosin german the sonne of Shimeah Dasids brother, possesher by force : which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after which soule and incestuous act, Absalom caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of Thamars rauishment alone: but having it in his heart to vsurpe the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any fort be assured of Ammon, he thought his affaire greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having rauished his owne fifter, and then despised her; the other after

20 a long diffembled malice, first, made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and lived vnder the favegard of Talmai King of Geffur, necre Damsfeus, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. 2. Sam. 173 Thirdly, when Absalom by the invention of Ioab, (but chiefly because of the great affection of Daniel towards his fonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against Danid his father, seeking by the pretence of common instice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himfelfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of Dauids finne.

The company which Absalom gathered at the first were but 200. men: which 2.Sam.15. he carried with him from Hierusalem to Hebron; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when Achitophel repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that David doubting to be fet upon on the fuddain, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Hierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprise: but incamped in the fields, & defarts with some 600.0f his gards, and few else. The priests heleft in Hierusalem with the Arke of God, from whom he desired to bee advertised

of those things that chanced, to whom he directed Husbai his trustie friend, and ser-50 uant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counces of Abs 2. Sam, 15. loms partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of Achitophel, a revolted Counsailor, whose practises hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fallion, Ziba also sought to betray his maister Mephiloseth the sonne of Ionathan : And Shimei of the house of saul (the fire

of whose hatred Dauids prosperitie had smothered, but his aduersitie illightened) holding himfelfe vpon the advantage of a mountaine fide, cast stones at Dauid, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but Dauid attending no pri-2.Sam.16. uate reuenges, forbadde Abilbat to purfue him for the prefent, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his fonne Salomon. Absalom being now posselt of Hierufalem, was aduised by Achitophel to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Ifrael might affure themselues, that hee was irreconciliable to his father: whereof being perswaded they would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom and his cause, without seare of being given vp vpon a reconciliation betweene 3.Sam.17. them. This faluage and impious (though craftic counfaile) schitophel indeed vr. 10 ged for his ownerespect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed Ab/alom against his father. And now was it

2.Sam.c.12.

bour, and hee shall ye with thy wines in the fight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all I fract, and before the Sunne. Hee also gave aduise to Absalom, that himselfe with an armie of 12000, men might be imployed at the infrant for the furprizing of Daniel, which had willingly beene imbraced by Absalom. 3.5am.17.v.14 had not Husbai Danids faithfull scruant given counter-aduise, and swayed it : perswading Abfalom, that it was fitter and more fafe for him with all the strength of Ifrael, 20 to purfue his father: then by fuch a troope, which Dauids valour, and those of his attendants, might either indaunger or refilt. This delay in Absalom, and aduantage of time gained by David, was indeed, after God, the loffe of the one and deliverie of the other. Whereupon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the

fulfilled that Nathan had directly foretold David: I will raife up evill against thee out

of thine owne house, and will take thy wines before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neigh-

2.Sam.: 7.23. fuccesse which followed, disposed of his owneestate, and then for sooke both the partie and the care of Absalom, and of his owne life.

> Dauid being advertised of this enterprize against him marched away al night, and past Iordan, possessing himselfe of Alahanaim in the tribe of Gad: the same wherein Isboseth himselfe in the warre against David after Sauls death seated himselfe. To which place there repayred vnto him Shobi , the sonne of Nahash the Ammonite, 30 whom Dauid loued, the same which Infephus calleth Shiphar. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this Shobi was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a fecond brother to Hanum, whom Dauld for his fathers fake established in the Kingdome, after Hanums ouerthrow. In thankfulnesse whereof hee relieued David in this his extremitie. There came also to Davids alliftance Machin of Loda bar, Gardian in former times to Mephibolheth, and among others Barzillai the Gileadite, who willingly fed Dauid and all his companie.

> In the meane time both the King and Abfalom prepared to fight; Abfalom made Amafa Commaunder of the armie of I fract, the fame place which loab held with Dauid; an office next the King himfelfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace aun- 40 ciently in Fraunce. David, perswaded by his companie, stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces he had to Iosb, Abishai, and Ittai, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iffued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of Absalom. But 10ab, besides that hee was very cruel by nature, remembred that Absalom had lately disposed of his Gouernment to Amasa, and therefore the victorie being obtained, and newes brought him that Absalom hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to return and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne servants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequell that Iosb affected Adonyah whom hee afterward acknowledged, David yet living; and fearing the disposition of Absalom, he imbraced the present advantage offered. 50

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to Dauid, he mourned and forrowed, not onely as a man that had loft a fonne, but as one that had outlined all his worldly joyes, and feene enery delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and re-

ward after fo great a victorie, couered themselves also in the Citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather descrued death than recompence. Whereupon loab presenting himselfe before David, perswaded him to dissemble his forrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull servants, who had that day preserved his life inferring that nothing could be more daungerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge so great a lone and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resoluedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake; but on the contrarie grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of Absalam at an easie rate. Secondly, hee viged that it was generally beleeued, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witneffed by this his mourning, that hee had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull feruants, but would more have joyed if they had all perifhed, and sofalam lived, than in the victorie by their faithfulneffe and approved valour gotten.

Lastly heevsed this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himfelfe publikly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandonhim, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning : And that will bee 2.5am.15. worse unto thee than all the enill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto. By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) loab rai-Ad David, from his bed of forrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom hee affured of his love and affection, especially Amala who commaunded the armie of Abfalom, to whom hee promifed the office of Lieutenantshippe: the same which Absalom had given him, and which loab now enjoyed. For David doubted that if Amasa were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great

part of the strength of Ifrael, now under his commandement.

CHAP-17-\$-7.

This done, the King marched towards Jordan homeward, where in his paffage hee pardoned Shimei, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remiffion was 2. Sam. 19.23. but externall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of Mephibolbeth his excuse. 10 whom Zibahad formerly fally accused and betrayed.

He also intreated Barzillai the Gileadite, his late liberall hoste, to follow him to Ierusalem, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himselfe by his

age, appointed his fonne Chimham to attend the King.

At Gileal on this side Iordan, all the tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in David, the armie brake and David returned to Ierusalem. But Sheba, the sonne of Bichria Benzunite of the faction of the house of Saul, finding some discontentment among the Israelites, withdrewe them from David, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest ; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but Iuda, bare still a good af-40 fection to the iffues of their first King. David imployed his reconciled Captaine Ama/a, to give him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceiued that Amala had interest in those revolts of Israel more than Ioab had. Hereceiued commandement from David to affemble the armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed : but being onward on his way, Abifhai Ioabs brother was fent after him, with Davids guard and best fouldiers, whom also Ioab accompanied : and ouertaking Amasancere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, wherof hee fell dead, being no leffe icalous of Amala than hee was of Abner, whom hee murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done he purfued Sheba; and finding him inclosed in Abel, affaulted the Citie with that fu-

50 rie, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba his head, and flung it to Ioab ouer the walls: which done, he retraited his armie to Ierusalem, and commaunded as before all the host of Israel.

The next act of Dauids, was the deliucrie of Sauls sonnes or kinsmen to the Gibeomites, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers cruckie. David had knowledge

knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibconites : and therefore hee willingly yeelded to give them this fatisfaction, both because hee had warrant from God himselfe, as also if we may judge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endaungered; only he spared Wephihosketh the fonne of Ionathan, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and you to God.

2.Sam.21.

Now where it is written in the Text; The King tooke the two sonnes of Rise AH whom shee but wate SAVL, and the fine somes of MICHOL the daugh- 10 ter of SAVL, whom shee bare to ADRIEL, and delivered them to the Gi-

Junius cals this Michal the lifter of her that was Davids wife, thee whom Saul maried to Phaltiel; but Atichol here named had Adriel to her husband: the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to Damid, when he flew Goliah in the valley of Raphime: and because it is written that Michol loued Dauid, which perchance Merab did not, whether Dauid had any humane respect in the deliuctie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now whereas the Geneua nameth Michel for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrer word here vsed, having an eclipsis or defect, 20 and fignifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19, verse of the fame 21. Chapter it is faid of Goliah, whose speare was weightie as a weauers beame, when as by the same Eclip is it must be understood by the brother of Goliah: Goliah

himfelfe being formerly flaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of David, leaving no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commaunders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of I/rael is not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were fixe Coronels, whose valour was so ex- 20 traordinarie, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which feemeth to have beene given vpon meere confideration of their vertue. For Abiliai the brother of Joah, who in the warre against the Ammonites and Aramites was Lieutenant and commaunded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the fecond order, notwithstanding his neerenesse in blood vnto the King, the sourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approved fervices. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may feeme to have beene fuch as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers 40 which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, & bin hardened with his aduerlities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their feuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with 10ab, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the 2.5am.c.23.v. especiall men of warre, and reckoned as Davids worthies. The long reigne of David, as it is knowne to have confumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be gessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde nowhere mentioned. For the sonnes of Zeruia, who had beene too hard for David, 50 were worne away, and onely Ioab leftin the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abifbai to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of Danid, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout, when the posteritie of Saul was rooted out, so that

hee enjoyed about feauen yeeres of entire quiet and fecuritie, wherein it pleafed God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the fuccession of Salowon in his fathers throne. In this time also David having established all things in Inda and Ifrael, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in oftentation of his power; in which hee imployed loab with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twentie daies trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteene hundred thousand, besides Leui and Benia-2, Samase. min; whereof in india and the Cities thereof fine hundred thousand, and in Ifrael 1.chron.cat. to eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seauen yeeres famine, three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: Dan made choyce to bowe himselfe under the hand of God onely, and left himfelfe subject to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons. of which there perished seauentie thousand. And hereby he bath taught althat line

is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth vs this many reason. For his mercies are great.

2. Sam.14c

#### of the last acts of DAVID: ADONIANS faction: thereuenge TPON IOAB and SHIMEL



Aftly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduited to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake cleate of bodie, when he was in a manner bedrid, Adonijah his eldeft

fonne (Ammon and Abfilom being now dead) having drawne vnto his partie, that inuincible, renowned and feared lock, with Abiathar the Prieft, beganne manifeltly to prepare for his citablishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now living of Davids sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others fuppose the prefumed to carrie the matter without relistance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Berfabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her some should reigne after him ( Wathin the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of Adonijah his pre-40 fumption) the King calling vnto him Zadoo the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and Benaiah the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to annoint Salomon, and to fet him on the mule whereon himfelfe yfed to ride in his greatest state; which done, Salomon attended and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tydings being reported to Adonijab, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the fafetie of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, David had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was 1.King 1. desirous to discharge his thoughts, the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the 30 building of the Temple, which he fought by all meanes to advance, and make the businesse publique. To bring these intentions to good essect hee summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Ifrael, the Princes of the seuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who repaired Vnto Ierufalem.

In this affembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he tooke occalion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iaacob in his bleffing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vivo all that God had commaunded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced hee the paterne of the worke according to the forme to which God himfelfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himselfe had given three thousand talents of golde, and seaven thoufand of filuer, they added vnto it seauen thousand of gold, and ten thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioycing in the advancement of so religious a worke. This bulinesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great facrifice was made, at which time Salomon was againe annointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the fonnes of King David. Salomon being thus effablished King, his father David 20 finding himselfe even in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the fame courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happic end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mightie words; Take heede to the charge of the Lordity God, to make in his waies, and keepe his flatutes and his commaun lements, and his judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses &c. to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (faith God himselfe) Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit resonth throne of Ifrael.

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning tout, who out of doubt had served David 20 from the first assault of Ierusalem to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, fauing that hee fastened himselfe to Adonijah ( his maister yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left crueltie vnreuenged, so was it his will that toab should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof he had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniuftly froken others with all, qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit: for he had bereaued Abner and Amasa of their lines, having against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom Abner had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoid him : against the other but a mecre icalousse of his growing great in the fauour of Dauid. And though Ioab affured himfelfe that Abner and Amala being dead, 40 there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the pollicies of wicked men) raifed vp Benhaiah the forme of tehoingah, to pull him from the Sanctuarie, and to cut him in pieces. For Daniel giveth this cause to Salomon against Ioab, that he flew the Captaines of the hofte of Ifrael, and fleed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant and infection, it is not improbable but that David remembred the ill affection of Joab towards Salomon, which Joab made manifelt by the vntimely fetting vp of Adoniah, David yet living. Some other offence Ioah had committed against David of which in these words he put his son Salomon in minde; Thou knowest also what I O A B the sonne of SERVIA II didto mee, &c. Now whether this were ment by the killing of Absalom, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in Mahanaim for Absalom; or whether it were the publishing of Davids letter vnto him for the killing of Vrish: therebyto difgrace Salomon as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are filent. True it is that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselues excee-

ding in olently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot mille them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a worthie man otherwise descruing great honour and respect.

Hee allo gaue order to Salomon, to ridde himselfe of Shimei, who not long before had call itones at David and curfed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promife David spared Shimei all the time himselfe lived, yet being dust and in the graue he flew him, by the hand of Salo men his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King Henry the seauenth of England had his patterne, when hee gaue order to He n-

rie the eight to execute Pool as foone as himfelte was buried, having made promife to the King of Spaine when hee deliucred Pool vnto him, that while hee liued hee would never put him to death, nor fuffer violent hands to bee laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of loab yeeld vnto Salomon any fuch great profite or affurance as he hoped for. For he found a young Adad of Idumes, and Rezmof Damafeus to vexe him : who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enter- 1.King.112 prize vpon Salomon, hearing that David flept with his fathers, and that loab the Captaine of the hoft was dead. Now when David had reigned in all fortic yeeres, to wit, in Hebron seauen yeeres, and in Jerusalem three and thirtie, he died.

For his person, he was of smal stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts 20 and graces he fo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was faid by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The Pfalmes which hee wrote witnesse his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whome Hierom to Paulinus. DAVID SIMONIDES nofter, PINDARYS & ALCAEVS, FLACCUS, quoque CATVLLVS, & SERENVS, Christam lyrapersonat, & in dechachordo Psalterio abinferis suscitatrefurgentem. DAVID (faith he jour SIMONIDES, PINDARVS, ALCAEVS, HORACE, CATVLLVS and SERENVS, he playeth Christ on his barge and on a ten stringed Pfalter he raiseth him oprising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightformely and lively than all the rest.

The booke of the Psalmes faith Giyons were divided, ordered and distinguished by Ezekias: but whether all the Pfalmes were written by Danid it is diverfly disputed. For Athana Sus, Cyprian, Lyranius, & others conceine divers authorics antiwering Hier of \$134. the titles of the feueral Pfalmes, as Moses, Salomon, and the rest hereafter named, and Lyninespits. that onely 73. Pfalmes were composed by Danid himselfe, namely those which are intituled ipjus Daniel. For the 50 and 72 with the ten that followe are bestowed on Afash the fonne of Birachia, eleven other on the fonnes of Korah, and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to wit, the 89 and the 10. following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine authours of these Pfalmes which David wrate

40 not. Sixt: Senensis nameth as followeth; Salomon, Moses, whom Aben Ezracontra- Vid. Sixt. Senens rieto Hierome, maketh one of Dani's fingers) Afaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, I- Bib fanel. 1.1.101. diham, and the three sonnes of Chore. But S. Chrisostome makes David the sole authour of all the Pfalmes, and so doth S. Angustine, reasoning in this manner. Al- 13.014. though (faith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalmes onely vnto David, which are ouerwritten ipsius Dauil, and the rest intituled ipsi Danid to others, this opinion (faith hee) Voce Euangelica faluatoris ipfius refutatur, vbi ait quodipfe DAVID in fpivitu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum quoniam Pfalmus 109. sic incipit. Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede à dextris meis coe. The voice of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it faith, that David himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the

30 109 Pfalme beginnes thus . The Lord faid ontomy Lord fit thou at my right hand, &c. Laftly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Nathan and Gad, as it is in the first of Chron. 29. ver. 19. For the seucral parts of the

2.King.3.

I.King.2.

1.Kin.2. 2.

1.Kin.1.20.

bookes of Samuel which intreat chiefly of David, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

nes Leuncla-

Constantine Manafics hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the siege. 6.17.5 6-7. Sought for succour from David, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seenanslated our meththat Manasses did miscass the time twixt Danid and the Troian warre. For it is of Greeke into generally received that Troy fell betweene the times of Abdon and Samfon ludges of Israel, about the worlds yeere 2848 and David died in the yeere 2001.

#### d. IX.

# Of the treasures of DAVID and SALOMON.

Ver [14.

Is treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of Chronicles, that he left Salomon for the building of the Temple a hun. dred thousand talents of gold, & athousand thousand talents of silver, g and of braffe and yron pairing all weight, which is more than any King of the world possest beilds himselfe, and his son to whom he left it. For

it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload & athird of a cartioad of filuer, allowing two thousand weight of filuer or fix thousand pound sterling to enery cartload, besides three score and seauenteene millions of 20 French Crownes, or of our money twentie three millions and a thousand pound: a matter but for the testimonic of the Scriptures exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare; feeing that the Judges had not any treafure, nor any fourraigne power to make leuies; but when they went to the warres, they were followed by fuch voluntaries as the fenerall tribes by turnes gaue them: feeing also that Saul who was of a meane parentage, and perpetually vexed and innaded by the Philistime, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poffest by his

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how David within the space of not very 30 many yeeres, might amasse vp such mightie treasures. For though parsimonie be it selfea great reuenue, yet needes there must haue beene other great meanes. It feemes that hee made the vttermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. Ensebius in his ninth booke and last Chapter de preparatione Enangeliea, citeth the words of Eupolemus, who reporteth that Danid among other preparations for the Temple, built a Nauie in Atelanis (or as Villalpandus corrects it Achanis) a Citie of Arabia, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Island Vrphe, which Ortelius thinkes, was Ophir, though Eupolemus in his place of Eufebius (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Island is in the red sea; from whence saith this Eupolemus they brought golde into Iury. Pinedalib. 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 1. thinks that 40 Dauid did this way also enrich himselfe, and citeth this testimonic of Eupolemus : and yet certainely Dauid had many other waies to gather great riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest, from the Cananites and Philishims, besides those fruitfull vallies necre lordar in Trachonitis and Basan, and the best of Syria, and other countries bordering the 1/r elice. These demaines belike he kept in his owne hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which hee tooke in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselues, husbanded those grounds for his greatest aduantage. For it is written 1. Chron. 17. that Ichonathan was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes, that Ezri was over the labourers, that tilled his ground; Simei over the vineyards; and Subdi over the store of the wine; Bast 50 Hanan over the olive trees, and Ioash over the store of the oyle, also that hee had heardmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high lands, and in the plaines, ouer his sheepe, camels, and asses. And this custome of enriching themfelues by husbandry and Cattell the auncient Kings enery where held, both before

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.17. S.7.

and after Danids time. For wee reade of Pharas that hee spake to Isseph to appoint some of his brethren or of their servants, to be Rulers over his cattell. We reade of Vacia, that he loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dreffers of 2.chim.26, Vines: likewise we reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Heards and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite Augens and Admetus or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning David it is not vnlikely, but that those captives which were not imploied in hulbandrie, were many of them vsed by him in all forts of gainefull professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner vsed their slaues:

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and belides the innumerable prefents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by Tehu and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered : also the head money which was gathered per legem capitationis; By the law of capitation or head money, every man rich or poore paying halfe a ficle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand fine hundred and seuentic thousand fighting men 1, chron, 21 were numbred by loab. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have beene perpetuall ( which opinion of theirs nevertheleffe 20 they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet David vpon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practize. And by these meanes might he be able to leave thole huge treasures to Salomon. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and filuer left by David, the least part was his owne in private, and so will it appeare the leffe wonderfull that he left fo much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thoufand talents of filuer, a great fumme : but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needes they must have been, having received continual encrease, without any loffe or diminution ever fince the time of Moses and Iosuah. The re-20 uennues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and Leuites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrie received benefit of the victorie, yet fo, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in fine hundred, of that which was given 40 to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootic. So in the spoile of Midian, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had fixteen thousand of them for flaues, and the Congregation had other fixteen thoufand; but our of the fixteene thouland given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lordstribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the leffer that the Armie was which had exposed it

rie trauaile in domesticall assaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lordstribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by 50 some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and filter, and other metralls found in Iericho, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnesse of the Rulers and 10, 6, 19. People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the Midianites without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as volun- Namb 31.50. tarie presents.

selfe to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it consisted of ma-

ny hands, they who remayning at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordina-

Vυ

1.Chron c.26. 2.37. 6 28.

Now how soeuer the Israelites were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemics neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in Shilo. Wherefore it cannot other. wife be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must have beene exceeding great; as contaying about one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Ifraelites in the whole Land of Canaan; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtayned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; feeing that before the time of Danid and his Lieutenant Ioab, it is recorded that Saul and Abner, and before them Samuel, had vied to dedicate of the spoiles obtayned in warre, to maintayne the 10 house of the Lord : the like wherof may be well prefumed of the former Judges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of Danid brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchafed, those of Iofua perhaps excepted : but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of filuer, may feeme rather to have beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to have beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie. Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it is more manifest how he gathered them:

for he received of yearely revenues with his tributes fixe hundred fixtie fixe Ta-

the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voige

euery three yeares, and he beganne that trade in the two and twentieth yeare of his

raigne, and ruled fortie yeares. Besides this, all Indea and Ifrael were now mastered

to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, the Syrians of Zobah, of Damascena, of

Palmyra, of Ituraa; all of Idumaa, Moab, and Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewife did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Heuites, lebusites, and other races of the Ca.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of I/rael reduced by Dauid, who af-

maanites, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

lents of gold, belides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from 20

A Talent of frech crownes. 1.King.10.14.

Infepb.Antiq.1.7.

ter fortie yeares raigne, and seuentie yeares of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citic of Danid. It is written by Tolephus 30 that there was hid in Danids Tombe a meruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as Hyrcanus ( who first of the Chasmanai, or race of the Maccabees, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeares after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of Antiochus then besieging terusalem, and afterward Herod opening an other Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the Peruvi as and other Americans did the like, which being discourred by the Spaniards, they inviched themselucs by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That Salemon did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleeved, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, not with standing altheriches 40 which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall confidered that his want of monie grow from such magnificent imploiments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of David the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of Vlika) they remay ned within these thirtie yeares, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

Radz, Epift.2.

ģ. I I. <sup>50</sup>

CHAP-17. S.10.

of the Philistims, whom DAVIDabsolutely maistered; and of fundry other contemporaries with DAVID.



F the Philistims, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of Dauids time somewhat here may bee

They descended of Casloim, who according to Isydor and Insephies, 16d.19.19. was one of the fonnes of Mifraim, and was furnamed Philiftim, as Efatt 10/1.1.ant.17.

was furnamed Edom, and Iacob Ifrael. There were of them five Cities of pettic principalities; namely, Azotus or Aldod, Gaza or Aczaph, Alcalon, Geth or Gath, and Acca- 1. Sam. 6. ron. It feemeth that Callorn was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Agyptians.

The first King of these Philistims, which the Scriptures have named, was that A- Genaco. himelech which loued Sara, Abrahams wife.

The second Abimelech lived at once with Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time of famine, Abimelech then reliding at Gerar in the border of Idumaa, which Abimelech fancied Isaac his wife: as his father had done Sara.

After Abimelech the second, the Philislims Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till Davids time: perhaps the government was turned into Ariflocraticall. For they are afterwards named Princes of the Philistims, how soener Achis be named king 11d. 16.1. Sam. of Gath, the same to whom Dauid fled, and who againe gaue him Siklag to inhabit in 18.29.

After him wee read of another Achis who lived with Salomon, to whom Semei trauailed to fetch backe his fugitiue feruant, what time the feeking of his feruant was the loffe of his life. Ieremie the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of Palassin or Philistim. Amos nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a King of Gaza. The rest of the 30 warres of the Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue of the Indges, of Saul and David, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this

There lived at once with David, the third of the Silvij King of Alba called Latinus Siluius, who is faid to have ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere Codrus the last King of the Athenians died, to whom succeded the first Prince of those, who being called after Medon, Medontida, without regall name gouerned Athens during their life.

The reasons which moved the Athenians to change their government, was not drawne from any inconvenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour 40 of Codrus onely. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region betweene Phocis and the mountaine Octa, fought counfaile from the Oracle, for their fuccesse in the warres against the Athenians, it was answered that then undoubtedly they should prevaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the Athenian King living. Codrus by some intelligence being informed of this answere, withdrewe himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common fouldier, entred the Campe of the Dorians, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in

Enpales the 21. King of Assiria, which others account but the 20. began to rule 50 that Empire, about the 12 . yeere of David, and held it 38. yeeres.

Necrethe same time began Ixion the second King of the Heraclida, the sonne of Eurysthenes in Corinth; and Agis the second of the Heraelide in Lacedemon: in honour of which Aeis, his successours were called Agide, for many yeeres after. He restored the Laconians to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of V u 2.

Helosin Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall flauerie; wherofit came, that all the Meffenians, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called Helotes.

In like fort from the Selani came the word Slane. For when that Nation iffuing out of Sarmatia, now called Russia, had seised upon the countrie of Illyria and made in their owne by Conquest, their victoric pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves by a new name, Slavos, which is in their language glorious. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made sertiants to their neighbours; the Italians which kept many of them in bondage began to cal all their bondmen-Slaues, vling the word as a name of reproche: in which sense it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the third King of Sparta, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of Danid, and laie that Scheffratus was the fourth King of Eufeb.in chron, this race, the same whome Eufebius cals Labores, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere

In the tenth yeare of Achestratus, Androelus the third fonne of Codrus affifted by

medium.

£1.7.c.37.

the Iones, built Ephefiu in Caria, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of Sames to his territoric was flaine by the Carians whose countrie he vsurped. He was buried (faith Paulanias) in one of the gates of Ephelius called Magnetes, his armed Statua being fet 20 ward Magness ouer him. Strabo reports that after Androclus had Subdued the Ionians (the next vpon the river province to Ephelus on the lea coult of Alis the leffe) he inlarged his Dominions vppon the Loles, which iowneth to Jonia: and that his posteritic governed the Cities Arif. 1.5. pole. 6. of Ephefus and Erythre by the Haffac of Bafilide in Strabo his owne time. Of theex-\*seech in this pedition of the lones how they came hither out of Pelepone is, I have \* spoken alreadie vponoccasion of the returne of the Heraelide into Peloponesus, wherein with the Dores, they expelled the Achei, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the Iones succeeded that of the Hernolida 100 yeeres.

The Citie of Ephefus became exceeding famous : first, for the temple of Diana therein built : which had in length 425, foote, and 220. in bredth, fultained with 30 127. pillars of marble, of 72. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the worke being first set out by Ciesiphonof Gnossos. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which Timothie was Bishop; to whom, and to the Ephesians, Saint Paul wrote his Epifles fo intituled. The other Citie poffest by Androclus in Aelis was also vniuerfally spoken of by reason of Sibylla, surnamed Erythrea: who lived feuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. Saint Augustine augweth that a Romane Proconful shewed him in an auncient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as Saint Augustine changed them into Latine) in these wordes. Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator. Iesus Christ sonne of God the 40 Saulour.

About the time that Ioab belieged Rabba in Moab, Vaphres beganne to gouerne in Egypt, the same that was father in Law to Salomon, whose Epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, are remembred by Eulebius out of Polemon. In the 21. of David, was the citie of Magnelia in Asia the leffe founded, the same which is feated upon the river Maander, where Scipio gave the great overthrow to Antiochus. In this territorie are the best horses of the lesser Mia bred, whereof

Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis.

Servin AEreid. About the same time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcis in 50 3. Snabo. 1.5. Eubera according to Servius, with whom Strabo ioyneth the Cumeans of Lolis, saying that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the Citic. Of this Cuma was Ephorus the famous scholler of Isocrates.

CHAP. 18. S.1. of the Historie of the World.

Eulebius and Cassiodor finde the building of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of Danid, but much mistaken. For the father of Dido was Metinus the fonne of Badezor brother to Iezabel, who married Achab King of Israel; and betweene the death of David, and the first of Achab, there were wasted about 95. yeeres.

In this time also Acastus lined, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, Eurobian Chron. of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of which there were thirteen in detection perfore the State Change unto a magnificant of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the Lolians ledde by Graus, Home of Strab. the grandnephew of orestes, possess the Citie and Island of Lesbos about this time. In 1.14. 10 the 32. yeere of David, Hiram beganne to reigne in Tyre, according to lofephus, who dating 8. cont. faith that in his twelfth yeere Salomon beganne the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in to fephus, to mifreckon times, which in this point hee doth fo strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest that Hiram sent messengers, and Cedars to Danid, soone after his taking of Ierusalem, which was in the very beginning of Davids reigne ouer Ifrael, when as yet hee had reigned onely seauen yeeres in Hebron, ouer the house of juda. Wherefore it must needes be that Hiram had reigned aboue 30. yeeres before Salomon; vnleffe more Sams. credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Tosephus, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same Hiram 20 which lived both with David and with Salomon, the Scriptures make it plainely manifest.

# CHAP. XVIII. Of SALOMON.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of birthright, and of the cause of ADONIAH's death, and of SALOMONS wisdome.



ALO MON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet Nathan, beganne to reigne ouer Iuda and Ifrael, in the yeere of the world 2991. He was called Salomon by the appointment of God: hee was also called Iediddia, or Theophilus, by Nathan because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after Salomons annonting difpatched Embassadours toward him, congratulating his establishment : a custome betweene Princes very auncient. Whence we read that David did in like fort falute Hanum King of the Ammonites, after his ob- 2. Sam. to.

taining the Kingdome.

Euse-

The beginning of Salamon was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after Danids death, hee caused his brother Adonijah to bee flaine by Benaiah 50 the sonne of Iehoiada, taking occasion from Adonijah his desiring by Bersheba, that the young maid Abishag, which lay in Davids bosome in his latter daies, to keepe him warme, might be given him. What socuer hee pretended it was enough that Adonijah was his elder brother, and fought the kingdome contrary to the will of Da-#id, whom God inclined towardes Salomon. And yet it is faide that a word is

V u 3

2.Sam. 16.21.

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enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw, may know whether it bee alvon or no: fo it may feeme that to the quick-fighted wildome of Salomon, this motion of Adonijahs, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had beene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence Achitothel wished Absalon to take his fathers concubines as a part of the royaltie. And David after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but, thut them vp, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it feems was the depth of Isbofbeths quarrel against Abner, for having his fathers concubine. And some lignification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God

2. Sam, 20.30. by Nathan to David; I have given thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives. And in the 10 words of Saul, vpbraiding Jonathan that hee had chosen Danid to the shame of the nakednesse of his mother. Hercunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of Adonyah, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with Danid in his latter daies. and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdome to Salamon. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne fuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perlivade her to forge fome strange tale about Lauids last Testament, or any thing

else that might prejudice the title of Salomon. As for the right of an elder brother which Adonyah pretended, though generally

it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the cultomes of the lenes : yet the 20 Kings of the teres were fo absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples aiso they had (though not of kings) which taught them to vie this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne; namely of lacobs differiting Reuben, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to ioseph: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in David, it appeares by noferto, dando et the words of Berfabe and Nathan to David, and of Ionathan to Adonyah. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it nowhere appeares in the stories of the Jewes. It is faid indeed that the people made Saul King 30 at Gilgal: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that hee was King r Kingali. 2.20 long before no man can doubt. In like manner elswhere the physic of chuling or making their King, is to bee expounded: as wherein the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said. Thou shalt make him King whom the

mitorum.1 Reg. I.V.17. 2 20. Deut.28.30.

yum : nam ipfine

1.King.1.

Lord Shall chufe. But to proceed with the acts of Salomon: at the same time that he put Adonial to death, he ridde himfelfe alfo of Ioab, and three yeeres after of Shimei, as Daniel had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest abiathar, who tooke part with Alongah against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the Arke of God before his father, he spared his life 40 And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of Vaplines King of Egypt to wife : for fo Eufebius out of Eupolemus cals him. Hee offered a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bad-him aske what he would at his hands; SALOMON chooseth wildome, which pleased God. And God faid unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, thave done according to thy words : by which wee may informe our felues what defires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life, in respect of our selves, cannot but proceede of selfe-love, which is the roote of all impietie: the delire of private riches is an affection of conetoulnelle which God ab- 50 horreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the fword out of Gods hand and to distrust his Instice. And in that it pleased God to make Salomon know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers flaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from Danid, or

from the Law of God. But because Saiomon delired wildome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleafed God to give him withail that which he defired not. And I have also given thee (faith God) that which thou half not asked both riches and honour. This gift of wildome our Commentators firetch to aimost all kindes of learning; but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plantes and living creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of Salomens wildome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdome, the Scripture telleth how foone he judged the controucrate betweene the two harlots.

è. II.

Of SALOMONS buildings and glorie.



E then entred into league with Hiram King of Tyre, from whom hee had much of his materials, from the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father David, and another for God. For like as it is written of David that He called S A L O M O N his sonne, and charged him to build a

30 house for the Lord God of Ifrael : fo doth Toffatus give the force of a divine precept to 1. Chr. 22.6. thele words. Behold; a some is borne unto thee, &c. Hee shall builde an house for Tof. 9.26.in

Hee beganne the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the 4. yeere of his I.Kim.e.6.v. reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleete at Estingaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supplie the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were paffing to and fro it is manifelt. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Aimagging trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof 1. (bron. 28, 20 the forme and example was given by God himfelfe) many learned men have writ-30 ten, as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Burradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, and others,

to whom I referre the reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, Salomon employed thirtie thouland Carpenters, tenne thouland every moneth by courfe he also yied eightie thousand Masons in the mountaine, and seauentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceined, he felected out of the Profelites, be- 1.Kine.s. fides three thousand three hundred maisters of his worke, so as he paid and imployedinallone hundred eightie three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the Zielonians which were more skilful in hewing timber than the Ifraelites, may (as I think ) be included. For Hiram caused his servants to bring downe the Ce-

40 dars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence sent them in rasses to Joppe or the I.Kin.5.0.9. next port to Hierusalem. For in the second of Chronicles the second Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouerseers, were strangers, and as it feemeth the vaffals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of Egypt. In re- 1. Kin. 5.11. compence of all this timber and stone, Salomon gaue Hiram twentie thousand meafures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. Eufebius out of Eupolemus in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath lest vs a Copie of Salomons Letter to Suron (which was the fame as Huram or Hiram) King of Tyre in thefe words.

JO D EN SALOMON S V R O N I, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phanicia regi. Amico paterno N salutem. Scias me à Deo magno D a v 1 D patris mei regnum accepisse, cum g, mili pater pracepit tem plum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te scriberem pracepit : Scriboigitur, & peto a te vt artifices atque fabros ad adificandum Templum Dei mittere K Ing SALOMON to King SVRON, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phanicia King, and myfa-ihers friend, fendeth greeting, Tou may understand that I have received of the great God of my father DAVID, the Kingdome : and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, hee commaunded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and befeech you, that you would bee pleafed to fend mee artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

# To which the King Suron made this answere.

SVRON, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phaniciarex, SALOMONI regi falutem. Lectis literis gra- 10 tias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam feribis fabros minifrolf, ad condendum Templum ese tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architectur e mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

CVRONOF Tyre Sidon and Phanicis King, to King SALOMON greeting: when I Dread your letters, I gaue Godthankes, who hath inflatled you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that carpenters and workemen may be fent to build Gods Temple, 1 haue fent unto you four ejeore thou fand men, and a Maifter builder a Tyrian, borne of 4 lewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be provided 20 10f.Ani.1.3.c. 2. for them, and when the Temple of God is built that they come home to us.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Iosephus time as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, Tamin nostrus quamin Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the reader may finde in his antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene Salomon and Hiram either by meffage or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either Eupolemus or Iosephus set it downe, but, so that in subthe r.v. to the 9. flance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect S. domon is faid to have written to Vaphres King of Agypt 20 and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commentors upon Salomon finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vaphres King of Agypt, gaue Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eupolemonin Eusebieu, I doe not finde any such addition of magnes in Eusebieus in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in sofethus in the eight booke and second chapter of the lenves antiquities: it being a vaine title vsed by some of the Assirian and Perfian Kings, and vied likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great Hermes the first which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finithing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Ierusalem with a treble wal, & repaired Hazor which had benethe auncient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Iosuahs time: so did he Gaza of the Philylims: he built Bethoron, Gerar and the Millo or munition of Hierulalem. For Pharaoh ( as it feemeth in fauour of Salomon) came up into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar which the Cansanites yet held & put them to the fword and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salomon was then bussed in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in lawe to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But he thereby taught the Agyptians to vilite those partes a- 50 gaine before they were fent for; and in his sonne Rehoboams time Sheshack this mans fucceffor did facke lerufalem it felfe.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan; and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomies Thamoron in the defart of Inda ( or as IofeCHAP. 18. S.z. of the Historie of the World.

thinkes Palmyra in the defart of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vtmost border of Salomons dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of Daniels conquest when hee wanne Damaseus; it may seeme that Salomon therefore bestowed thereon the most cost; and fortified it with the best arte, that that age had. 10/cphus cals this place Thedamora, by which name (faith hee) given by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hierom in his booke of Hebrew places cale it Thermeth. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the Emperor it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In refpect of this great charge of building Saloman raifed tribute through all his Dominions, belides and hundred and twentie talents of gold 10 recented from Hiram fernants, Sullomon offered Hiram twentie townes in or neere the opper Gailee, but because they stood in an unstruitfull and marith ground Hiram refuled them, and thereof was the territoric called Chabilly more

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, Won quod gentes ibi habitarent : fed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat, Not that it was posselt by Gentiles (faith Nanclerus but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. How former it were, it is true that Salomen in his 27, yeare fortified those places, which Hiram refused. Further, he made a journey into Syria Zobah and established histributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition hee were driven to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions passing from 20 Thadmer to the North of Palmyrena, and so to the Deserts of Idumea, from whence hee visited Esiongaber and Eloth, the vetermost place of the South of all his territorics, bordering to the red sea; which Cities I have described in the Storie of Mofes.

#### III.

Of SALOMON'S fending to Ophir, and of some feeming contradictions about SALOMONS riches, and of PINEDAES ... nied « conceipt of two strange passages about

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Ere Salomon prepared his fleete of shippes for India with whom Hiram ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Marriners and Pilots, the Tyrims being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by Danid, did the Fleete passe on to the East India, which was not

farre off, namely to ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluceas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnessethe Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the aboundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and reco-40 uer agreat quantitie from thence, and with lesselabour than they doe in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by theseshippes amounted to source hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of Chronicles the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: wherof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes hue and twentie hundred and twentie thou fand Crownescame cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred fixtic and fix talents of gold, that fumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of salemons which were yeerely, and which came to him belides these profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to terusalem from the East Indies then in 3. c.8.5 9.10 3. yeeres; and that Thar fis in Scripture is diverstimes taken for the Ocean; hath beene Sale none, 6. alreadie declared in the first booke...

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Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of Pineda his strange conceits. who being a Spaniard of Batica would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tarteffus, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to be the Tharfis from whence Salomon fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for love of his owne countrie, and because of some affinitie of sound between Tharsis and Tartellin. For whereas it may feeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke shippe in the red sea, should returne from the East Indies to Ierusalem, this hath bene in part answered alreadic. And further the intelligent may conceiue of fundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages betweene lerusalem and the red sea, and perhaps also elswhere: so that 10 wee haue no neede to make Salomons men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that To they might bee long a comming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if Salomon and the Israelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not have beene ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so ( besides many wonderfull inconveniences and terrible nauigation in rounding Africa) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene lerufalem and the red sea through drie, desart, and theeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of Ierufalem at Joppe, or some other hauen in Salomons owne Coun-

trie, haue laden and unladen their lhips.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith Pineda) because the huge Island of Atlantis in largneffe greater than all Africk and Asa being swallowed up in the Atlantic Ocean hindered Salomons thips from passing through the straits of Gibraltar: for this hee alleadgeth Plato in Timeo. But that this calamitic happened about Salomons time, or that thereby the Straights of Gades were filled with mudde and made vnpassable, that there could bee no comming to Gades by the Mediterran fea: or that this indraught where the fea runneth most violently, and most easily scourcth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to have stoode : or that Salomons ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East Indies (which were infinitly 30 better and neerer to the red sea, than any in Spain) to seeke gold at Cadyz by the way of compassing Affrica, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himselie that hath also the rich Peru in the West, fortifieth in the East Indies and inhabites fome part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the

Derebus Sald. he tooke thip Toppe c.1.v 3.

fmall territorie which he there poffesseth considered) than in Peru. The same Pineda hath another strange passage round about all Africa, which elfwhere he dreames of : supposing whereas lonas failing to Tharsis the Citie of Cilicia As it appeares was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this whale in three dayes swimming aboue twelve thousand English miles, along the Mediterran feas, and so through the streights of Gades, and along all the huge seas round about 40 Africa, cast vp Ionas vpon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might have perhaps fome fixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to Nimite. This conceipt hee grounds onely upon the ambiguitie of the word Suph, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if wee should call it mare algosum, the sea full of weeds) for thered sea. But in Ionas 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper fignification for weeds, and not as Pineds would have it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elfewhere he giueth vs) fupposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of longs in the bellic of the whale and therefore seing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we fend it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in 50 this place he forgets; Miracula non funt multiplicanda. And againe, Non funt miracula gratis danda nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necefsuie, nor delivered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore to leave this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwise very learned and indicious) might

bee thought vinworthic the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of

The Queene of Sabaes comming from farre to Salomon, (as it seemes from Arabisfælix, & not as some think from Athiopia and her rich presents, and Salomons reciprocal magnificence, and his refoluing of her difficult queltions, those are set downer at large in the text. But herein Infephus is greatly mistaken, who cals this Queene of Saba Nicaules, the fuccessour (faith hee out of Herodotus) of those thirtie and eight Agyptian Kings which fucceded Miness the founder of Memphis; adding that after this Leyptian, and the father in Law of Salomon, the name of Pharaoh was left Ichant, 8, 1, 2, 10 off in Agypt. For as it is elfwhere proued that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Agypt and Etbiopia; fo were there other Pharachs after the father in Law of Salomon.

Yea, aboue three hundred yeeres after Salomon, Pharao Necho flew Iolias King of 2 Kin c. 23 &

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It is also written of Salomon that hee kept in garrifons fourteene thousand chariots and twelue thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirtie measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, befides flags and fallow deare, bugels and foule; foure thousand stals of horses he had for his chariots and other vies, and for the twelve thousand hosemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stals in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so 20 many horses, whence in the second of Chronicles the ninth, it is written but source thousand stals or teemes, and in every teeme ten horses, as Junius and the Genera vn- 1.King.4.215 derstand it. He was faid to be wifer than any man, yea than were Ethan the Ezrahite, than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda, to which Junius addeth a fift, to wit, Ezrak. For the Geneua maketh Ethan an Ezrahite by Nation. Iolephus writes them Athan. Aman, Chalceus and Donan the fonnes of Hemon. Hee spake three thousand Pro-

uerbes, and his fonges were one thousand and fine, whereof either the most part perished in the Captinitie of Babylon, or else because many actes of Salomons were written and kept among the publique Records of Civill causes and not Ecclesiaflicall, therefore they were not thought necessarie to bee inserted into Gods

of the fall of SALOMON, and how long he lived.



30 booke.

Owas hee had plentie of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women, For belides his seauen hundred wines hee kept three hun-If dred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of Idolators) hee tooke wives out of Egypt, Edom, Moub, Ammon, Zidon and Heth : and when hee fell a doting, his wives turned his heart after o-

ther Gods, as Alteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Wolcoh of the Ammonites, and Chemoft of Mosb.

These things God punished by Adadof Iduman, Rezin of Damaseus, and by Ieroboam his owne feruant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne Roboam, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis viitur, que ipf non fecit. God in punishing finners, vseth the finnes of others, which hee himselfe P.Mart.in reg.

In the reigne of Salomon (as in tymes of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great Indian voyage alreadic mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned: how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore bee found onely by conjecture The most likelie way to guesse at the truth in this case, is by considering the action,

of David before and after Salomons birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they confumed, and confequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeeres Danid reigned in Hebron : in his eight yeere hee tooke lerufalem, and warred with the Philiftims, who also troubled him the yere following. The bringing home of the Arke feemes to have beenein the tenth yere of Dauid, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere enfuing, at which time he had fufficient leyfure, living in reft. After this he had warres with the Philistims, Mosbites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needes have held him five

1.5am.c.17.v.

17.0 18.

yeeres, considered that the Aramites of Damasco raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; and that in euery of these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these services occupied any longer time, because in those daies and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at convenient feafons of the yeere, Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vppon the spoyle of the enemies countrie, partly upon the prinate prouision which enery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of Danid in which hee tooke Mephiboseth the son of fonathan into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to have begunne the warre with Ammon; but somewhat late in the end of summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for loab after the victorie, returned immediatly to Ierufalem) the causes and preparations for that war having taken 20 vp all the fummer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites wherein hee brought all the tributaries of Hadadezer vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifeftly to have beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumaa being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must have beene the 20. yeere of Davids reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he fent forth loab to befiege Rabba, and finished

him by God, for his foule and bloudie offence. Now very manifest it is that in the yeere after the death of that childe, which 30 was begotten in adulterie, Salomon was borne, who must needes therefore have beene nineteene yeres old or thereabout, when he beganne to reigne at the deccase of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in

the warre of Ammon: wherein also fell out the matter of Vriahs wife. So one halfe

of Dauids reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and fad remembrance of that heavie judgement laid vpon

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of Danid, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere Absalom slewe his brother Ammon; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to have beene one yeres worke. 40 So the rebellion it felfe with all that happenned thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amafa and the rest, may well seeme to have beenein the 30. yeare of Danids reigne.

Whether the three yeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeres of warre with the Philistims or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniccture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the peftilence enfuing; as also for his owne last infirmitie, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistims, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or 50 foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or 200 neere vnto Gezer and the last at Gath. This warre the Philistims undertooke, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by Davids old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwardes himCHAP.18. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

dered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So Danid had fixe or feuen yeares of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the flirring spirit of Acionijah found little succour in the broken partie of loab the sonne of Zernia.

At this time it might both truly be faid by Dautd to Salomon. Thou art a wife man, 1.Kine. 62.26. and by Salomon to God, I am but a yong child; for nineteene yeares of age might \$63.5.7.

wellagree with either of these two speeches.

Neuertheleffe there are some that gather out of Salomons profeshing himselfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeares old when he beganne to raigne. Or these Kabbi to Salomon seemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and judgement have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps youn that which is said of Absolous rebellion, that it was after fortic yeares, which they understand as yeares 2.5am,15.70 of Danidsraigne. But whereas Rehoboam the fonne of Salomon was 41. yeares old when hee beganne to raigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeares old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if Salomon (who raigned fortic yeares) were but eleuen yeares old when his raigne began. To avoid this inconvenience, Josephus allowes 80. yeares of raigne to Salomon; a report fo difagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the wordes of Iosephus, as if they included all the yeares of Salomons life. But by fuch reckoning hee should have beene 40. yeares old at his Fathers death; and confequently should have beene borne long before his Father had wonne Ierusalem; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeares remembred in Absidons rebellion, may either feeme to have reference to the space betweene Dauids first annointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to lofephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation) foure yeares; which passed betweene the returne of Absolon to Ierasalem, and his breaking out.

# of SALOMONS mritings.

Here remaine of Salomons workes, the Proverbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the second the vanitie of humane nature, in the third he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled the wifedome of Salomon, (which some give vnto Sa-

lomon, and fome make the elder Philo the Author therof.) Hierome and many others 40 of the best learned make vs thinke it was not Salomon that wrote it. Stylus libri /1- Hier. ad Crames pientie (faith HIEROME) qui SALOMONIS inferibitur, Grecam redolet elequentiam; fium. The stille of the booke of wisedome, which is ascribed to S ALOMON, Sanoureth of the Grecian eloquence; and of the same opinion was S. Augustine, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes. Circumueniamus iustum quoniam insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous Sap.3. for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boall to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at 30 Christ. The Bookes of Ecclesiafles, Prouerbs, and Cantica Canticorum, Rabbi Moses 5, Sen fol.62. Kimelii ascribeth to Isay the Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report that Salomon wrateof the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the porch Reinee, in Int.

of the Temple, which they say Ezechi.15 pulled downe, because the people negle- Hist.

cting helpe from God by praier, repaired thither for their recoueries.

Of

Of Salomons bookes of Innocations and Inchantments to cure difeafes, and expell euill spirits, losephes hath written at large, though as I conceine, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one Eliszarus, who by the roote in Salomons ring dispossest divers persons of euill spirits in the presence of Vejjasian, and many others, which I will not fland to examine.

Certainly fostrange an example of humane frailty bath neuer been read of as this King: who having received wildome from God himfelfe, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world; hee that was made King of Ifrael and Indea, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perfuation of a few weake and wretched Idolatious Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom Straeides writeth in this manner. SALOMON raigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the San-Etuarie for ever; How wife wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flou!! Thy minde concred the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, e.c. but thus he concludeth. Thou didft bow thy loynes to Women , and wast ouer-come by thy bo- 20 dy, thou didf flaine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt forrow for thy folly. cap. 27.

### V I. Of the Contemporaries of SALOMON.

Eare the beginning of Salomons raigne, Agelaus the third of the Heraclide in Counth; Labotes in Lacedemon; and soone after Sylvius Alba the fourth of the Syluij, fivaled those Kingdomes: Laosthenes then go- 20 uerning Afgrin: Agains and Archippurthe second and third Princes after Codens, ruling the Athenians.

In the fixe and twentieth of Salemens raigne Hiram of Tyre died, to whom Baliafirms succeeded, and raigned seventeene yeares, after Overcators accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his fonnes. Iofephus gives him fewer yeares. Theophilus Antiochenus against Autolicus findes Bozorius the next after Hiram, if there bee not some Kinges omitted betweene the death of Hiram, and the raigne of Bozorius.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of Salomon, Sefac or Shifak (as our Englifb Geneua termes him ) beganne to gouerne in Agypt, being the same with him 40 whom Diodorus calleth Sofachis; Iofephus, Sufac; Cearenus, Sufefinus; Eufebius in the columne of the Agyptian Kings Smendes, and in that of the Hebrenes Sufac. Infephus in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in Herodotus, that hee ascribeth the acts of Susac to Sesostris, which perchance Herodotus might have done by comparison, accompting Sefac another Sefostris, for the great thinges hee

Of the great acts and vertues of King Sefostris I have spoken already in the ftorie of the Agyptian Princes: only in this hee was reproued that hee caused source of his captine Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, faith Entropius, at fuch time as Sesosiris 50 was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which sefestris perceiving, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captine King answerred, that a Lose he beheld the inftabilitic of all worldly thinges; for that both the

of the Historie of the World. CHAP-19-5-1.

lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vpmost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and under all: which when Historice Many Sefaltris had indiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this Sefostris, and that he could not be taken for Sefae, I have spoken at large in that part of the Agyptian Kings preceding.

# CHAP. XIX.

Of SALOMONS Successors untill the end of IEHOSAPHAT.

Of REHOBOAM his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and IEROBOAMS Idolatrie.

EHOBOAM the Son of Salomon by Nahamaan Ammonitelle, now fortie yeares olde, succeeded his Father Salomon, and was annointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Ifrael were affembled : who attended a while the returne of Ieroboam as yet in Agypt, fince he fled thither fearing Salomon. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to Rehoboam, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father, Sicenim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam Ant 18, 64. metui; So (hould his Empire (faith I osePHVs) bemore assured if hee desired rather to bee beloued than feared:

whereof he tooke three daies to deliberate before his answere, of whom therefore it could not be faid as of David, that he was wifer than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe heeknew not how to resolve, so had hee not the judgement to discerne of counsells, which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all menelse. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that ferued his Father, who perfwaded him by all meanes to fatisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his 40 fubices those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting fally of greatneffeexceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more vnfupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the fuccesse, those yonger adulfors greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie it felfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people ? and what cordes or fetters haue ener lasted long, but those which have been twisted and forged by lone only? His witleffe paralites could well judge of the Kinges disposition : and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all thinges elfe, it fufficed and inabled them fuf-30 ficiently for the places they held. But this answere of Rehoboam did not a little aduance Ieroboams designes. For being fore-told by the Prophet Achiah of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no fooner arrived, than elected King of Israel: the people crying out what portion have wee in Danid? wee have no

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inheritance in the Sonne of iffait. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of If ael, bad confented to Davids annointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebelis. they forgat both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated refolued hearts doe, they ferued themselves for the present with impudent excuses.

And now ouer-late, and after time, Rehoboam fent Adorain, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacific them: whom they instantiy beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from 1.King 12. 21. Siehem with all speede, and recourred terufilem, where preparing to inuade Ilrael. with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, shemai in the person of to God commanding to the contrarie, all was staied for the prefent. In the meane time lerobosm the new King fortified Sechem on this tide, and Penuel on the other fide of Iordan; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of David; and having in all likelyhood also promised the Japans to follow their Idolatrie: he set up two Calues of gold for the Children of grad to worthip, impioully perfuading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods, which deliuered them out of Egypt and refusing the service of the Leuites, hee made Pricits fit for such Gods. It must needes be that by banishing the Leuites which served Daniel and Salomon through all 4, a.e., Ieroboam greatly inriched himfeife: as taking into his hands 20 all those Cities which were given them by Alojes and Iojua, for as it is written. The Leuises left ter fuburbs, and then popiefison, and came to Iuca, &c. This irreligious pollice of Ierobo.m (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, untill freel for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecieand miracles impouned fufficiently when it first beganne; but the affections maintaining it, were fo flrong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. Ieroboim could not bee moued now by the authoritic of alia, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it oper the Altar, which also claue a-sunder, according to the figne, which the man of God had given by the commandement of 32 God, who againe recourred and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obflinete an Idolater as before, for he held it the fast it course in pollicie to proceede as he had begunne. This impious invention of Ierobo.m, who for fooke God, and the religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a might me Historian compared with the policies of late Ages, observing well the practile of his Nation, being an Italian borne. Sie qui house (faith he) politici vo-24514. S. propris cammoda, prasentes fi vtilitates sibi tanquam vitimum finem constituunt taufam quam votant status in capite ornnium ponunt : pro ipsa tuenda, promouendi,

V. 542 3.

I Kings 13.

confernanda, ampitan a niha non facien lum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iufittiahonefianifa, leges subuertenda fireligio ipsa pessundanda, si denig, omnia iura diuna, 40 & humana violanda mihi intentatum, nihil per fus nefafá, relinquenaum cenfent, cuncta runt, opinia percant, nibil ad ipfos, modoid, quodere fur effe fibs perfundent, obtineant, ac fi millius fit, qui talia cure , caftiqurene posit Deus ; So they who are now called Polititians, proyounding to themselves as their vitrost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profi, are wont to alleage the case of state for footh, as the principall point to be regarded for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to over-turne all lawes of inflice and honeslie, if religion it selfe must goe to wrack, yearf all rights of God and Minmust be vio ated, they will trie allcourfes, beit right, beit wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, follong as they may have what they would; as 50 who should lay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

in deed this allegation of raggione del flato, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first at had done to bring in this vile Idolatric of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

Amazia the Priest of Bethel, counsailed the Prophet Amos, not to prophecie at Be- Amos.7.13. thel: For (faid he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground even lehu that had maila- 2. Kings 10.16. cred the Priests of Baal, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politique finne of Ieroboam the fonne of Webat, which made Ifrae I to linne. It 2. King 10. 14: was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King Henrie the fourth to change his religion, yet the Protestants whom hee for sooke obeyed him, but some of the Papifts whom hee followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wife proceeding delude even those that know the foule face of impietie lurking under it, and behold the wretched endes that have over followed it; where-10 of Ichu and all the Kings of Ifrael had, and were themselves, very great examples.

Q. II.

of Rehoboam his impietie; for which he was punished by Sesac: of his end and Contemporaries.

Hile Ieroboam was occupied in fetting up his new Religion, Rehoboam on the other fide having now little hope to recouer the Provinces loft, ftrengthened the principall places remaining with all endeuour: for he fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of Iudah and Beniamin : 2. chran, its not that he feared lerobeam alone, but the Agyptians, to whom le-

roboam had not only fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to inuade Indea: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of David and Salomon, which might now eafily bee had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Iudeans. So as by those two waies (of late yeares often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraine force, Jeroboam hoped to fettle himfelfe in the feate of Ifrael, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeares after rooted out with all his. Rehoboam also having, as he thought, by fortifying divers places affured his estate, for sooke the Law of the living God, i. Kingit 4. 181 and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on eueric high Hill, and vnder eue-

20 ric greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeare of his raigne, sefae or shifts before fpoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well Adad of Idumaa, as Ieroboam, were familiar and his instruments, entred Indea with twelve thousand Chariots, and a chron, 12. 3; three score thousand Horse, belides foote-men, which to sephus numbers at foure to said. 8.c. 45 hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations, Agyptians, Lubeans, Succeans, and Culites. The Lubeans were Lybeans, the next bordering Region to Levet, on the West side. The Custes were of Petran, and of the Defart A. rabia, which afterward followed Zerah against A/4 King of Iuda. The Succeans, ac- 1. (iron, 12. cording to Iunius his opinion, were of Succosth, which figurated Tents the doth fup-40 pose that they were the Troglodita, mentioned often in Plinie, Ptolomie, and other clien. Authors. The Treglodites inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. Pin 16. c.29. degrees from the line Northward about fixe hundred English mile from the best and Ptol. Afra. tab. 4. Maritimate part of Agret: and therefore I doe not thinke that the Succims or Succai were those Troglodite, but rather those Arabians which Prolomic calls Arabes Agypty or lebthyophagi, which possesse that part of Agypt betweene the mountaines called Alabafrini and the red Sea farre nearer Agypt, and readier to be levied then cap 47.0.23 thoseremoued Smages of the Trogledyta.

With this great and powerfull Armie, Sefac inuaded Indea, and (besides many otherstrong Cities) wanne Ierusalem it selfe, of which, and of the Temple, and 30 Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which Salomon had made, in imitation of those which David recovered from Adadezer, in the Syrian warre: thefe Rehobosm Supplied with Targets of braffe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie: whom Siracides calleth The foolishnesse of the people. From

Eufeb. Chron.

From this time forward the Kings of Agypt claimed the four raigntie of Indian. and held the lenes as their Tributaries : Sefue, as it feemes, rendring up to Rehoboans his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the wordes of God. where promiting the deliuerance of Iuda after their humiliation, he doth not withstanding leave them under the yoke of Agypt, in these wordes. Neverthelesse they (to wit, the Indicans) Shall be his fernants, that is, the fernants of SESAC.

After this ouerthrow and dishonour Rehoboam raigned twelve yeares, and his losses received by Sefae notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against Jeroboan all his life time. After his death Ieroboam gouerned I/rael foure yeares,

Rehoboam liued 58. yeares, and raigned 17. his storie was written at large by She- to meiah and Hiddon the Prophets, but the same perished with that of Nathan & the rest.

With Rehoboum, Archippus, and Terfippus, the third and fourth Archontes or Gouernours for life after Codrus, gouerned in Athens. Abdastrartus or Abstrartus, in Tyre. Dorifibus the fift of the Heraclida in Sparta, according to Enfebrus (others make him the fixth) and Primines the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines raigned Sylvins Alba and Sylvius Atys, the fourth and fifth of the Sylviy.

About the 12.0f Rehoboam Abdastrartus King of Tyre was murthered by his Nurfes fons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue yeares. Towards his latter times Peritiades, or Pyrithiades, beganne to gouerne Afyria,

the 3.4. King thereof: and not long after Aftartus the sonne of Balcastartus recovered 20 the Kingdome of Tyre from the Vlurpers.

## ð. I I I.

Of the great battaile betweene IEROBOAM and ABIA, with a Corolaric of the examples of Gods indgements.



Bijah the Sonne of Rehoboum, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He railed an Armic of foure hundred thousand, with which he inuaded troboum, who encountred him with a double number of 30 eight hundred thouland; both Armies joyned neare to the Mount Ephraim, where teroboam was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength

of ifrael broken; for there fell of that fide fine hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was given or received of those Nations. Abijah being now mafter of the field, recouered Bethel, Ieshanah, and Ephron, soone after which discomsiture, le obam died : who raigned in all 22. yeares. Abijah, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with Hesion, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may be s. Chron. 16. 23. gathered out of the 2. of Chron. he raigned but three yeares and then died; the particulars of his acts were written by Idde the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of Salomon in his Sonne 40 Rehoboam: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor; and then by the successor of that Agrptian, whose daughter Salomon had maried, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he scrued God, was by God affured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee for fooke him, it was torne a-funder by his meanest Vassalls; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Agyptian Sefac. For the some Abijah was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men and with the same number he ouerthrew eight hundred thousand Ifraelites, and slew of them fine hundred thousand, God gining spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People : the same being both before, 50 and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same just God who liueth and gouerneth all thinges for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kinges, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed

in the present : for which reason in these and other the affictions of I/rael, alwaies 2.5am.27.1. the causes are set downe, that they might bee as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in Dauids time for three yeeres, Fer Saul and his bloudie house, &c. And David towards his latter end suffred all forts of affilitions. and forrowes in effect, for Vriah. Salomon had tenne tribes of twelve torne from his fonne for his idolatrie. Rehoboam was spoiled of his riches and honour by Sefac of Egypt, because the people of Inda made images, high places, and groues &c. And because they suffered Sodomites in the land. Ieroboam was punished in him selfe & his posteritie for the golden Calues that he creeted. Ioram had all his sonnes slaine by the 10 Philiftims, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. Abab and Iezabel were flaine, the bloud of the one, the bodie of the other caten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of Nabeth. So also hath God punished the same and the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our daies by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities, howfocuer the wife men of the world raife these effectes no higher than to fecond causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, feeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

### 9 1111

of As A andhis contemporaries.



O Abijah succeeded Asa, who enjoyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. He also spandaking away their high places. red not his owne mother who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her 2 (bros. 15. 16.

from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war 30 in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was inuaded by Zerah, who then commaunded all the Arabians bordering Indea, and with fuch a multitude entred the territorie of A/a, as (for any thing that I have read) were never affembled of that Nation either before or fince. For it is written, that there came against the Iudeans Zerah of Athiopia with an host of tenne hundred thousand, and three hun- 2. Chron. 14%. dred Chariots, which Aa encountred with an armie of fine hundred and fourefore thousand, leuied out of those two tribes of Iuda and Beiamin which obeyed him, and with which he ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campe.

That this Zerah was not an Æthiopian I haue\*proved alreadie, and were it but the "In the for-40 length betweene Athiopia and Indea, and the strong florishing, regions of Agypt in-mer booke cast teriacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it \$10,000. were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these inuaders were Æthiopians. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the Indeans in following their vistoric, as places belonging to Zerah, and that all men know that Gerar standeth upon the torrent of Befor, which David past over when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians, this producth sufficiently that Zerah was leader of the Arabians, and that Gerar was a frontier towne standing on the vttermost South-border of all Indea, from

all parts of Athiopia fix hundred miles. Also the spoiles which Asi tooke, as the 50 cartell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed fine thousand, shew them to bee Arabians adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne Athiopians. And if it be obiefted that these desart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men sit for the wars, Innswere, that it is as like that Arabia Petrea, and the Defart which compasse two parts of the holy land, thould yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of

the twelue, should arme fine hundred and foure score thousand. Besides it answer reth to the promife of God to Abraham, that these nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of Ismsel, that he would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelue Princes,&c.

Baisha a king of israel began to reigne in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatnelle of Alaafter his great victorie, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adalezer, to loyne with him against A/a; and to the end to block him vp, hee fortified Rama which lieth in the way from Ierufalem towardes Sa-

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of A- 10 2. Chron. 6. v. 1. Ja his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Bufba died in the 26. yeare of A/a, therefore could not Baa/ba begin this warre in the 35. of A/a his reigne, but in the 35, yeere of the divition of Inda and Ifrael: for fo many yeeres it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Ala. It may feeme strange that Asa being able to bring into the field an armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand good souldiers, did not casily drive away Baalha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Ala himfelfe against Zerah being yet fresh in minde, which might well have emboldened the men of Inda and afmuch difficurtened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused asato fight at this 20 time with mony. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late feruice against Zerah, had caused many mens private businesses to lie undispatched, whereby the people being now intentine to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be viewilling to Hirre against the Ifraelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconvenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred Afafrom aduenturing himfelfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successe into the hands of God. Howsocuer it were, he tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian again Baasha, whose imployments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake of confederacie with Baasha. For 30 the I/raelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himfelfe (after his inualion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themfelues masters of that Kingdome. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephthalim without relistance, he spoiled divers principall cities thereof, and inforced Basshato quit Rama, and to leave the fame to Afa with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the fame : which done, Benhadad who loued neither partie, being loden with the spoiles of Ifrael, and the treasures of Inda, returned to Damaseus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Afain that he now relyed on the ftrength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and affistance of God, he not onely caused Hanani to bee imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppresse 40 his people, and was therefore strooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his fecte, wherewith after he had beene two yeeres continually tormented, he gauc vp the ghost when he had reigned 41, vecres.

1.Km.15.

2. Chro.16.

There lived with A/a, Agefilans the fixt of the Heraclida, and Bacis the fift King of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacida. Astarius and Astarimus were Kings in Tyre. Astarimus tooke reuenge on his brother Phelle:es, for the murther of Ithobalus priest of the goddesse Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Atys and Capys ruled the Latines. Pyrithiades and Ophrateus the Allyrians: Terlippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Agypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of Afa, left Cheops his successor that reigned fiftie fixe yeres, euen 50 to the 16. of less.

Of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the raigne of As A.

CHAP. 19. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

🝇 N the raigne of 🎻 a, the Kingdome of Ifrael felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former alleageance to the house of David, if the wissome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of Ierobeam had, in his

latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laied vpon it, by the mouth of Ahia, the same Prophet which had foretold the diufsion of I/rael, for the finne of Salomon, and his raigne ouer the ten Tribes. One fonne Ieroboam had among others, in whom only God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Familie) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable tessimonie of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and largentation at his death; and (wherein hee was most happie) the fauourable approbation of God himfelfe.

After the loife of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miscrable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankefulnesse to God, that he durst 20 not fuffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet for bearing to destroy those accursed Idolls that wrought his confusion. So loath hee was to forfake his worldly wisedome, when the world was readie to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memorie excepted.

Wadab the sonne of Ieroboam, raigned in the second and third yeares of Asa, which are reckoned as two yeares, though indeede his fathers last yeare of two and twentie didrunne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of A/4, whose third yeare was the first of Baasha; so that perhaps this Nadab injoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeare. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sen-20 tence. It seemes that he little seared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his owne estate, hee armed all Israel against the Philistims, and befreged one of their Townes. There (whether it were fo, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their gricuous losse of fine hundred thousand vnder leroboam, counting it an vnluckie familie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hee exasperated them) flaine he was by Bsassa, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. Bassha was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of leraboum, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods 40 will to haue it so, it is cuident, by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatric which Ieroboam had begunne. Wherefore hee received the same sentence from God that had been elaid vpon Ierobeam; which was executed vpon him also in the same fort. Hee beganne to infest Asa, by fortifying Ramah; but was directed from thence by the Syrian Benhadad, who did waste his Countrie, destroying all the Land of Nephthalim. Foure and twentie yeares heer aigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to Ela his sonne; who enjoyed it, as Nadab the sonne of Ierobeam had done, two yeares current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Armie against Gibbethon, the same Towne of the Philistims, before which Nadab 50 the sonne of Ieroboam perished; but he sate at home the whilft, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such advantage against himselse, as was not neglected. Zimri, an ambitious man, remayning with the King at Tirza, finding his Master so diffolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as Baafha had found, by doing as Baafha had done. Wherefore he did fet vp-

on Elain his drunkennesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himfelfe King of Israel: and began his raigne with massacring all the house of Baasha; ex. tending his crueltie not only to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcomed according to Zimri his expectation. For the Souldiers in steade of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by Omri, whom they faluted King, they (quitting the fiege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in short space they may seeme to have forced. Zimri santing ftrength to defend the Citle, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did fet fire on the Palace: confuming it and himfelfe together to 10 ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to have raigned : accounting (as is most likely) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in the Campe. For Zimri was also an Idolater, 17.1. king in the way of IEROBOAM; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherin to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seuen dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of Baasha, partly in seeking to have defended his owne life. After the death of Ela, there arose another King to oppose the faction of Omri, wherby it may sceme, that Zimri had made his partie strong, as being able to set vo a new head, who doubtleffe would neuer haue appeared, if there had not beene readicto his hand, fome strength, not vnlikely to resist and vanquish the Armie which maintayned Omri. How long this Tibni, the new Competitor of Omri, held out; I doe 23 not finde; only it appeares that his fide was decaied, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

A conjecture of the causes hindring the revuion of Israel with Iuda, which might have beene effected by these troubles.

WENV man that shall consider the state of Israel, in those times, may justricd with the calamities alreadie suffered under these vnfortunate ly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wea- 30 cient Kings, and revnite themselves with the mightie Tribes of Inda

and Beniamin; or that Zimri and Tibni, with their oppressed factions, did not call in Ala, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or butning him felfe, the other to languilh away, a man for faken: than to have recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so readie, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answere (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnleffe it could be proued, that he had forbidden Asa to deale in that businesse, as he forbad Rehoboam to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the 40 restraint laid by God vpon Rehoboam, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Israel and Inda, so many yeares following: wherein Abia so farre prenailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upftarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royall house of Dauid, from which the fuccession of fine Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have beene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that Omri had prevented his Competitors, in making peace 50 with Asa, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For Omri was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which as it might serve alone to proue, that A/a, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon

the familie and friends of Baasha, (As his mortall enemic) gives manifest reason, why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendihip of Inda in that quarrell. Wherefore, in fearthing out the reason of this backwardnesse in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seeme to have never thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes it were not amisse to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of Ela, an idle drunkard, rather than of Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam, who followed the warres in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if wee looke vpon humaine reason) occa-10 fioned by defire of breaking that heavie yoake of bondage wherewith Salomon had galled their neckes. Their defire was to have a King that thould not oppresse them. not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of Reholoam had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly cheose Ierobosm in his stead. as a man likely to affoord that libertic vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it feemes) herein altogether deceined. For his affectation of popularitie appeares in his building of decayed townes, and in the inflitution of his new denised idolatry; where he tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile fo farre as to ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reigne, 20 and in the reigne of his fonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesic of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in fuch cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is clearely apparent, that the whole armie of all Ifrael ioyned with Basilia, taking in good part the death of Nadab, and eradication of Ieroboams

CHAP. 19. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Now the reigne of Bacha himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) enery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his Kingdome harried by the Sprians; neither did hee winne that one towne 30 of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesseto his sonne, who likewise appeares an unprofitable fluggard. Wherefore it must needes be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of B. safts grew from his good forme of Civill gouernment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than Ieroboani euer meant to doe. And furely he that shall take paines to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of Ifrael and Inda, in administration of initice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so averse from the line of David; as to thinke all aduerfitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of Isaband Shimei was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without 40 forme of judgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of Adonyah was both without judgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings icalousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie instice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slaine lerobasm (if hee could have caught him) beforehe had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of Agypt, like one that was knowne to have endured wrong having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, Ichoram did vpon his brethren, and vpon fundry of his greatest men; as also localed did so put to death Zachariah, the fonne of Iehoiada, who had made him King, even in the court of activities. 53 the honfe of the Lord : and MANASES did fled innocent bloud exceeding much, till be replenished terusalem from corner to corner : and this was imputed to him as another falt; belides his sinne, wherewith heemade Inda to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of 2.King. 21.16. Israel we finde no monument of fuch arbitrarie proceeding, vileffe perhaps the words of lehoram the fonne of Ahab (which were but words) may be taken for an

2.King.10.4.

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instance, when he said, Goddoe fo to mee, and more alfo, if the head of ELISHAthe, Jonne of SHAPHAT Shall stand on him this day : whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more adoe, or to have him condemned as a false prophet. that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a fufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of Naboth sheweth rather the libertie which the Israelites enjoyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will For Nahoth did not feare to stand upon his owne right, though Abab were cuenticke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commaundement. but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a judiciall forme, 19 which might give latisfaction to the people, ignorant of the denife, though to God

The murther of the Prophets is continually ascribed to Iezabel, an impotent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made, whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is that the people, being idolaters, were both pleafed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of In.la (fuch as are registred) prooue them to have yied a more absolute manner of commaund, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their fufferings witnesse the contrarie. For of those which reigned ouer In la, from the division of the kingdom, to the captivitie of the ten tribes, 20 three were flaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amonest their auncestors. Yea, the death of Abazia and his brethren, slaine by Ichn, with the destruction of all the royall feed by Athalia, did not ( for ought that wee can reade) ftirre vp in the people any fuch thirst of revenge, as might by the sodainnesse and vniformitie tellific the affection to be general, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnleffe we should thinke that the death of athalia, after feauen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memorie of her ill purchasing, than by the present sence of her tyrannicall abusing the government, whereon she had feiled. On the other fide, fuch of the kings of Israel as perilhed by treason (which were feauen of the twentie) were all flaine by conspiracie of the great men, who af 20 pired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so farre from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Sourreignes that (after Nadab) they did neuer forbeare to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good fuccesse of treason, valesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being through'y reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of Ela and Zachara, vpon Zimer and Shillam, who traiteroufly got and vfurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the feauen remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeed it is precifely faid of the flaughter, committed on Ahabs children by Iehu, that the people durft not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afr....!: and the same feare might be in them at the death 40 of Peka, whose historie (as others of that time) is cursorily passed oper. The like may be pronounced, and more abfolutly, of the Kings of England, that never any of them perished by furic of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any motiue viging fo forcibly the death of King Edward and king Richard when they were in prison, as feare least the people should stirre in their quarell. And certainely (how focuer all that the law cals treason, be interpreted, astending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the furic of the multitude hath quenched it felfe with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, how so were wicked and barbarous otherwife, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soucraine, but 50 rather for bearing the aduantages gotten uppon his royall person; which if any man impute vnto groffe ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more

truely, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briwess, who, be-

ing loofened by Pallas, did with his hundred hands give affiftance to Inpiter, when

all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitty expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as fignifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their abfolutnelle by mightie firbiectes, as long as by wisdome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee fure to come in on their fide. Though indeed the Storie might very well haue borne the fame interpretation, as it is rehearled by Homer, who tels vs that Pallas was one of the conspiracie, and that Thetis alone did marre all their practife, by loofening Briarens. For a good forme of government fufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without affiffance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devises of the greatest and shrewdest polititians: eto uery Sherife and Constable, being fooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening rebell how mightie focuer, can against

This declaration of the peoples love, being feldome found in Inda, makes it very likely, that the rule it felfe of government there was fuch, as neither gave occasion of contentment vnto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vsually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that Athalia the sifter of Ahab, a stranger to the royall bloud of Inds, should by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother have destroicd all the seede of Danid, and vsurped the Kingso dom very neere feuen yeres without finding anie reliftance. Yea when tehoiada the high Priest had agreed with the Captains & principal men of the land to set up Ioalh their lawful King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; he was faine to give to these Captaines and their men, the feares and the shields that were King DAVIDS, and were in the house of the Lord. But wee neede not enter into fuch particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by amore vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne tribes did neuer seeke to 30 returne to their auncient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of A/a, admitted a seauenth of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of Inda and Bentamin, vnder a more honourable, but more heavie yoake.

So, Ma having scene the death of scauen kings of Ifrael, died himselfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leaving Iehosophat his sonne to deale with Ahab the son of Omri, who was the eight king ouer the tenne tribes.

d. VII.

Of IEHOSAPHAT and his contem-

EHOSAPHAT, who succeeded Ala, was a Prince religious and happie; hee destroyed all the groues, altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and fent fearchers to all places and people wanting infruction; hee recourred the Tribute die vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one hee had fil-

uer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of sisteene thousand 50 and foure hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that Alnah had the commaund of three hun-2, Chron.17. dred thousand, lehohanam of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and Amasia of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in Beniamin of those that bare shields, which wee call Turgetiers, and of Archers under Elisda

two hundred thousand, and under the commaundement of Ielozabad a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together, make cleuen hundred and fixtie thousand, all which are faid to have waited upon the King, belides his

That Iuda and Beniamin, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of Kent. should muster eleven hundred and fixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange. and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. loab in Dauids time found fine hundred thousand: Rehobeam found but an hundred and foure fcore thousand: Abia foure hundred and eight thousand: Alia fine hundred and foure-score thousand: Amaziah inrolled all that could beare armes, and they a- 10 mounted to three hundred thousand: Vzziah three hundred and seuen thousand and fine hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to Ichofaphat that Moab and Ammon were entred his territorie to the west of Iordan, and that there numbers were manie, hee feared ( to wit ) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would have feared even the armie of Aerxes, if hee could have brought into the field eleuen hundred and three-score thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selse to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of Chronicles the / seauenteenth, distributed to seuerall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under Adnah, & the two hundred and four core thousand 20 under Iehohanam, were afterward commaunded and mustred by Amafiah, Eliada, and Iehosabad: for the groffe and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe as the aydes which Ichofaphat brought to Ahab did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, fo the Moabstes and Ammonites which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among Iehoshaphats leaders had under

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnes, yet he joyned in friendship with Ahab King of Ifrael, who had married that wicked woman Iezabel. Him Ie/aphat visited at Samaria, and caused his sonne Ioram to marrie Athalia, this wichabs 30 daughter.

Alab perswaded Iosaphat to affist him in the warre against the Syrians, who held the Citie of Ramoth Gilead from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Budites to foretell the successe: who promised him vickorie. But Iehofaphat beleeued nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Ifrael. Hercupon Alchab made answere that hee had one called Michaiah, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwaies foretolde of euill, and neuer of any good towardes him. Yet fent for Michaish was to the King, but by the way the messenger praied him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise victorie vnto them as they did. But 40 Michaiah spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God isked who shall perswade A HAB, that hee may goe up and fall at Rannoth Gilcad? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speakes in you : so in a contrarie kinde did the deuill in the prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab to his destruction. And as P. Martir vpon this place well observeth, these euill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vsed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes fometime imploy. For as it pleafeth God by his good Angels, to faue and 50 x deliuer from destruction of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrarie, it is by the cuill that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the wil of their Creator, licet non eodem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a fecond fort of malignant natures, but they are enery-where visible. There are spirits, faith hee, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fure firokes. In the time of deltruction they how foorth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Mediales having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit nee discovered, was strooken by Zidkiah one of Bials prophets, and by Ashab himfeite committed to prison: where he appointed him to be referred and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But Michaial, not fearing to reply, answered, If thou return in peace the Lord hathnot spoken by me. Neuertheleffe Achab went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. to Iehosaphat returned to Ierusalem, where hee was reprehended by Iehu the Pro-

phet for affifting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the Aramites or Damafeens, joyned with the Moabites, Ammonites and Idameans to inuade Iudea: who passe Iordan, and cheampe at Engaddi, and when Iehofaphat gathered his armie, the Prophet lahaziel toretolde him of the victorie, which should bee obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: and so when keholaphat approached, this affembly of nations, the Ammonites and Mosbites, difagreing with the Idumeans, and quarrelling for some causes among themselues: those of Ammon and Moab fet vpon the Idumans, and brake them vtterly, which done they alfoinuaded each other; in which broile Ichofaphat arriving tooke the spoile of 2. Chron. 10.

20 them all without any loffe of his part, as it was foretold and promifed by God. Notwithstanding this victorie, Ielio/apha: forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for allifting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyne with Ochazias. the sonne of Achab, in preparing a Fleet to send to ophir, hoping of the like returne which Sclomon had : but as Eliezor the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprize was ouer- 2, Chroze,

Yet he taketh part with Ichoram the brother of Ochazias, against the Acabites. with which Kings of Inda and Ifrael the Elémites io yne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the Moabites, affifted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroi-30 ed their armie.

The Mosbiges, subjects to David and Salomon, for faking the Kings of Juda, gave themselues for vassals to Ierobasm, and so they continued to his successors till the death of Ichab: but 10/aphat, notwithstanding the Idolatrie of his Colleague, vet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the Cashites for their defection from Inda to Ifrael, as also because they had lately joyned themfeines with the Syrians against Iofaphat, and thirdly to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke Inda and now Ifract.

Both Kings resoluted to passe by the way of Idumes, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both Moab, Ammon and Edom were all in the field 40 together at Engaddi against teholaphat: But whether they had then declared themfelues against Tehosaphat, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of Chroniel. 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of Ichoram, the sonne of Ichaphat, Edom rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were flaine by Moub and Ammon, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to joyne themselves with the armie of Inda. For that they were numbred among the enemies of Iofaphat it is plaine in the 2. of Chron. the 20 and as plaine r. 2.0. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till Ichofaphars death. Now in the paffage of these Kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinarie heat of the yeere, or whether the Idumeans ha-50 uing a purpose to rebell missed the armie of suda and sfrael with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they failered the fame, if not a greater thirst than the armies of Crafiw and M. Accounts did in their Parthirm expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, vtterly perished, had not Elisha taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water fprang, by which not onely tehofaphat and his armie, but

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Ichoram King of Israel an Idolator was relieued: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, having ever beene prone to faue the evill for the good, whereas hee never destroyed the good for the cuill.

2 Kint.3.

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2. Thron. 20.

The miserable iffue of this warre, and how Moab burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of Edom, for facrifice on the rampire of his owne Citic, I have alreadie written in the life of tel. or am among the Kings of Ifrael. 1ehofaphat reigned twentie fine yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of Iehofaphat, and a part of the Prramis fet ouer his graue is yet to be feene, faith Brochard. His acts are written at large by tehu the forme of Hanari.

There lived with Ichofaphat, Ophratenes in Affyria, Capetus and Tiberinus Kings 10 of the Abans in Italie; of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke

In lehosaphats time also ruled Mecades or Mezades in Athens : Agelas or Agesilans in Corinth; and Archilaus of the same race, of the Heraelida the seauenth in Lacedamon. Badeforus ruled the Tyrians, Ichab, Ochazins and Ichoram the Ifracines.

# CHAP. XX.

Of IBHORAM the Conne of IEHOSAPHAT. and AHAZIA.

þ. I.

That IEHORAM was made King fundry times.



EHORAM the sonne of Iehosaphat King of Iuda began to reigne at thirtic two yeeres of age, and lived vntill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which leheram is said to have reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with Abab, left this Ieho: an: King in his stead, as Ahab did his sonne Ahazia. This appeares by the feuerall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two Iehorams kings 4G of Israel and Iuda, and to Abazia the eldest sonne of Ahab. For ahazia is faid to haue begunne his reigne, in

2.K.n. 1.17.

I.Kin. 22. U.51.

2.Km.3.v.1.

2.Kin.8.16.

the seauenteenth yere of Icho Saphat. Iehor am the brother of Ahazaa succeeded him in the second yeare of IEHORAMthe some of IEHOSAPHAT King of Inda, that is in the next yeere after that Iehoram of Iuda was deligned king by his father; it being (as wee finde elfwhere ) the eighteenth yeere of IEHOSAPHAT himfelie, who went with the Ifraelite against Mab. Hereby itappeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still 'v Jehosaphat, who governed absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yeare of IE-HORAM King of Israel, which was the two and twentieth of Iehosaphat, the olde 50 king tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldest soune, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his father being fiftie feauen. Now forasmuch as I EHOSAPHAT reigned twentie fine yeeres, it is evident that his sonne did not reg calone till the eighth of Ioram King of Ifrael. The like regard is to bee

CHAP. 20. S.I. of the Historic of the World.

had in accounting the times of other Kings of Inda and Ifrael, who did not alwaies reigne precifely fo long as the bare letter of the text may feeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were fometimes compleat, fometimes onely current, fometimes confounded with the yeeres of their facceffors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeares of those others; with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leffe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mooning lehosaphat either to assume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whileft hee was able himfelfe to commaund both in peace to and in warre, the like having neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the seauenteenth of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to refume it vnto himfelfe, or at least-wife to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill fower or flue yeeres were passed. Yet forasimuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may bee a meane to finde some light, whereby wee may more clearely discouer the causes of much extraordinarie bulinesse ensuing. I hold it not amisse to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the Storic briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to ap-

Wee are therefore to confider, that this King Icholaphat was the first of Re-20 hobosms iffue that euer entred into any streight league with the Kings of the tenne Tribes. All that reigned in Inda before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselves in vaine, making small profite of the greatest aduantages that could bee wished. Wherefore Iehosaphat thought it the wifest way, to make a league offensive and defensive betweene Ifrael and Inda, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not iffuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wisdom: 2.Civo. and 3. yet as a peece of found pollicie, doubteleffe it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arife, with mutuall fortification of both those

30 kingdomes, against the vncircumcifed nations their auncient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewell that it might not easily bee lost, but continue as hereditaric from father to fonne; it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was Athalia the daughter of Omri and lifter of Ahab King of Ifrael, given in marriage to Iehoram, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of Iuda. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene Jezabel her brothers wife, that thee durit vindertake, and could throughly performe a great deale more in Ierusalem, than the other knew how to compasse in Samaria. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to confume a great part of the noblest houses in Inda, 49 and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdome, regardlesse of God's pleafure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian warre at Ramoth Gilead, wherin Iuda and Ifrael did adventure equally, but the profit of the victoric should have redounded wholly to Abab: as godly Princes verie seldome thrine by matching with Idolators, but rather ferue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill atfected to God himfelfe, cannot be well affected to his feruants. Before their fetting foorth Ahab deligned, as King, his fonne Ahazia; not so much perhaps in regard of the vicertaine euents of warre (for none of his predeceffors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet Michain 50 (for he despised them) as inuiting Iehosaphat by his owne example, to take the same

course, wherein he preuailed.

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Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King I E H O-SAPIIAT to change his purpole often, in making his Connelelior AM King.

Anie arguments doe verie strongly proue lehoram to haue beene wholy ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his for saking the religion of his godly aunceftors, and following the abhominable superfittions of the

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to line a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and lifter of two great Kings, not upon base women and meere subjects. The Court of Abab, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad, were matter sufficient to make an infolent man thinke highly of himfelfe, as being allied to honorably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despite all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof alreadie hee had, in a 20 manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee diffembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that forme fmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very foone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereuppon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And furely the doings of lebefuphat about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly fonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progresse round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and ap-2. (1002.19.2.4. pointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of Inda Citie by Citie. This had bin 20 a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by by himselse, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Instice beene percerted, by the power of fuch as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appeares by the charge which the King did giue to the ludges; and by his commission given to one of the priestes in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerseers.

This was not till after the death of Ahazia the sonne of Ahab; but how long after it is vncertaine. For tehoram the brother of Ahazia beganne his reigne (as hath beene alreadie noted) in the eighteenth of Ichosaphat, which was then accounted the second of Ichoram, Icho/aphats sonne, though afterward this Ichoram 40 of Iuda had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in prinate estate, vntil the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitic are not fet downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motiues thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. Iehoram of Ifrael held the same correspondencie with Ieho-Saphat that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drewe the Indean into the warre of Moab, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of Iuda was againe ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enter- 50 prize against Mosb did not occupie so much time, as from the eightenth of Iehofaphat, in which yeere that nation rebelled against Ifrael, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the dailie negotiations betweene the two Kings of Inda and Israel, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the person of Iehoram,

might

of the Hiltorie of the World. CHAP-12. S.3.

might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behauiour of the yonger fonnes, in their elder brothers difgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diffimulation, of Ichoram himfelfe, might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing viuall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and feruile in time of aduerlitie, as infolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wife towards his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not only with store of filter, and of gold, and of pretions thinges, (which kinde of liberalitie other Kings 2. Chron. 21.5. 10 doubtleffe had vied vnto their yonger fonnes) but with the custodie of firing Cities in Inda, to assure them, if it might have beene, by vnwonted meanes, against vnwonted perills.

The doings of IEHORAM when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Intra.

Tall this prouidence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequele. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger sonnes of leboseph ; found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the fummons of the King their brother, then had he them without more adoe; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and fo vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Ifraelitifo Kingdome against them, so that the apparent likely hood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all for fake them in the very beginning. How focuer it was, they were all taken and flaine, and with them for companie many great men of the Land; fuch belike, as 30 either had taken their part, when the T yrant fought their lives, or had beene appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when Iehoram was deposed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without for bearing to doe inflice, could hardly avoide the doing of many thinges, derogatorie to their yong Master, which if he would now call treafon, faying that he was then King, who durft fay the contrarie?

After this, lehoram tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in religion; wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and fafe conduct vnto superstition and idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that finne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, having fuch knowledge of God, and of his detecting that above all other 40 finnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is regiftred, to have fet vp irreligion by force.

Whilest hee was thus busied at home, in doing what hee listed, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto, since Davids time, beene gouerned by a Viceroy, did now make vnto themselues a King. Against these Iehoram in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victorie in the field, compelling the rebells to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof hee forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now beganne the prophecie 50 of Islant to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that Esan in processe of time should breake the voke of Iscob. For after this the Edomites could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of Iuda, but held their owne fo well, that when, after many civill and forraine warres, the Jenes by fundrie Nations had beene brought low; Artipater the Edomite, with Herod his Sonne, and others of that race following them, be-

2.Chres.30.

came Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepitage of Ifracl, and raigned as Kings, even in Jerusalem it selfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libna, a great Citie within Inda, which in the time of 10/ua had a peculiar King, to rebell against Iehoram, and set it selfe at libertie. Libra stood in the confines of Benimin and of Dan, farrefrom the alfistance of any bordering enemies to Iuda, and therefore fo valikely it was to naue maintained it felfe in libertie, that it may feeme strange how it could cscape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have beene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incenfed Lord. The Ifraelite held fuch good intelligence at that time with Inda, 12 that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it felfe vnto him : neither doe we reade that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subjection, but con-2. chron.21.10. tinued a free cftate. The rebellion of it against Jehoram, was, Because he had sorsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only beene the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to doe as they did: For it was a Towne of the Leuites: who must needes be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods law, had not only fome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulfine authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at Ierusalem (which being deuout men they might feare to loofe by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten renol- 20 ted Tribes by any of the religious Kings, who rather inuited the Israelites thither. and gaue them kinde entertainment : vnder Idolaters they must have beene without it whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seemes that private reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to fuffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein 1ehosaphat reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouernours, and giving them especiall charge to doc instice without respect of persons, ysed these wordes: The Leuites shall be Officers before you; Be of good courage and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these phrases, it seems, that hee encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the Leuites 20 did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that Libra was not hereupon destroied, yea that it was not (for ought that wee can reade) so much as belieged or molefted, may justly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which Ieho (aphat was able to raife, being sufficient to haue ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it under the earth,

> approches. But it seemes that of these great numbers which his father could have levied, 40 there were not many whom Ichoram could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an eatier loffe, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their handes, who were more likely to follow the example of Libna, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loued; are faine themselves to stand in seare of those, by whom they might have beene dreadfull vnto others.

which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinarie

ģ. III I. <sup>50</sup>

ð. IIII.

Of the miseries falling upon I EHORAM, and of his death.

Hele afflictions not fufficing to make any impression of Gods displeafure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his owne body. Hereby likewife it appeares that hee was a cruell Perfecutor of Gods feruants; in as much as the Prophets

durst not reproue him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecestors, both good and cuill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselues close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to have achronat. 12. beene fent vnto him from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was translated, and Elizeus prophecied in his stead before this time, even in the daies of Ieliofaphat. Wherefore 2. Kings c. 2. 60 may be that Elias left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as fome con- 6.3.0.11. iecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee reade Elias for

Elizeus. Indeede any thing may rather bee beleeued than the Tradition held by fome of the Iewish Rabbins, that Elias from heaven did send this Epistle, a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deniled by Erasmus, or of the Verse that 20 was fent from heaven to St. Giles.

But who soeuer was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the fentence. For the Philiflims and Arabians brake into Indea, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they flew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not presumed since the time of David, to make any offeniue warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territorie, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Ifraelites. The Arabians were likely to have beene then as they are now, a naked people, all horse-20 men, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than fuch as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to oriend strong Cities fuch as were thick fet in Iuda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be confidered; that this was when they had learned of the Romanes the art of Warre; and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skillfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward in to Regions farre removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in Arabia it selfe 40 are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnes

of their horses, than in any other meanes of relistance, where they are well opposed. And fuch, or little better, may they seeme to have beene, that spoiled ludgain the time of Jehoram. For their Countrie was alwaies barraine and defert, wanting manuall arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the Philiflims. Out of this we may inferre that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaft muster of Iuda and Beniamin under Iehosaph it (wherein were involled three hundred and eightic thousand fighting men ) had beene enough to have driven away farre 50 greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes iclousie, as in Sauls time by the pollicie of the

It may feeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not

his Palace in Ierufalem, but rather seme other house of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wines and children at that time lay for their recreation; because we reade not that they did facke the Citie, or spoile the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke Ierufalem it felfe by furprife, the people being difarmed, and the Kings guardes too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoile they could, with drew themselues with such purchase as they were able safely to conucigh

The flaughter committed by *Iehn* upon the two and fortic brethren of *Ahazia*, 10 or (as they are called elfewhere) fo many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell mailfacre wherein all the Royall feede perified (only 10.11 excepted) vader thetyrannie of Athalia, following within two yeares after this invalion of the Philiftims, and Arabians, make it feerne probable, that the fonnes of teboran were not all flaine at once, but that rather the first murther beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heavie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken,

vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, fmiting him with a gricuous disease in his bowells, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched foule departed from his miferable carcaffe. 20 The people of the Land, as they had finall cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend forrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of inda, though his owne some succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the fame spirits that had been his Fathers cuill Angells. Athalia had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors, of the house of A H AB, as were sittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and oftend the peoples cies, with a stately funerall of a 30 man by them detested : but rather chose to let the blame of thinges passed beelaid vponthe dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her felfe, and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoid. Such is the qualitic of wicked infligators, having made greedie vie of bad imploiments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults alfo, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes have made worse, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of Ieloram fell out indeede in a buile time; when his friend and coiin the Is faelite, who had the fame name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could have had no better leisure to helpe Athalia in setting of thinges according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the filme hindrance) to helpe her 40 husband, when he was diffressed by the Philistems. Yearather he needed and craued the affiftance of the men of Inda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not feed to well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purfuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumflances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reucaled will of God, accomplish neuerthelesse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming-wise deuties of their owne 50 folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may fafely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceipts which worldly wifedome dictateth vnto them. For in fuch kinde of vnhappie fubtilities, it is manifelt that

Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the iffue of them partly hath appeared alreadic, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately

# of the raigne of AHAZIA, and his businesse with the King of Israel.

CHAZIAS, or Abazia, the sonne of Iehoram and Athalia, beganne his raigne ouer Inde in the twelfth yeare of Iehoram, the fonne of Ahab King of Ifrael, and raigned but that one yeare. Touching hisage, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclu-

fion, than that of Torniellus, alleaging the Edition of the Septuagint at Rome. Anno Domini 1588. which faith that he was twentie yearesold in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to have beene yong: for hee was governed by his Mother, and her-Ministers, who gaue him counfaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewife vp. held the league made with the house of Ahab. Hee was much bufied in doing little, and that with ill fuccesse. He accompanied his Cosen the 1/raelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Ifrael was faine to aduenture his owne perfon, which scaped not vinwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by Hazael King of Aram: which done, Jehoram King of Ifrael with-drew himselfe to the Citie of Izreel, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his woundes; and Ahazia returned to Ierufalem. It feemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee raigned in all fcantly one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had 30 taken vp a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners fake, to vilit the King of Israel, who lay fore of his woundes. Belike athalia was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindred, and therefore fought cuery occasion to thrust him abrode: for otherwise it was but a vaine peece of worke to to leaue his Kingdome, having no other butineffe than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolued at this time to put in execution that heavie judgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of Eliza the Prophet, vpon the house of Abab. And hereunto at this time had hee disposed not only the concurrence of all other thinges, which in mans eies might seeme to have beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affe-40 ctions of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will fhortly be needfull for explanation of fome difficulties arising, that wee diligently confider and examine.

### ò. V I.

How AHAZIA perished with the house of AHAB: and how that Familie was destroicd by IEHV.



He whole Armie of Israel, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of Elizaus the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were fitting together, who calling out from among them Iehu, a principall man, tooke him apart, and annointed him King ouer Israel, rehearing vnto him the prophecie of Elias against the house of

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Ahab, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that tentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a defire to know his errand, which telm thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the prophecie of Eliss was well known among them, neither durft any one oppose nimselfe against him, that was by God ordained to per-

Iehu who had vpon the fuddaine this great honour throwne vpon him, was not flow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vied the first heate of their assessions to who loyned with him, in fetting on foote the builnesse which nearely concerned him, and was not to be fore-flowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the renolt might bee carried to Israel, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being forefeene hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet fecure. King Jehoram was now so well recovered of his wounds, that hee could endure to rideabroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasing, and ioy made, especially by Queene lezabel, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of Ahazia comming thither at this time, did make is as well their errand to falute the Queene,

Certaineit is, that fince the rebellion of Alab against Israel, the house of Alab did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Scuentie Princes of the bloud Royall there were that lined in Samaria; Ichoram the sonne of Queene Iezabel had wonne Rameib Glead, which his father had attempted in vaine, with loffe of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein hee received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great betweene ifrael and inda, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of fuccesse, to any rebellious enterprizer: fo that now the prophecie of Elia might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlikely tale, by them that beheld the majesticall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King 30 of Iuda was entertained, and fortic Princes of his bloud expected.

In the midft of this fecuritie, whileft these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosequution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Nosb, Edom, and other rebells and enemies; or else were triumphing injoy of that which was already well atchieued and the Queene Mother dreffing her felfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that . the watchman had from a Tower discoursed a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome : for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead , to bee readic against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged upon fome notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not flirre. Only the King 40 fent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meffenger comming to lebu, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the Kingas little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answere, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out an other, that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by Iehn. These dumbe showes bred some suspition in Ichoran, whome the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew fo neare that they might, though not perfectly, be differred, and notice taken of Ielu himfelfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loath to discouer any weakenesse, can-50 fed his Chariot to bee made readie, and iffued forth with Abazia King of Indain his companie, whose presence added majestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had beene more needfull. This could not be done to haftily, but that Iehn was come cuen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the

field of Naboth. Iehoram beganne to falute Iehu with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answere, his heart failed him, fo that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But Ichu foone over-tooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carcaffe into that field, which, purchased with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with bloud of the vniust possessour. Neither did Ahazia escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where least bel might soone bee aduertised of this calamitie, if thee did not with her owne eies behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when shee least expected it. But shee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all hast, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at the least to vtter some Apophihegme, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungrie dogs, that were ordained to deuour her, whose paunches the stibium, with which shee besmeared hereies, would more offend, than the scolding language where with thee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As Iehu drew neare shee opened her 10 window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of Zimri, that had not long inioyed the fruits of his treason, and murther of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation fourtly spoken, but was indeede a part of miferable folly, as are all thinges, howfocuer laudable, if they have an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affested so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much leffe was her enemie daunted with her proud spirit. When Iehu saw that shee did vse the little remainder ofher life in seeking to vexe him; hee made her presently to understand her owne estate, by deedes and not by wordes. He only called to her feruants to know which of them would be of his side, and soone found them readie to offer their service, be-30 fore the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eies of men; of men that considered not the judgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude handes of her owne servants, at the commandement of her greatest enemie, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord: and shee perished miserably strugling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemie sate on horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornefully beholding the shamefull manner of 40 her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcaffe that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppression, with slow,

but sure paiment, and full interest.

Ahazia King of Iuda fleeing a pace from Ieha, was ouer-taken by the way where helurked; and receining his deadly wound in the Kingdome of Samaria, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all hast) and seeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Ieras dem, where he was enterred with his Ancestors, having raigned about one yeare.

# CHAP. XXI.

Of ATHALIA, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded unto her.

I

Of ATHALIA her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences

shee might forg...

2.Chron. 22.5.



FTER the death of Abazia, it is faid that his house was not able to retaine the Kingdome. I which note, and the proceedings of Athalia vpon the death of her Sonne, haue guen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedigree of Iosa, who raigned shortly after. For Athalia being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, you der whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so shee might occupie the Roiall Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before hand put into great

place, and made Counfailours who her fonne, fuch as were fitteft for her purpofe, and readic at all times to execute her will: that fhee kept a firong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, youn the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to fitire, whatfocuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent focuer it be, is feldome or neuer fo shamelesse as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretenses offering themselues; but rather scrapes together all that will any way ferue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abfurd for vs to thinke, that Athalia when shee saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, flaine by her hufband, and afterwards his owne children destroied by the Philistims, beganne euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practife, into faire likelyhoods, those possibilities where with her hulbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee give him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilest as yet hee might, 49 for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of David, which now remained only in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadie shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Iuda were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laied vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could affure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadic contriue the destruction of him, and all his feede? Wherefore it were the wifeft way to designe by his authoritic, not only his Successour, but also the reuctfioner, and so to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer bee subject to any rifeling, 52 but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perfivations being viged, and carneftly followed, by the importunate folicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the icalous Tyrant thinke that the only way to frultrate all deuises of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

If Athalia tooke no fuch course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For Abazia (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgate her selse so faire in her wicked pollicie, that shee loftall opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring to her felfe some feeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faine some fuch matter, as boldly thee might being fure that none would aske to fee her endence, for feare of being fent to learne the certaintie of her fonne or husband in another world. But I rather thinke that thee tooke order for her affaires before hand. For though thee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne. yet it was the wifest way to prouise betimes against all that might happen, whilest her hulbands iffue by other women was youg and vnable to relift. We plainly find that the Bretheren or Nephewes of Abazia, to the number of two and fortie, were fent to the Court of Ifrael, only to falute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The flender occasion of which long lourney, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of Jehoram that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspitious that their entertainement in 1ezabels house would only have beene more formall, but little differing in substance. from that which they found at the hand of Iehu. Hee that lookes into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as have aspired vitto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust our the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the fword of fuch as claimed by them could give, Historics of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples; and the rule of Salomon is true: Is thereany thing Euclosuse. 30 whereof one may fay, behold this is new? it hath been edireadie in the old time that was before 25. That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proud by Salomon vpon Adonia; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires. Dauid had given proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practise, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why Salomon flew his brother that had begunne one rebellion, and was entring into an other. IEHORAM flew all his brethren, which were better than 2.Chro.21.0.11; he: DAVID purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if Ieheram, who had lost much and got-40 ten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if Abazia fought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the wordes which Iehoiada the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of I O A S H. Behold the Kings sonne must raigne; as the Lord hath Said of the somes of DAVID Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that Athalia did pretend some title, what socuer it might bee, to the Crowne of Inda; yet is it most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and so shee held it fixe whole yeares, and a part of the feuenth, in good feeming-fecuritie.

50

2 ). J

# CHAP-21. S.3.4. of the Historie of the World.

How IEHV fent his time in Ifrael, fo that he could not molest



N all this time *lehu* did neuer goe about to diffurbeher; which in reafon hee was likelie to defire, being an enemie to her whole Houfe. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himfelse, rooting out the posterite of *Abab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Arante i wherein* house. The statement of wards in warres against the Aramute, wherein he was so farre ouer-

charged, that hardly hee could retain his owne, much leffe attempt vpon others. 12 Of the line of hab there were feuentie living in Samaria, out of which number Jehu by letter aduised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselues to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well viderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to relift him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had flaine, and being exceedingly afraide of him, they offered him their fernice, wherein they so readily shewed themselues obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they fent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of Baal by a subtiltie, faining a great facrifice to their God, by which meanes he drew them altogether in- 30 to one Temple, where he flew them; and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impictie.

Concerning the Idolatric denifed by Ieroboam, no King of Israel had over greater reason than lehu to destroy it. For he needed not to seare least the people should be allured vnto the house of David; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of Inda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdome by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying Baal out of Ifraet, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of Ieroboam, that the Kingdome should remaine in his familie, to the fourth generation. But all this would not ferue; hee would needes helpe to peece 30 out Gods prouidence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greediegamester, who by stealing a needlesse Carde to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole reft. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more hee should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatrie of Ieroboam. Yet all these, how many soeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom to retaine them, hee now for fooke, had not given him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of Iehu drew terrible vengcance of God vpon Ifrael, whereof 40 Hazael King of Damaseus was the Executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous 3. Kingt 8. v. 12. Prince we may finde in the prophecie of Elizaus, who fore-toldit, faying: Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire, and their yong men shalt thou slay with the sword, and Shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rent in peeces their women with child. So did not only the wickednesse of Ahab cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furie of Hazaels victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inualion; but he smote them in all the coasts of Israel, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the River of Iordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (For in those daies the Lord 50 begame to loath Ifrael,) but rather it is likely, that they be moaned the noble House of Ahab, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the Cities which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull thifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Mafter that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemics. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in feruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are in flead of the cafe and pleafure to themselves propounded by contrarie courses, over-whelmed with the troubles which they fought to avoide, and therein by God whom they first for sooke, forfaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wildome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

#### ð. III.

#### of ATHALIAMS Government.



Hese calamities falling vpon Ifrael, kept Athalia safe on that side, giving her leifure to looke to thinges at home; as having little to doe abroad. vnleffe it were so that shee held some correspondencie with Hazael, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King 1/1. who had done the like. And some probabilitie that shee did so may

begathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde that this wicked ATHALIA and her children brake up the house of God, and all thinges that were 2. Chron. 24. 12. 17. dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon BAALIM. Such a facriledge, though it proceeded from a defire to fet out her owne Idolatrie, with fuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eies, was not likely to want fome faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring : in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the tast of that which was formerly thence extracted for his fake.

Vnder this impious government of Athalia, the denotion of the Priests and Le-20 uites was very notable, and scrued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himfelfe, how soeuer the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrarie. For the pouertie of that facred Tribe of Leui, must needes have been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few, and fmall; and the store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robberie. Yet they vp-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily facrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those daies wherein their entertainement was farre better.

## à. IIII. of the preservation of Io As.



EHOLADA then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wife and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender fort vp-held in those vnhappie times. His wife was tehoshabeth, who was daughter of King Iehoram, and sifter to Ahazia, a godlie Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes

50 it seeme that Athalia was not her Mother, though her accesse to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be fuch as fnee was. By her care Ioash the yong Prince that raigned foone after, was conucighed out of the nourserie, when Athalia destroied all the Kings chilcircn, and was carried fecretly into the Temple, where as fecretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this young child was not hunted out, when his bodie was miffing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine : for it was not good in pollicie, that the people should heare fay, that one of the children had avoided that cruell blow; it might have made them hearken after innouations, and so bee the leffe conformable to the prefent gouernment. So 10.3/b was deliuered out of that flaughter, hee and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him suck, who foolifhly doubting that shee her selfe should have beene slaine, was fled away with 12 him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that thee and hee should pe-

Q. V. Whose Sonne I o As was.

rish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and

rather sweare them to be true in their owne knowledge, than they will loofe the

† I.
Whether Ioas may be thought likely to have beene the Sonne of
AHAZHA.

2.Kinos 11. 2.



thankes due to their joyfull tidings.

Ow concerning this toalb, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of AHAZIA, feeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giud that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor,

I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to anfwere the difficulties, appearing in the contrarie opinions of them , that thinke him  $3^\circ$ to haue beene, or not, the natural I Sonne of Ahazia. For whereas it is faid, that \* Curonazion, the house of AHAZIA was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferrethat this south was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by Athalia, doth very well agree. For thee perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their handes, in whom shee had no interest, might cafily finde cause to seare, that the tyrannic exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of 40 It rabel teaching her what might happen to an other Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for sheethat had power enough to make her felfe Queene, could with more case, and lesse enui., haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie shee might haue done her pleasure, and beene the more both obaied by others, and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that shee should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life shee might have made greater vse, than shee could of his death; whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little leffe than that of Mothers to

This argument is very firong. For it may feeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a side, when as neither necessitie vrgeth, nor any commoditie  $thereby gotten {\it requireth it, yea} {\it when all humane pollicie} {\it doth teach one the fame,}$ which nature without reason would have perswaded.

That I O A 5 did not descend from NATHAN.

thinke him not the sonne of Ahazia, set downe in such fort that it may verie justly be suspected. They say that he descended from Nathan the sonne of David, and not from Salomon; to which purpose they bring a Historic (I know not whence) of two families of the race of David, faying that the line of Salomen held the kingdom with 10 this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of Nathan should succeed it. Concerning this Nathan the fon of David there are that would have him to bee Nathan the Prophet, who as they thinke, was by Dania adopted. And of this opinion was Origen, as also S. Augustine sometime was, but afterward hee renoked it, as was meets for this 2 athan is reckoned among the fons of Danie, by Bathflua the daughter 1. chron.3.4. of Ammiel, and therefore could not be the Prophet. Gregorie Nazianzen (as I finde him cited by Peter (Martyr) and after him, Erafmus, and Faber Stapulenfis, have likewise held the same of Io.Ab, deriving him from Nathan. But Nathan, and those other brethren of Salomon by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to have been the children of Vria the Hittite: and so are they accounted by fundric 20 of the fathers, and by Lyra, and Abulensis, who follow the Hebrew expositors of that place in the first of Chronicles. The words of Salomon calling himselfe the only begotten of his mother, doc approoue this exposition: for wee read of no more than two fons which Bathflua or Bathflue adid beare vnto Dauid; wherof the one, begotten in adulterie, died an infant, and Salomon only of her children by the king did liue. So that the rest must needs have bin the children of Vria, and are thought to have beene Dauids onely by adoption. Wherefore, if Joss had not beene the forme of Ahazia, then must that pedegree have beene salse, wherein S. Mathew deriveth him lineally from Salomon, yea, then had not our bleffed Sautour iffued from the loins of Dauid, according to the flesh, but had onely beene of his line by courtesie of the 30 Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might have beene. As for the authoritie of Philo, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that loath was not of the posteritie of Salemon, it is enough to say that this was Friar Annius his Philo: for no other edition of Philo hath anic fuch matter; but Annius can make authors to speake what he lift.

# † III. That IOA'S may probably be thought to have been the sonne of IEHORAM.

N fo doubtfull a case, if it seems lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amiffe to laid open at once, and perufe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of sehoram 2.Kin. 8.v.r.2. the sonne of leheshaphat King of Inda, for which hee and his children perished, rehearfeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of David, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for ever the other doth fay, that for the offences of the fame I E H OR AM, there was not a sonne left him faue I E-HOAH As the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promiseto Danid, that, after those massacres of Ichoram, vppon all his brethren, and of the Phi-.

50 listims and Arabians vpon the children of Ichoram, one of the feed of Dauid escaped; why may it not be thought that he was faid to have escaped, in whom the line of David was preserved? for had all the race of Salomon beene rooted up in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of Nathan succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have beene extant, of an event

t. II.

fo memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the Genealogie of our Lord; as it is recounted by S. Luke: but the preferuation of

the house of David, mentioned in the bookes of Kings and Chronicles, was performed

in the person of Jehoahas in whom the rotal braunch of Salemon, the naturall, and not onely legall iffue remaining of Dauid, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee

thought that this Ieash, who followed Athalia in the Kingdome, was the yongcit

fonne of Ichoram, whose life Athalia, as a stepdame, was not vnlikely to pursue. For

it were not casily understood, why the preservation of Davids line, by Gods especiall

mercie in regard of his promife made, should pertaine rather to that time, when be-

place they are called) fonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwardes

lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainely

that inhumane murther which Iehoram committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as

appeareth in the Historie) reuenged voon his owne children; then was not this yen-

geance of God accomplished by the Philiflims and Arabians, but being only begun by

them, was afterwardes profecuted by Iehu, and finally tooke effect by the hands of

that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous

outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement laid vpon Ichoram

fore if I should affirme to be the same with low, which is called the sonne of Ahs-

zia, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessitie

there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have beene. For it was the

youngest some of lehoram in whom the race was preserved; which could not in a-

ny likelihood be Ahazia, feeing that hee was twentic yeeres old at the least (as is al-

readic noted) when he began to reigne, and confequently, was borne in the eigh-

tenth or twentieth yeere of his fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two

is more vnlikely, either that Jehoram should have begotten many children before

he was eighteene yeeres old, or that having (as hee had) many wives and children,

leffe crueltie of Athalia, in feeking the life of Ions, are cafily cleared, if Ions and Iehoa-

has were one. Neither doth his age withfrand this opinion. For he was feuen yeeres old when he began to reigne; which if wee understand of yeeres compleat, hee might

have beene a yeere old at the death of Jehoram, being begotten somewhat after the

beginning of his ficknesse. Neither is it more absurde to say that hee was the naturall some of Jehoram, though called the some of Ahazia, than it were to say, as great

with the rest, might have served as the very foundation of this opinion. The name

of Jehoahas, that foundeth much more necre to Joas, than to Ahazia, in an English

earc, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by fome, skilful in that language) through

the diversitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in

our westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it beso

that Abazia himselfe be also called Azaria, and must have had three names, if hee

were the same with Iehoahas; in which manner Ioas might also have had severall

names; yet because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will

ture, but leave all to the confideration of fuch as have more abilitie to judge, and lei-

not prefume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniec- 50

authors have done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that hee was of the posteritie 40 of Nathan. One thing indeed I know not how to answere; which, had it concurred

he should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget 30 no more in twentie yeeres following: each of which must have beene true, if this were true that Ahazia was the same Iehoahas, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the cause-

fides Abazia himfelfe there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another 10

Vpon what reasons ATHALIAmight seeke to destroy I O As, if he were her owne grandchilde

TF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the Lext according to the letter, it may be faid that Athalia was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worshippe of Baalim, but purfued the accomplishment of some naturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her orand-childe, and the rest of the bloud royall. For whether it were so that Athalia 10 (as proud and cruell women are not alwaies chaft) had imitated the libertie of lead 2. Kinco v. 22. bether fifter in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by Iehu to her sonne; or whether the had children by fome former husband, before thee was married vnto Tehoram (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of Omri, and fifter to Abab) certaine it is that shee had sonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to fettle the Crowne vpon her owne children, she did seeke to cut off, by wicked pollicic, all other claimes. As for loas, if the were his grandmother, yet the might miftruft the interest which his mother would have in him, least when he came to veeres, it might withdraw him from her deuotion. And hereof (beto fides that women doc commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their fonnes wives) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for the made him fpend all his time in idle journeies, to no other apparant end, than that the might rule at home; and he living abroad, be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein texabel had cunning enough to be his tutoresse. But when the fword of Jehu had rudely cut in funder all these fine denises, then was Athalia faince to goe roundly to worke, and doe as fhe did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwife, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to Ioas, wee neede not feeke into the reasons mooning her to take away his life; her owne hatred was

cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

Adigression, wherein is maintained the libertie of using con. secture in Histories.

Hv s much concerning the person of 1011, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of Dauid was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I confider the nature of this Hiflorie, and the diucrlitie beweene it and others, the leffe, me thinkes,
I neede to fuspest mine owne prefumption, as descruing blame, for curiolitie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of coniecture. For all Histories doe give vs information of humaine counsailes and events, as farre forth as the

knowledge and faith of the writers can affoord; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times falsly. This we often finde in prophane writers, who afcribe the ill successe of great vindertakings to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemetly, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the leffe wonder, if we consider the answere made by the lewes in Agypt vnto Ieremie the Prophet reprehending their idolatrie. For, how socuer the 30 written Law of God was knowne vnto the people, and his punishmens laid vpon

them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinatly bent vnto their owne wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the Queene of Heauen, as they and

s.chron. 22. v.8. were all flaine by Ieliu; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little

3. Chrom. 21.14. and all his children, onley Jehoalias his youngest sonne was exempted; whom there- 10

fure to confider of this point.

† IIII.

Icr.c 4.4.0. 17.

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their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to do; For then (faid they) had we plentie of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill : adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, fince they left off the service of that Queenc of Heaven. So blinde is the wisdome of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde our there is no better nor other guide than his owne written wil not peruerted by vaine additions.

But this Historic of the Kings of Israel and Inda hath herein a singular prerogatiue aboue all that have beene written by the most sufficient of meerly humane authours: it fetteth downe expresly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of Ahab to his ouerforwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his 10 his familie, to the securitie of Ieroboam in Izreel; nor the victories of Hazael, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the comming of Iehn; but referring all all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this storie, by many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histos. Phil. Sid. in his ries that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthin Apollor Poe- Gentleman Sir Philip Sidnie, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly infufficient to discouer the 20 passions, which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed : for to take out of Linie every one circumstance of Claudius his journey against Asdrubalin Italie, fitting all to another businesse, or any practise of that kinde, is neither Historicall nor Poeticall) to searchinto the particular humours of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motiues, or impediments of every businesse; and so figuring, as necre

to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they indiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquitie in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give affurance, how socuer it may 30 giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable; and Princes, howsoeuer their intents be seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which pric both into them, and into such as line about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtill miste, they conceale the trueth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselues lie dead, and buried in oblinion, when the preparations which they begate, are conucrted to another vse. The industric of an Historian, having so many things to wearie it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where fundry occasions worke to the same end that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that seemes farre greater. So 40 comes it many times to passe that great fires, which consume whole houses or Townes, begin with a few strawes, that are wasted or not seene; when the slame is discouered, having fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is that the warre commenced by Darius, and pursued by Nerves against the Greekes, proceeded from delire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howsoeuer the enterpize of the Athenians vpon Sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet Herodotus telleth vs, that the wanton defire of Queene Atolla, to haue the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first moue Darius to prepare for this warre before he had received any injurie; and when he did not yet fo much defire to get more, as to enjoy what was alreadic gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether Herodotus be more instly reprehended by fome, or defended by others, for alleadging the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the Queene in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldlie affirme, (hauing I think, in euery estate some sufficient witnesses) that

matter of much consequence, tounded in all seeming vpon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well fearch out.

Therefore it was a good answere that Sixtus Quintus the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to vilite him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner estate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to yfe his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he verie much wondred how it was possible for his holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning polititian, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, 10 all the fubtiltie (faid he) of the most craftic braines, finde worke enough: and therfore the more I thinke vpon the arte of the conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, > the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus to satisfie the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, faying, Hadft thou lived abroad as I have done, and feene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is mooued; the Pope faid true. For the wifeft of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needes or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that supreame governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was

20 faid of Inpiter.

CHAP.21. S.6.

Quiterram inertem, qui mare temperat Ventosum, & vrbes, regnaque triftia Dinofque, mortalefque turmas, Imperio regit vnus equo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swolne ftreames, The civill Cities, and th'infornall realmes, Who th' host of heaven and the mortall band, Alone doth gouerne by his iust commmaund.

Then shall we finde the quite contrarie. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he forefeeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; Hee neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriners, and the profperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction : yea, this broad and headlong paffage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, befides the poisons which infect the foule, many cruell thornes 40 deepely wounding the bodie, all which, if any few cleape, they have onely this miferable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding fuch abundance of ioy to the confcience, as doth eafilie counteruaile all afflictions what focuer: though indeed those brambles that fometimes teare the skinne of fuch as walke in this bleffed way, doe commonly laiehold vpon them at fuch time as they fit downe to take their case, and make them wish themselves at their journies end, in presence of their Lord whom they faithfully ferne, in whose presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are plea-

Wherfore it being the end and scope of al Historie, to teach by example of times past, such wissome as may guide our delires and actions, wee should not meruaile though the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda and Ifrael, being written by men inspired with the spirit of God, instruct vs cheifly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true telicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding

Herol.l.1.

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wildome. Had the expedition of Nerves ( as it was foretold by Deniel) beene written by some Prophet after the captinitie: wee may well beleeue that the counfaile of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole, or the principallroome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of Darius, the desire of his wife, and the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the leffe true, though they might have beene omitted, as the leffe materiall : but the fethings it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Hiltories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injurie to the facred writings, as long as hee had forborne to derogate 10 from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or litle different, is the buffineffe that I have now in hand; wherin I cannot beleeue that any man of iudgement will taxe mee as either fabulous or prefumptuous, For he doth not faine, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the text, that feeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reafon , those things, which authoritie alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in enery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I have vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vse when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbesceming an Historian.

### d. VII.

The conspiracie against ATHALIA.



Hen Athalia had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Isde, and had found neither any forraine enemie, nor domesticall aduerfarie to disturbe her possession, suddainly the period of her glorie, and reward of her wickednesse meeting togither, tooke her away without

any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of 30 the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to bee concealed, and it had beene very unfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite, ) when his capacitie required to have beene indued with the stomach and qualities meete for a King. All this Iehoiada the Priest confidered, and with all the great increase of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spreade it selfe ouer all the Countrie, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore hee associated vnto himselfe fiue of the Captaines, in whose sidelitie he had best affurance, and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, hee madea Couenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of 40 the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely, that they should repaire to lerufalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persualions to win them to the businesse: the pro mise of the Lord vnto the house of David was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful, and likelie to fucceed as they defired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared. For it was not to bee hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good iffue, neither were the Captaines, and other affociates of Iehoiada able by close working, to draw together so many trustic and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the busineffe. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Leuites, as had finis 50 flied their courses in waiting on the Diuine service at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart untill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would bee

able to deale with the Queenes ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the tyrannesse did not prenaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leutes were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents were beflowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King David had left an Armorie to the place, which was now emploied in defence

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come wherein this high designe was 10 to be put in execution; Iehoiada deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him o penly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vsing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the Queene was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme; for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loose the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whilest yet it may bee preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the fuddennesse, behold it in the shape of incuitable mischiefe.

All lerufalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. 20 Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court; were the people running and praifing the King. Athalia hearing and beholding the 2.chron, 23, 12. extraordinarie concourse, and noise, of folkes in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much vnvsuall passion in their lookes, did presently conceine, that somewhat worthie of her care was happened; though what it might bee shee did not apprehend. How socuer it were, thee meant to vie her owne wisedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that shee thought it some especials solemnitie vsed in the Diuine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and 30 of other denout men, about the towne, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although Tojephus would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, Shee came to the a Charles 12. people into the house of the Lord (which was neare to her Palace) and that when shee & 13. 62. looked and faw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or King cart, cars great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, sheerent her clothes, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that thee was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occupied by another, then shee begun to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby shee saw that shee must perish. But that shee 40 came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as Iosephus reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had shee truely knowne how things went, shee would surely have gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee gatit, and hitherto had held it. Certainely if it were granted, that shee, like a new Semiramis, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madnessein her, to enter the place alone, when her affiftants were kept out; but if shee perceiuing that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuerthelesse take voon her to command the death of the new 30 King, calling a child of seuen yeares old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ince saw to becarmed in his desence, may wee not thinke that shee was

mad in the most extreme degree ? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would hauetaken effect, in her destruction, had shee vsed the most likely meanes to disappointit: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is

enough to fay, that the godly zeale of Iehoiada found more case successe, through her indifcretion, than otherwise could have beene expected; so that at his appointment shee was without more adoe carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no bloud faue her owne was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to fland in her defence.

### ð. VIII.

The death of ATHALIA, with a comparison of her and IEZABEL.

Oft like it is, that Abalia had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew Jehoram the Israelite, who did soolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager defire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet sheeher selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived fuch a life as Iezabel had done, was rewarded with a futable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her hulband; was an Idolatreffe. and a Murdreffe. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that legaled is more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia as ambitious: So that each of them 20 furviuing her husband about eight yeares, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vling tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchafte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vinto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the fuddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, texabel was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; Athalia flaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of Athalia having (though not much) the more leifure to vexe her proud heart; that of Iezabel, the more indignitie, and shame of 30 body. Touching their buriall, Iezabel was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet Elias; what became of Athalia wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that shee was buried, as having not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but fuffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for shee was a Church-robber. The service of Baal evected by these two Queenes, was destroiced as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priefts of that Religion, flaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who flue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which point Athalia had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who feemes to have beene her good friend) pre- 47 tended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to Inda. Concerning children, all belonging to lezabel perished in few daies after her : whether Athalia left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes living after shee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were flaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthic of confideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of Athalia had beene in Ierusalem when their Mother fell, their death would furely have followed hers as nearely, and beene regifired, as well as the death of Mattan the Priest of Bad. That Law by which God forbad that the children should die for the fathers, could not have faued these vngracious Impes, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that 50 every man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors & advancers of that vile and Idelatrous worship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal with the spoile of it; likely it is that they should not have escaped with life, if Iehoiads the Pricst could have gotCHAP.22. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

ten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their deaths so the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very carnestly. For these had beene esecond as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her affiliants in that particular bulinefle of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great Iway in other matters as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is enident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following Hazael in his warres against Jehn) absent from Ierufalem; whereby Iehoia a might with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of IOAs and AMASIA, with their (ontemporaries; where somewhat of the building of CARTHAGE.

ò. I.

Of IOAs his doings whileft IEHOIAD A the Priest lined.



the death of Athalia, the whole Countrie of Iuda was filled with great ioy and quietneffe; wherein 10as a child of seuen yeares old or there-about, began his Raigne, which continued almost fortic yeares. During his minoritie, hee lived under the protection of that Honourable man !eloiada the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his auncestors. When hee came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of Jeholadatwo wines, and begat fonnes and daughters,

repairing the family of David which was a most worneout. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of 40 the Temple. It was a needfull pecce of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vegodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vphold the Temple, whome the Temple had vpheld. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not onely the Leuites were more flacke then he, but even Iehoiada was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by Moles, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gaue fo freely, that the Tem- 2.chen.14.v.14. ple, belides all reparations, was enriched with veffels of Gold and Siluer, and with all other Vtenfiles. The facrifices likewife were offered, as vnder godly Kingsthey had beene, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

Aaa 2

II.

The death of I EHOIADA, and Apollage of IOAS.



Vt this endured no longer than the life of Iehoiada the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeares, died before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of Incla, as he well descrued, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to

eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselues, and all their iffue. Yet his honourable Funerall seemes to have beene given to him, at the motion of the people, it being faid, They buried him in the Citie of DAVID. As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no leffe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as casily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby beene discharged of some heavie debt.

For after the death of Iehoiada, when the Princes of Inda beganne to flatter their King, he foone forgate, not onely the benefites, received by this worthic man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, year and God himselfe, the author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith Iehoram and Athalia had so infected the Countrie, in 22 fifteene or fixteene yeares, that thirtie yeares, or there-about, of the Raigne of loat, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleare it from that mifchiefe. The King himfelfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertic, to despise the service of God, and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfaited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striuento expresse much more linely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed teligious.

### d. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians inuading Inda in the dayes of IOAs.



Vt God, from whome he was broken loofe, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not eafily be shaken off. Hazael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philipims, addressed himselfe towards Ierufalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many

victories, to hope for more, and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for 40 pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of Inda had affifted the Ifraelites, in their enterprises upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead . Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of Inda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by for bearing to succour I/rad, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreame miserie, to the furie of Hazael himselse. Neither is it likely, that Hazael should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stiere vpagainst himselfe a powerfull enemie, before hee had affured the conquest of Ifrael, that lav betweene Ierufalem and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunitie had not promifed fuch easie and good successe, as might rather advance, than any way diffurbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I 50 hold it probable, that the fonnes of Libalia, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promifing (as metas expensed their Countries viually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his fide; and not to remaine, as loas did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Ifrael, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had

cause, for the rooting out of Iem his potteritie, who, like a bloudie Traitor, had vtterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole house of Ahab, to which he was a fubicet. It this were fo, Hazael had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of Iuda. Howsocuer it were, we find it plainely, that low was atraid of him, and therefore tooke all the ballowed things, and all the Goile 2. King 12.18. that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the S;rian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paide into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the affirance of this, for the pollibilitie of not much more. So Hizae departed with a to rich bootic of vnhappie treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave For in the thirtie feuenth of Io.w., which was the fifteenth of lehoahaz he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeare he died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne Benhadad, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of Hazaelis, by some, contounded with that warre of the Aramites vpon Iuda, mentioned in the fecond Booke of Chronicles. But the reasons alleaged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly proone, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloudshed or fight; 20 in the later, Das tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, hee loft all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, Hazael himselfe was prefent; in the other, he was not named: but contrariw: fe, the King of Aram then reigning (who may feeme to have then beene the Sonne of Haz.iel) is faid to have beene at Damafous. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of Jula; The second was a small companie of men, which did animate 10 as (in 2, chron, 24,24) vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as having a very great Armie.

Now concerning the time of this former invalion, I cannot perceine that God forfookehim, till he had first forfaken God. There are indeede some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of Hazael was in the time of Iebotada the Prieft, be-30 cause that storic is joyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of Iehoiada had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the lecond Booke of Kings, or if the Apolitalic of Ioas, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of Lothat rightcous man, or the death of Iofias that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon Pharaoh, or his indgments upon the house of Ab.b. But it appeares plainely, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent feruice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were vied in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of IEHOLAD A; Soone achievene 42 after whose death, if not immediatly vponit, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fix, or thirtie feuenth yeare of this Isas his Raigne, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater.

And indeede we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God fometimes to lay vpon his feruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have alwayes tended vnto the bette, ing of their good. In which respect, even the fufferings of the bleffed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the fight of Pfal. 1545 the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with cuill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen, and more strict account; permitting vsually their faultes to get the flart of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amo-10 rines) till their wickedneise be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So bath he dealt with many; and fo it appeares that he dealt with Io.is. For this vnhappin man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strough to exceede the wickednesse of all that

Aaa 2

Zuke 20.14.

CHAP.22. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

went before him, and to leaue fuch avilainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

How ZACHARIA was murdered by IOAS.



😪 Vndry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their superitition, Zacharia, the sonne of Ichoiada the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wicked- to neile, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, wherof they stood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so honourable.

and fonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time, and renerenced, that if loss had reputed him (as Ahab did Elias) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honestie, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have vsed at least some part of the refpect that was due to fuch a person: On the other tide, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountcable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first intancie, were such, as should have placed Zacharia in the most heartic and assured loue of Io.ts, yea though he had beene otherwise a man of very small marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that 20 the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reverence, how timple focuer he appeares that brings it. But this king to.to, having alreadic formed the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with Zachwia, like as the wicked hufbandman in that parable of our Saujour dealt with the heire of the Vineyard, who faid, this is the heire, come let ws kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours. By killing Zacharia he thought to become an absolute Commaunder, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great focuer that mans deferuing were, that did fo, yea though Gods commaundement required it. So they conspired against this Holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kingsappointment; but whether by any 30 forme of open law, as was practifed upon Naboth; or whether furpriting him by aany close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitic of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement; though the manner of his death, being fuch as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted ypon malefactours, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commaundement, by which he suffered, tooke place in stead of Law; which exercise of meere power (as hath beene alreadie noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of Iuda.

How I o as was flamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.



Hisodious murder, committed by an vnthankfull fnake vpon the man in whose bosome he had beene softered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and his memorie detefted in all ages; fo had it the well-defuered curfe of

the bleffed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heavily vpon the 50 head of that ungratefull monster. It was the last yeare of his raigne; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to line how he listed, without controllement. When that yeare was expired, the Aramites came into the Countrie, rather as may feeme to get pillage, than to performe any great aerion; for they came with a final companie of men : but God had intended to doe more 2. clrow, 24. 24 by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That 10.15 naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proofe fufficient: though otherwise his base composition with Hawhen hee might have leavied (as his sonne after him did mutter) three hundered thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needes be valiant and make his people know, how front of disposition their King was, when he might have his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rouers, be tooke a verie to great Armie; fo that wife-men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making thew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose his person to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oftentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth fo flrongly appointed, against so weake enemies. Thus might wife men thinke, and laugh at him in fecret; confidering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolithnesse, did laugh, not onely at this vaineglorious King, but at them that thought their King fecure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites and King Io.is met, whether it were by some folly of the 20 leaders, or by fome amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatfocuer meanes it pleafed God to worke, fo it was, that that great Armie of Inda received a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were deflroyed: the Princes of Inda, at whose perswalion the King had become a rebell to the King of Kings. As for lost himselfe (as Abuters fis and others expound the Storie) hee was foreig beaten and hurt by them being, (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring our of him an excessive ransome.

And furely all circumstances doe geatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) faith, they exercised upon Ious ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they difmiffed him in great languor. All which argues, 30 that they had him in their handes, and handledhim ilfauouredly Now at that time, Io.ts the Son of Iehoahas raigned over Ifrael, and Benhadad the Son of Hazael over the Syrians in Damafeus; the one a valiant vindertaking Prince, raifed up by God to reflore the State of his miserable Countrie; the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than fuch asafter followed, might have given to the King of Inda good cause to bee bold, and plucke up his spirits, which Hazael had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehenfion of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope, that by terrifying him with 40 fome shew of warre at his doores, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable

conditions of peace. The vnexpected good fuccesse hereof, alreadic related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following warres against the King of Israel, sheweth plaintly the weaknesse of all carthly might, relifting the power of the Almightie. For by his ordinance, both the kingdome of Inda, after more than fortic yeares time of gathering frength, was vnable to drive out a small companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of Israel, hauing so beene troden downe by Hazael, that onely fiftie horsemen, tenne Charriots, and tenne thousand footmen were left, prevailed against his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are eneric where

50 found, and therefore I will not infift you this; though indeed we should not, if we be Godschildren, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our Heauenly fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore fathers vpon carth.

When the Aramites had what they lifted, and faw that they were not able, be-

Aufon, Ep. 117.

I Lla ego fum D 100 vultu quam confficis hofpes, Asimulatamodis pulcbrag, mirificis.

Talis cram, fed non Olaro quam mibi finxit erat mens. Vitance incest is let a cupidinibus (Nama, nec & NE As vidit me Treius vnauam

Nec Libyam aduenit, classibus Iliacis. Sed furias fugiens, at q, arma procacis Iarbe. Seruani, fateor, morte pudicitiam;

Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses) Non furor, aut la fo crudus amore dolor. Sic cecidiffe inuat: vixi fine vulnere fama, Vità virum, positis manibus oppeta.

Inuidacur in me stimulasti Mula Maronem. Fingeret vt nostra damna pudicitia? vos magis historicis lectores credite de me Quam qui furta Deum concubitufá, canunt. Falsidici vates:temerant qui carmine verum.

Humanifá deos afsimulant vitijs.

Which in effect is this,

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am that Dido which thou here do'ft fee, Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagrie. Like this I was, but had not fuch a foule, As Maro fained, inceftuous and foule. Aneas neuer with his Troian hoft Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. But flying proud Lurbas villanie, Not mou'd by furious lone or icalousie : Idid with weapon chaft, to faue my fame, Make way for death vntimely, ere it came. This was my end; but first I built a Towne, Reueng'd my hufbands death, liu'd with renowne. Why did'ft thou ftirre vp Virgil, enuious Mule, Falfely my name and honour to abuse? Readers, beleeue Historians; not those

Which to the world *Jones* thefts and vice expose. Poets are liers, and for vertes fake Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of Dido ynto the first Punicke warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular wee find little of the Carthaginian affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the Isle of Sicile. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightic Citie, vntill fuch time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the meane while the historie that is now in hand.

δ VII.

ing to few, to take any poisethon of the Countrie, they departed out of Indaloaden with spoyle, which they sent to Damaseus, themselves belike falling vpon theten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they fped not halfe so wel. The King of Inda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an Ammonitesse, and of a Aloabiesse, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being (trangers, are expressed) thanketo have beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, east (as T yrants vse) hee should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or what societ else it were that animated a.Coron. 24 25. them to murder their King; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, for the bloud of the children of IEHOIADA, this befell him. And the same appeares to have beene 10 vsed as the pretence of their conspiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For Amaza, the sonne and successor of 12.13, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was chablished : but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthic of buriallin the

Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of Zecharia caused

the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite,

among the people, though afterwardes it was recompenfed by his Sonne, vpon the

Of the Princes living in the time of IOAS: Of the time when Carthage was built; and of DIDO.

tua with this Epigramme.

Traytours, with wel-deserved death.

Hereliued with Ions, Mezades and Diognetus in Athens: Eucemus and Anythome.es in Corinth: about which time arrives Sylvine, and after him Sylvine Alladine, were Kings of the with most in the corner pes, commonly called Anaryndaraxes, the thirtie feuenth King further than the control of the co

ceeding vnto Ophratanes, began his raigne ouer the Agrians, about the eighteenth years of 10.00, which lasted fortie two years. In the fixteenth of 10-30 as, Cephrenes, the fourth from Sefse, succeeded vnto Cheeps in the Kingdome of Agypt, and held it fiftie yeares.

In this time of low, was likewise the Raigne of Pigmalion in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dido; the building of which Citie is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be seventic yeares yonger than Rome, others about four chindred yeares elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leading vs vnccrtaine whom to follow: Iojephus, who had read the Annales of Tire, counting one hundred fortie and three yeares and eight Moneths from the building of Salomen: Temple, in the twelfth yeare of Hyram King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by Dido, in the feuenth of Pigmalion. The particulars 40 of this accompt (which is not rare in Iosephia) are very perplexed, and serue not verie well to make cleare the totall fumme. But whether it were so that tolephia did omit, or elf. Pat he ald mifwrite, some number of the yeares, which he reckoneth

in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyram to Pigma-

lon, we may well enough beloeue, that the Tyrim writers, out of whose Bookes hee

gives vs the whole fumme, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly

reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the o-

ther, than the memorie of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeares current, after the building of salamons Temple, being the eleuenth years of ....., was a hundred fortic and three yearss before the birth of 50 Rome and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of Anew, that we might truely conclude all to bee fabulous

which Virgil hath written of Dido, as Ausonius noteth, who doth honour her Sta-

The beginning of AMAZIA hisreigne. Of IOAS King of Ifrael, and ELISHA the Prophet.



MAZIAS, the sonne of *loash*, being twentie fine yeares old when his father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of Juda, wherein helaboured to demcane himfelfe, as his new beginning raigne might beleast offentiue. The Law of Mojes he proteiled to observe which howfoeuer it had been efecretly despised incethe time of Icharam, by 15

many great persons of the Land, yet had it by promition of good Princes, yearnd of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priestes, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plaufible, who did not conforme him selfe vnto it. And at that prefent time, the flaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawne the late King from the feruice of God, being feconded by the death of the King himselfe, euen whilest that execrable murcher, committed by the King sp. on Zecharia, was yet freth in memorie, did ferue as a notable example of Gods juffice against jdolatours, both to animate the better fort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers and to discourage Amazia from following the way, which led 20 to fuch an cuill end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of diffinulation, did not only forbeare to punish the Traytours that had flaine King Janes, but gaue way to the time, and fuffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of Jehoran formerly had beene, in the Citie of Daurd, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda. Neuerthelesse after this, when (belike) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into tilence, it was found that the Conspiratours (howsoener their deed done was applauded as the handie worke of GOD) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor flrong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the 30 heate of mens affections, being not well allaied, it was easie to diftinguish between their treasons and Gods judgment, which, by their treasons, bad taken plansible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were fuffered to line; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie justice, against the like attempts; Amazia carried himselfe outwardly asa Prince well affected to Religon, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteene

As Amazia gathered strength in Inda by the commoditie of a long peace, fo 1925 40 the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the warre miles. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his predecessiours had beene, worshipping the Calues of Ierobeam. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of Iehn, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being vitterly consumed, by Hazael and Benhadad, in the time of Ichu and his fone Iehoahaz. But as Godsbenefits to Iehu sufficed not to withdraw him from this politique idolatric; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime Ichonhaz from the same impious course: yet the mercie of God beholding the trouble of Ifrael, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, even then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abhominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the tentribes recourred apace but the fauour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor beleeue, that they fought; that they had it not, I finde in the wordes of the Prophet, faying plainly to Amazia, the Lord is not with Ifrael neither with all the house of EPHRAIM.

Whe-

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet Eufba, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperitie of the Israelites under the Raigne of Iois; or whether Ichoshas wearied and broken with long aductfitie, thought it the wifeft way, to difcharge himselfe in part of the heavie cares attending those vnhappie Syrian warres, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful fonne; we find that in the thirtie fenenth yeare 2. King 13, 16, of 10 As, King of Inda, 10 As the some of IEHOAHAZ began to raigne ouer Ifrael in Samaria, which was in the fifteenth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three veares before his death.

It appeares that this yong Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so to well hulband that poore stocke which he received from his Father, of tenne Charriots, fiftie horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to Elisbathe Prophet, argue no leffe. For 10.11 visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus, O my father, my father, the Charriot of Ifrael, and the horfemen of the same, by 1. King 13.1 A which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more steede, than all the horses and Charriots could

This Prophet who succeeded vnto Elias, about the first years of Ioram the sonne of Ahab King of Ifrael, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or 20 fourth yeare of this low, the Nephew of Iehu. To shew how the Spirit of Elia was doubled, or did rest vpon him, it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raife a dead child vnto life, as Elias had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcasse, which touched them in the graue. In fine hee bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King Ioas, who thereby did fet Israel in a faire way of recovering all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakning the Kings of Damasco in such fort, that they were neuer after terrible to Samaria.

### VIII.

Of AMAZIA his warre against EDOM; His Apostasie; and overthrow by IOAs.

He happie successe which toas had found in his warre against the Aramites, was such as might kindle in Amazia a desire of vndertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour.

His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of warre he had very just against the Edomites, 40 who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather Jehoram, had about liftie yeares beene vnreclaimed, partly by meanes of the troubles happening in Inda, partly through the floth and timorousnesse of his father Joas. Yet, for almuch as the men of Inda had in many yeares beene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) he held it a point of wifedome to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of sfrael, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of filuer, an hundred thousand valiant 2.Chron. 21. 5. men, as the Scripture telleth vs , though Iolephus diminish the number, faying that 1.6.9.0.10. they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost Amazia had hired out of Israel, he 50 was faine to difmiffe, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill successe, if hee strengthned himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy he gaue them victoric against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were idolatours. The Israelites therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon

a peece of Inda in their returne, and thewed their malice in the flaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carried away. But Amazia with his owne forces, knowing that God would be affiftant to their journey, entered couragiously into the Edomites Countrie; ouer whome obtaining victorie, he slew tenne thousand, and tooke other tenne thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it feemes, rather as Traytors, than as inflenemies. This victoric did not feeme to reduce Edom vnder the fubjection of the crowne of Inda, which might be the cause of that severitie, which was vsed to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the loffe of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount Seir, Amazt: 10 tooke, as appeares by his carrying away the jdols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefencible, in that he left no garrifons there, whereby he might another yeare the better have purfued the conquett of the whole Countrie. How focuer it were, he got both honor by the journie, & gaines enough, had he not loft himfelfe.

Among other spoiles of the Edomites, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquilhed and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwife, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this vnworthic 2. chion. 25.14. King Amazia, that hee fet them up to bee his Gods, and worshipped them, and burned incenferenco them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet fent from God, hee gaue a churlish 20 and threatning answere; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counseller, and bidding him hold his peace for fewe of the worst. If either the coully stuffe, whereof these jdols were made, or the curious workemanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raufhed the Kings fancie; me thinkes, hee flouid hauerather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houshold ornaments and things of pleafure, than thereby have fuffered himselfe to be brinded, with such vnrcasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edamites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, 30 that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the seruice of jdols, which afterwards moved him to talke for oughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and fent away fuch auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of I/r.sel, which done it is faid that hee was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather affift him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts defire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that Esan, having broken the yoke of Izcob from his necke, accordingly as Isaac had foretolde, should no more become his servant. If therefore Amazaa did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of Edom, he failed of his expectation; yet fo, that he brought home 49 both profit and he nour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wher with men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or forefight. Therefore it is commonly feene that they, who entring into battaile are carefull to pray for aide from Heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power who is the giner of victoric; when the field is wonn, do vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got fuch a ground of aduantage, another, how he gaue checke to fuch a battallion; a third, how hee feized on the enemics Canon; enery one strining to magnific himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not beene prefent in the action. To afcribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better fuccesse, than he did , or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so hee whose meere wisedome and labour hath brought thinges to a prosperous issue, is

doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victorie, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeede fo farre from weakneffe is the nature of fuch thankfgiuing, that it may well be called the height of magnanimitie; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man advanceth it felfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which fenfe it is a braue speech that Enander in Virgil, vseth to Aneus, none but a Christian being capahie of the admonition,

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dianum

With this philosophic Amazia (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head; he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of Inda, since the time of Jeho (aphat, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to David: of which honour hee faw no reason why the Prophets thould rob him, who had made him loofe a hundred talents, and done him no pleafure, he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any mitacle at all. That he was diftempered with fuch vaine thoughts as these (besides the witneffe of his impictic following) 10/ephus doth testifie; saying, That hee despised 10/4/11/19610 20 Go D, and that being puft vp with his good successe, of which neverthelesse hee would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, hee commaunded Ioas King of I-

fract to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King David and King Salomon. Some thinke that his quarrell to 10.11 was rather grounded vpon the injurie done to him by the Ifraelites, whom he dismissed in the journie against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the fenfe of a late wrong had more power to ftirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long fince, and by him felfe neglected thirtcene or foureteen yeares. Neuertheleffe it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into 30 question; that so the Kings of Ifrael might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending Inda, for feare of endangering their owne crownes. Had Amazia defired onely recompence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should have had some reasonable answere from 10.0, who was not delirous to fight with him. But the answere which Joss returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and Amazia in respect of him to no better than athistle, showes that the challenge was made in infolent tearmes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which Iosephus hath written) betweene a King of Ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

It is by Sophocles reported of Aix, that when going to the warre of Troy, his far sophocles in Ather did bid him to be valiant, and get victoric by Gods affiltance, he made answere, lace Lon. that by Gods affiftance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though he did manie valiant actes, hee had small thankes, and finally killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell vpondifgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That Amazaa did vtter fuch wordes, I doe not find : but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of fuch wordes, he was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wife Prince indeed at Iernfalem, among his Parasites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroade. For it was not all one, to fight with the Edonites, a 50 weake people, trufting more in the fire of their Countrie than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with Io.ss, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as Amazia discouered much want of judgement, in vndertaking such a match;

3.Chren. 25.11.

to in protecuting the butinefle, when it was fet on foote, hee behaued himfelt.  $a_1$  a man of little experience, who having once onely tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in warre there was nothing elfe to doe, than fend a defiance.

fight, and winne. 10,00 on the contrarie fide, having been accustomed to deale with

a itronger enemie than the King of Iuda, vied that celeritie, which peraduenture

had often flood him in good itead against the Aramite. Hee did not lit waiting till

the enemies brake in and waited his Countrie, but prefented himselfe with an Armie in Inda, readic to bid battaile to Amazia, and fauc him the labour of a long

journie. This could not but greatly discourage those of Inda; who (besides the

uing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoile of Ifrael, fully perswading them-

felues to get as much, and at as calie a rate, as in the journie of Edom; were fo farre

disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new afforance

of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding,

their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of Salomon,

thought like another Danie, to winne it by the fword. The iffue of which foole-

hardinesse might easily be foreseene in humane reasons comparing together, either

the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning

of the warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsocuer it might foresee much,

as the two Armies came in fight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so def-

pised,did (as Iosephus reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the menof

Inda, that without one blowe given, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift

for himselfe, which he did so ill, that his enemie had soone caught him, and made

him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which

fled, fultained any other lossethan of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in

Insephius; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made the

more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiese that followed this

ouerthrow, it was Gods will that Amazia himselfe should sustaine the wholedis-

gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatning him otherwise with

present death. So much amazed was the miserable catine, with these dreadfull

wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeelde them-

selues to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwardes being in

weaker state, held out two yeares, against Nebuchadnezzar, was vtterly dismayed,

when the King, that should have given his life to save it, vsed all his force of com-

maund and intreatie to betray it. So the gates of Jerufalem were opened to Jom, with

which honour (greater than any King of Israel had euer obtained) hee could not

rest contented, but, the more to despight Amazia and his people, hee caused source

Charriot through that breach, carrying the King beforehim, as in triumph. This

done, he fackt the Temple, and the Kings Pallace, and fo, taking hostages of Amazia,

he dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaris.

hundred cubites of the wall to be throwne downe, and entered the Citie in his 40

grace. For Ioas carried him directly to Iernsalem, where he bad him procure that the 10

could not have prognofticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon Amazia. For assoone ja

impression of teare which an inuasion beates into people, not inured to the like ha-

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A sifeourfe of thereasons hindering Ioas from uniting Ivo a to the crowne of Israel, when he had wonne serusalem, and held

A MAZIA prisoner. The end of
Ioas his raspue,

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Ee may inftly martialle how it came to paffe, that hoss, being thusili polfedion of levulatem, basing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee 60 contented to depart quietly, with a little fpoile, when he might haue feized ypon the whole Kingdom. The raigne of Athalia had given him caufe to hope,

that the iffue of Danid might be dispossed for other trowne, his owne Nobilities being the some and grand-childe of Kings, together with the samous actes that hee had done, were enough to make the people of Inda thinke highly of him, who might also have preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smoothered therhankes, which were due to the memoric of a swe good ones. The commodite that would have ensued, upon the union of all thet where Tribes, under one Princes.

20 is so apparant, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the specifies (as afterwardes in the victorie which Peks the some of Romelia got vpon Adam) to turne his present advantage, to the best vie, weedoe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as Isas had beene, in recovering his owne, and winning from his entenie, should forfake the possession of the Insistence of the Adam away the full affurance of so faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of Inda.

But concerning that point, which of all others, had beene most materiall, I meane the defire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their King, it is plainely seene, that entring serusalem in triumphant manner, Joss was vnable to concoct 30 his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let him not only into the Citie, but into the royall throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially having sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, when they faw themselues betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had beene before. The saire marke with this opportunitie prefented, he did not aime at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely builed, in leuciling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have beene corrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and the wing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the in-40 habitants. But when his pride had done, his conctonfineffe began, and fought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readic to the spoiler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith Sefae, Hazael, and the Philiftims, men ignorant of the true God & his religion, had quenched their greedie thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of 10.15, who though an idolatour, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem. Therefore when the people faw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands upon the confecrated veffels, calling the family of Obed Edom (whafe chil- intro. 26.13; dren had hereditarie charge of the treasurie) to a sirict account, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they confidered him rather as an execrable Church-

cers of his owne Exchequer, they confidered him rather as an execrabic Churchrobber, than as a Noble Prince, an Israelite and their brother, though of another
Tribe. Thus following that courfe, which the most vertuous King of our age
(taxing it with the fame phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few apples, hee
loft the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him; and after the
respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselues one to one, perceive his

10f.Ant.1.9.c.1

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è. IX. 50

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Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of fo great a Citie. It is not fo casie to hold by force a mightie Towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduifed feare. For when the Citizens, not being difarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to understand their first errour; they will thinke vpon enery advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tilestones, and rather chuse by desperate resolution, to correct the cuils growneout of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischeifes to poyson the bodie, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be defired, than the Citie of Florence, which through the weaknette of Péter de Medices, gouerning therein as a 10 Prince, was reduced into fuch hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King Charles the eight, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Manie insolencies were therin committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townef-men: fo farre forth that the Florentines, to preserve their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intollerable conditions, demaunding buge fummes of readie monie, and the absolute Signoric of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But Peter Caponi, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, 20 and tearing them before his face, had him found his trumpets, and they would ring their bels: which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselues, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that monie to be paid in hand, Charles should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatfoeuer he had of their dominion, and continue their affured friend. So dangerous a matter did it feeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streetes, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that Charles had other businesse (and to perhaps had Ioas, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, 30 vfually drawes cueric Citizen to faue his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier : yet where the people are prepared and refolued, women can quench, as faftas the enemic having other things to looke vnto, can let on fire. And indeed that Commaunder is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, for fakes the affurance of a good composition. Linerstie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierufalem, as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly socuer to as might hold himselfe within terusalem, he could not eafily depart, from thence, with his bootic safe, if the Armie of Inda, which had beene more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, should reenforce it selfe, 40 and giue him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better loaden than when it came forth, for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Belides these impediments, within the Citie and without, serving to coole the ambition of Ioas, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of Iuda; it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of Elishathe Prophet; who when this Ioas had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Ifrael had against Aram, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred vnto the fifth, fixth and feuenth yeares of 10 as: after which time, if any loffes enfuing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of Israel haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could be have either lent the Indean one hundred thousand men, or meete him in battaile, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by

the wordes of Elisha, that after three victories, Ioas should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse; wee must needes conclude, That the Aramite prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking advantage of Ioas his absence, gave such a blow to Israel, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselse into new missortunes, which increased the calamitie, wee may enidently perceive in that which is spoken of Ierobosm his fonne. For it is faid, That the Lord faw the exceeding bitter a flictions of Ifrael, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Ifrael from under the heaven, he preserved them by the hand of IEROBOAM, the sonne of IOAs. This is enough to 10 prone, that the victorious raigne of 10.00 was concluded with a lad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple haltning his miserie and death, as they had done with Selac, Athalia, and Hazael, and as afterwards they wrought with Antiochus, Craffus, and other facrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of Ierusalem, and courage which they tooke to fet vpon him within the Walls : or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrie, to bid him battaile in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was loft at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrie, by the Syrian in his absence, if not by all of these; Jours was driven to lay aside all thought of 20 winning the Kingdome of Inda; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where hee found a sad well-come, and being veterly for saken of his wonted prosperitie, for sooke also his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdome to Ieroboam the second, his fortunate and valiant Sonne.

### The end of AMAZIA his Raigne and Life.

CHAP.22. S.10.

Ny man is able to gheffe how Amazia looked, when the enemie had left him. Hee that had vaunted fo much of his ownegreat proweffe and skill in armes, threatning to worke wonders, and fet up anew the glorious Empire of David, was now uncased of his Lyons hide, and

appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beene painted. Much argument of scotting at him hee had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtleffe, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an infolent man, seldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproach. As for Amazia (belides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, cuen of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there 40 was no child in all Ierusalem, but knew him to be the roote of all this mischiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of Warre, being himfelfe a Dastard ; but when hee was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemie, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might fee what spoile there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-fay. The father of this Amazia, was a bealtly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of terufalem. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the halle which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vinfortunate, for by keeping out the Israelite (which was case enough) any little while, they should soone 50 haue beenerid of him, seeing that the Aramites would have made him runne home, with greater speede than he came forth. Then also, when having truffed up his baggage, he was readicto be gone, a litle courage would have ferued to perswade him to leaue his loade behinde; had not their good King deliuered vp Holtages, to fecure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

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Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappie King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonor. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very laft. For it is faid of 2. Chron. 25. 27. him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his lives end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his aduerlitic of his faults passed, shall sooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to feeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than ever they had beene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a 10 heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to reviue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Inda, that had beene ouer-come in battaile. David himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it, before the Enemie was in fight, vnto Absalom his rebellious sonne. Many befides him had received loffes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If low might fo enfily have beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let Sefae in? As was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of 20 displeasure? It was he indeede that commanded to set open the gates to low; but it was the people that did it. Good feruants ought not to have obeied their Mallers commandements, to his disaduantage, when they saw him not Master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or fuffered in that condition; fo was that misfortune it felfe, in true estimation as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loffe. For had hee beene as hastie to flie, as others were; hee might have escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the bale Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betraied by those in whom hee trufted. Vinworthie creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prifoner, he comanded them to yeeld; having ne- 20 glected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them fland to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needes acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saued; the Enemie having wifely preferred the surprise of a Lyon that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armic of stags, that followed him.

These or the like wordes comforting Amazia, were able to perswade him, that it was even fo indeede. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late difaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now 40 concerning fortune, it seemes that he meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in sifteene yeares following (so long he out-lived his honor) we finde not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet wee may fee by his end, that the middle time was ill spentamong them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that leffe regard is had of his person, than he beleeueth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuere man. For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the gravitic of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they live, which are subject vnto oppression, carries a shew of reverence, to 50 him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazle the cies of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vling it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe viually mispend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and

deceiuable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indianation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous confequence; especially when an virable spirit, being ouerparted with high authoritie, is too passionate in the execution of Juch an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore Amaza thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did hee elfe than striue to make the people thinke he hated them, when of themselves they were ant enough to beleeue, that he did not love them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided well enough for his owne fecuritie: but who fhould take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of fuch a murther, wherein enery one had 10 apart? Surely God himfelfe, who had not given commandement or leave vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in thedding the bloud of his anointed. Yetas Amazia, carclesse of God, was carried headling by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong surie, that being vnabie to defend himselfe in Ierufalem, he was driven to forfake the Citie, and flie to Lachis, for lafegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generall, that neither his absence could allaie the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrie abroade procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affe-20 Red to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspiratours (who troubled not themselues about raiting an armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the vimoit Citie of his Dominion Weltward, franding somewhat without the border of Inda; so that hee might have made an easie escape (if hee durst aduenture) into the Territorie of the Philistims, or the Kingdome of Ifrael. Therefore it may feeme that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murtherers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his bodie to Jerusalem, where they gave him 20 buriall with his fathers.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of I v D A, after the death of AMAZIA.



T hath alreadie beene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel were sometimes to be more than and If act were fometimes to be measured by compleat yeares, otherwhiles, by yeares current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeares of his fathers Raigne', or the then confounded with the last yeares of his fathers Raigne, or the foremost of his Sonnes. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation,

wherein the Crowner of Juda laie voide eleuen whole yeares: a thing not plainly fet 🗡 downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by Iofephus, and therefore hard to bee beleeued, were it not proued by necessarie consequence.

Twice we find it written, that A M A ZI A, King of Inda, lined after the death of I O As 2. Chron. 25, 25. King of Ifrael fifteen eyeares; whereupon it followes, that the death of Amazia, was & 2.King. 14-17 about the and of fifteen a reases complete, which traday the ficond (who in the 2-king. 14-13). about the end of fifteene yeares compleate, which leroboam the second (who in the fifteenth yeare of AMAZIA m.is made King over Ifrael) had raigned in Samaria. But the succession of Vzzia, who is also called Azaria, vnto his father in the Kingdome of 50 Iuda, was cleuen yeares later than the fixteenth of Ieroboam: for it is expressed, that

Azaria began to Raigne in the fenen and inventieth yeare of I r R O B O A M; the fixteenth 2 King 15.1. yeare of his life, being joyned with the first of two and fittie that hee Raigned. So the Interregnum of cleuen yeares cannot bee divided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter soundes.

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euch, without acknowledging any voide time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the feuen and twentith yeare of Ieroboam, we should perhaps understand the feuen and twentith yeare of his life; or elfe (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like fenfe) that Azara was cleauen yeares under age, that is fine yeares old, when his father died, and so his fixteenth yeare might concurre with the feuen and twentith of lerobosm; or that the text it felte may have fuffered fome wrong, by milwriting twentie feuen for feuenteene yeares, and fo, by making the feuenteenth yeare of ierohoam to be newly begun, all may be falued. These are the conjectures of that worthie man Gerard Office dor : concerning the first of which it to may fuffice, that the author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that you enerie doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one :as for the fecond, it may be held with fome qualification, that Azaria becan his raigne being fine yeares old; but then must we adde those eleanen yeares which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his fixteenth years. which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so carefull to avoide an interregram in Inda, seeing that the like necessitie hath enforced all good writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeares, in the Kingdome of Ifrael? The space of time be- 10 tweene Ierobosms death, and the beginning of Zachariahs Raigne, and fuch another gap found betweene the death of Peka, and the beginning of Holea, have made it eafily to be admitted in Samaria, which the confideration of things as they flood in *Juda*, when *Amazia* was flaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, having to farre extended it felfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appealed without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into fuch extremitie. Wee need not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which alreadic had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should 30 afterwards dare to withhold the crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inuested in all ornaments of regalitie, is neuerthelesse exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetfull subjects.

As for their coniecture, who make Azwia to have beene King but one and fortie yeares, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives vnto Ierobours eleanen yeares of raigne with his father, before hee beganne to raigne fingle in the fifteenth of Amazia; did it not fivallow up almost the whole raigne of 1003, and extending the yeares of those which raigned in Israel (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princes ru- 40 ling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and fee mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

Of Princes Contemporarie with AMAZIA, and more particularly of SARDANAPALVS.



He Princes living with Amazia, and in the cleaven yeares that followed his death, were 10.15 and 1eroboam in Ifrael; Cephrenes and Olf-50 cermus in Egypt; Sylnius Alladius, and Sylnius Auentinus in Alba; Agamemmon in Corinth; Diagnetus Pheredus, and Ariphron in Athens; in Licedemon Thelectus, in whose time the Spartans wan from the Achaians,

Gerautha, Amyeba, and some other townes.

But more notable than all these, was Affgrian Sardanapalus, who in the one and twentieth yeare of Amazia succeeding his father Ocrazapes or Anacyndaraxes, raigned twentie yeares, and was flaine the last of the eleuen void yeares which forewent the Raigne of Azaria. In him ended (as most agree) the line of Winus, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and fortie yeares. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard hee was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behaujour.

In these voluptuous courses hee lined an vnhappie life, knowing himselfe to bee fo vile, that he durft not let any man have a fight of him; yet feene he was at length, to and the light of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For Arbaces, who gouerned Media under him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was to incenfed with that beaftly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and firiumg to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it great shame to line under the command of so vnworthie acreature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of Belesis or Belafus a Chaldean, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of Sardanapalus should fall into his hands. Arbaces well pleased with this prophecie, did promise vnto Belofus himselfe the government of Babylon; and so concluding how to to handle the bulines, one of them thirred up the Medes, and alured the Persians into the quar-20 rell, the other perswaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themselves in the fame cause. These foure Nations armed fortie thousand men against Sardanapalus, who in this danger was not wanting to himfelfe, but gathering fuch forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving Arbaces and his followers into such feareful termes, that had not Belofus promifed them conflantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken up their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of Bictria was comming to affift the King; but Arbices encountring it vpon the 30 way, perfuaded to strongly by promife of libertie, that those forces joyned themfelnes with his. The fodame departure of the enemie feeming to be a flight, caufed

which through ouer-great fecuritie, was unprepared for reliftance. This ouerthrow did fo weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother Salamenus to keepe the field, he withdrew himfelfe into the Citic of Winine; which. till new aides that he fent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it having beene prophecied, that Ainine should neuer be taken, till the River were enemie to the towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of Niniue, enough hath beene spoken in 40 our discourse of Ninus. It was so well victualled that Arbaces (having in two battails ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and flaine Salamenus) was faine to lie two whole yeares before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet hee faw no appearance. It feeemes that hee wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Charriots in front to paffe vpon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the Riuer of Tygris did

Sardanapalus to fealt his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being

ftrengthened with this new fupply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe,

made a faire breach for Arbaces to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or 50 feeing no meanes of refishance left, shutting up himselfe into his Pallace, with his wines, Eunuches and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together confumed. Strabo speakes of a monument of his, that was in straboles Anchiale a Citic of Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citic and Thar sus vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate

in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and

CHAP.23. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

and drinke, and make merrie, encouraging other, with verfes well knowne, to avoluptuous life, by his owne example, teltifie that his nature was more prone to fenfualitie, than to any vertue beforming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that Arbaces. when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that sodainiv her flew him with a dagger. But the more generall confent of writers agrees with this Diad. Sic. 1, 2.6.7. relation of Diodorus Siculus, who citeth Ctefias a Greeke writer, that lived in the Court of Persa, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which raigned in Affria, from the time of Semiramia, vnto Sardanapalus, though I beleeve that they were fometimes (yet not, as Orofius 10 hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensive or else desensive armes yet for the most part of them I doe better trust Diodorne Scenlus, who faith that their names were overpassed by Ctessus; because they did nothing worthic of memorie. Whatsoever they did; that which Theophilus Anticchenus hath faid of them is verie true; Silence and oblinion bath oppressed them.

> CHAP. XXIII. Of VzzIA.

The prosperitie of VZZIA, and of IEROBOAM the second, who raigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of IEROBOAM. Of ZACHARIA, SAL-LVM, MENAHEM and DEKAHIA.



Zzi A, who is also called Azaria the sonne of Jotham. was made King of Inda, when he was fixteene yeares old, in the feuen and twentieth yeare of Ieroboam the fonne of Io.es King of I/rael. Hee Ierued the God of his father Danid, and had therefore good fuccessein in all his enterprises. Hee built Eloth, a Towne that flood neare to the Red Sea, and restored it to Inda. 40 Hee ouercame the Philiflims, of whose Townes hee difmantled some, and built others in fundric partes of their Territories. Also hee got the mastric ouer fome partes of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites

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to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as Iofephus rehearseth his acts) he beganne with the Philisiums, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armic confifted of three hundred and seuen thoufand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand fixe hundered Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared flields, and feares, and helmets, and other Armes requifites following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the service of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the 2, Chron, 21.9. Princes and all the Charriots.

As the victories of Vzzia were farre more immportant, than the atchieuements

of all that had raigned in Iuda, fince the time of Dauid; fo were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superior to any of theirs that had been Kings betweene him and Salomon. For belides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of warre with triple interest, hee had the skill to vie, as well as the happinesse toget. Hee turned his lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient to such husbandrie. In other places hee had cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great flore, having wonne fo much from the Animonites and Arabians, that had aboundance of waste ground feruing for pasturage. For defence of his cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towres in the wilderno neile. He also digged many cesternes or ponds. Iosephus cals them water-courses. but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers hee so commanded the water, that none could without his confent, relecue themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the wildernesses; it being hardly paffable, by reason of the extreme drougth, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the vse of trauailers.

Beildes all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Townes among the Philistims; hee repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which Ioas. had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred 20 and fiftie Cubites high.

The State of Israel did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as Vzzia prevailed in the South, fo (if not more) Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the Syrians, he wanne the Royall Citie of Damaseus, and he wanne Hamath, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderneffe, that is (as the most 2 761425.3 expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscouered, So the bounds of Ifrael in those parts, were in the time of this Ieroboam, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the raigne of Danid.

But it was not for the pietic of Ieroboam, that hee thriued fo well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on Ifrael, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of Ichu, to which God had promifed the Kingdome of Ifrael winto the fourth generation, was also tengs now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had beene at the beginning. But the finne of Icroboam the sonne of Nebat, was held so pretious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe given to him by God, was able to draw Tehu from that politike idolatrie, nor the miserie falling upon 40 him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of Ieroboam the sonne of 10.15, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giver of victorie. Wherefore the promife of God, made vnto Iehu, that his fonnes, anto the fourth generation, should lit on the throne of Ifrael, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly geffe at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas, after a victorious raigne of one and sortie yeares, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that Zacharia his Son, should forthwith haue beene admitted, to raigne in his flead; the Nobilitie of that race having 50 gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needes have appeared base, and the vertue of the last King, having beene so great, as might well serve to say the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the alreadic confirmed right of a familie so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twentie

yeares did paile before Zacharia the Sonne of Ieroboam was , by vniforme confent, received as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calues did stand : yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to have beene wanting, vpon which, the wisedome of man was readie to cast an eye. Probable it is that the Captaines of the Armie (who afterwardes flew one another, so fast, that in fourteene yeares there raigned fine Kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the Kingdome afunder, holding each what he could, and either despiting or hating some qualities in Zacharia; vntill, after many yeares, wearied with diffention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they confented to yeeld 10 all quietly to the sonne of Ieroboam. That this Anarchie lasted almost three and twentie yeares, we find by the difference of time, betweene the fifteenth years of Vzzia, which was the last of Ieroboam his one and fortith (his feuen and twentish concurring with the first of Vzzia) and the eight and thirtith of the same Vzziain the last fixe moneths whereof, Zacharia raigned in Samaria. There are some indeed that by supposing teroboam to have raigned with his father eleaven yeares, document off the interregram in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abbridge this Anarchie, that was before the raigne of Zacharia in Ifrael. Yet they leave it twelue yeares long: which is time fufficient to proue that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, was no leffediftempered, than as is alreadic noted. But I choose rather to 22 follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes raigning abroade in the world, than this doubtfull coniecture, that giues to Ieroboam two and fiftie yeares, by adding three quarters of his fathers raigne vnto his owne, which was it felfe indeed to long, that hee may well feeme to have begun it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God bleffed this Idolater, both with a longer raigne, and with a longer life, than he did his feruant David.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of Israel was voide. before the raigne of Zacharia; little may suffice to be said of his Raigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfea worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to instific the 32 iudgement of God, whereby hee was flaine. He was the last of *Ieliu's* house, being (includincly) the first of that line; which may have beene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly fuccession; the prophecie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (belides that Gods promife was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant given to Sallam or to any other, for the death of Zacharia, as had beene given to Iehu, for the flaughter of Iehoram, and for the gradicati-

on of Ahabs house. Zacharia having beene fixe moneths a King, was then flaine by Salliam, who King 15.13. raigned after him, the space of a moneth in Samaria. What this Salliam was, I doe not finde; faue onely that he was a Traitour, and the sonne of one Inbelo, whereby his 40 father got no honour. It feemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought eafily to prevaile against that King, in whose person the race of tehu was to faile. Manifest it is, that Sallum had a strong partie: for Tiph fab or Thap fa, and the coast thereof euen from Tirzah, where Menahem, his enemie and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, Sallum received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by Msnahem who raigned in his place.

Menahem the sonne of Gadi, raigned after Sallum tenne yeares. In opposition to Sallum, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, For he not onely destroyed Tiph fab, 50 and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie beene vsed in reuenge of Zacharias death, it is like that he would have beene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his fathers crowne when it was first due. But in performing that

office, there was vsed such long deliberation, that we may plainely discouer Ambirion. Disdaine, and other private passions, to have beene the causes of this beastly

In the time of Menahem, and (as it feemes) in the beginning of his raigne; Pal, King of Affiria, came against the Land of Ifrael; whom this new King appealed. with a thousand talents of filuer, leavied vpon all the substantial I men in his Countric. With this monie the Ifraelite purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein : some factious man (belike) having either inuited Pul thither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill to beloued King. Infephus reports of this Citerahem, that his raigne was no milder totant locate than his entrance. But after ten yeares, his tyrannic ended with his life : and Pekabia.

his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this Pekahia the florie is short : for hee raigned only two yeares; at the end whereof, he was flaine by Peka, the Sonne of Kemalia, whose treason was rewarded with the crowne of Israel, as, in time comming, another mans treason against himfelfe shall be. There needes no more, to be faid of Alenahem, and his Sonne, fauc that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in Iofebbus) 10fibio, like to his Father in crueltie. Concerning Pul the Afgrian King, who first opened vnto those Northerne Nations the way into Palassina; it will thorrly follow in or-20 der of the storie, to deliuer our opinion : whether he were that Belofus (called also Belefes, and by fome, Phul Belochus) who joyned with Arbaces the Median, against Sardanapalus, or whether he were fome other man. At the prefent it is more fit that werelate the end of Vzzia's life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

# d. II. The end of V zzi A his raigne and life.



S the zeale of *Ieheisda*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserve the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *tosa*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to Vzzii, to bring him vp, and aduance him to be a superior of the superior him to the crowne of Inda, when the hatred borne to his Father A-mszis, had endangered his fuccession. For it is said of Vzzia, That

he fought God in the daies of ZECHARIA (which underflood the visions of God) and 2. Chion. 26.5.

when as he fought the Lord, God made him profeer.

But, when he was frong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed a- 1. 16. gainst the Lord bis God : and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, won the Altar of incenf. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authoritie, by medling in the Pricits office, whose power had in enery extremitie beene so helpefull to the 40 Kings of Iuda, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should have held back Izzia from incroching thereupon; yea, though the law of God had beene filent in this case, and not forbidden it. How socuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgate not to affift them. Azaria the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gauchim to understand, how little to his honor it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the Sonnes of Aaron. There were with Azaria fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed, only in affilting the high Prieft, when (according to his dutie) hee reptehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in to cophus, that the King had apparrailed himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee figure, ear

50 threatned Azarias and his Companions, to punish them with death, valesse they would be quiet. Infephus, indeede, enlargeth the storie, by inferting a great earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the high waies, and spoiling the Kings Gardenin the passage. With this earth-quake, hee faith, that the roofe of the Temple did

cleaue, and that a Sunne beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was prefertly infected with leprotic. All this may have beene true; and fome there are who thinks that this earth-quake is the fame, which is mentioned by the Prophet Amos, wherein they doe much mille-reckon the times. For the carth-quake spoken of by Amer. was in the daies of Ieroboam King of Ifrael, who died feuen and thirtie yeares before Vzzii; fo that lotham the Sonne of Vzzia, which supplied his Fathers place ingouernement of the Land, should, by this accompt, haue beene then vnborne : for he

was but five and twentie yeares old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. There-\*. Coron. 26. 20, fore, thus farre only we have affurance; that while V zz 1 A was wroth with the Prings. the leproferofe up in his forchead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all 10 hafte, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himselfe, vntill he died; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to totham, his Sonne. and Successor. Isiham tooke not voon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Anceitors lay interred, yet in a Monument a part from the rest, because he was a Leaper.

### ò. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of V ZZIA; and of Prince; then ruling in Agypt, and in (ome other Countries.



N the time of Vazia were the first of the lesser Prophets, Hosea, Ioil, Amos, Obadia, and Ionas. It is not indeede fet downe, when Ioel, or obadia, did prophecie: but it the prophecis, who will the prefled, ought to be ranged (according to S. Nieromesrule) with the prefled, ought to be ranged these two bee indeed contemporarie next before them; then must these two bee judged contemporarie

with Hofes and Amos, who hard vnder King Vazis. To enquire which of the fefue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein Homer lived, hath so painefully beene sought, without reprehen-30 fion; how can be be taxed, which offers to fearch out the antiquitie of these holie Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet Ionas; who foretold the great victories of Ieroboam King of Ifrael; and therefore is like to have prophecied in the daies of Io.e., whileft the affliction of Ifrael wasexeeding bitter; the Text it felfe intimating no lefte: by which confequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdome of Israel, are now loft. That which remains those him, seemes, not without reason, vinto some very learned, to have belonged vinto the time of Sardanapalus, in whose daies Ninine was first of all destroied. This Prophetrather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all 40 the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

2. Chron. c.14.

per Efaiam.

In the raigne of Pacialikewise it was, that Esai, the first of the fouregreat Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of greater and leffer Prophets, is Aug. decimi. Dei. taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. Augustine gives reason of the diffinction) because the greater have written larger Bookes. The Prophet Est was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing; or of his Nobilitic, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to have beene the sonne of Ames the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lined; but for the excellencie, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainely foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Pasfion, and whole hilloric of our Saujour, with the calling of the Gentils, that he might 50 as well becalled an Enangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That ther impreffu (as Hierome faith) one would thinke he did not foretell of thinges to come, but compile an Historie of matters a readie past.

Boccharis was King of Egypt, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computa-

tion (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when Vazia tooke posfession of the Kingdome of tuda.

After the death of Bocchoris, Afythis followed in the Kingdome of Agypt, vnto him succeeded Any/is; and these two occupied that crowne like yeares. Then Sabacus, an Ethiopian, became King of Egypt, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of Vzzia his raigne and life. Of these and other Azyptian Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to bee intermedled with the businesse of Iuda.

In Albens, the two last yeares of Ariphron his twentie, the senen and twentieth 10 of Thespeins, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and three the first of Asolylus his three and twentie, made even with the two and fiftie of Vzzia: as likewise did in Alba the last feuen of Siluius Auentinus his feuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of Siluius Procus, and two and twentic the first of Syluius Amalius. In Media Arbaces beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of Vazia, wherein, after eight and twentie yeares, his Sonne Sofarmus succeeded him, and raigned thirtie yeares. Of this Arbaces, and the division of the Asyrian Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it convenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainetie in the florie of the Asyrism Kings, who have alreadic found the way into Paleflina, and are not likely to for-20 get it.

### **3.** IIII.

Of the Afgrian Kings, descending from PHVL: and whether PHVL and BELOSVS were one person; or heads of sundrie Families, that raigned a-part in Niniue and Babylon.



Y that which hath formerly beene shewed of Sardanapalus his death, it is apparent that the chiefe therein was Arbaces the Median; to whom the reft of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authoritic fentence of death, or pardon of their for-

feited lines. The first example of this his power, was shewen upon Belofus the Ba. Eyionian, by whose especiall aduise and helpe, Arbaces himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of Arbases exercised in so tyrannicall manner, as might gine offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had affilted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of Belefus, he yied the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allow-40 ing him to hold, not only the Citie and Province of Babylon, but also those treasures,

for embezeling whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) only the Soueraignetic to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the Medes against Sardanapalus, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promife, hee deftroied the Cittie of Niniue; permitting the Citizens neuerthelesse to take and carric away euerie one his owne goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the Persians and Bactrians, he drew to his side, by the allurement of libertie; which 10 he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reines of his owne Soneraignetie, he did more harme to the generall effate of stedia, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enioved, could recompence. For both the Territoric of that Countrie was pared narrower by Salmanaffar (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to have held some Townes of the Ccc 2

Messes; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselues were glad to see that reformation, which Deserts, the sist of Arbates his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the allyrians grew to be fuch, as might in four foor yeares, if not fooner, both extend it felle vnto the conquell of tirel, and teare away fome part of Meates, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of Monues, and subsertion of the collyrian Kingdome, whereof the Callete, vnder Arbaees, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to have kept the allyrians vnder their fubjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at libertie; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who raigning afterwards in Babylon and 12 Ninine, are consounded by some, and distinguished by others a whereby their histo.

rie is made vnecertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthie man hofeth Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the indgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it beneedfull to set down a part the several authorities and arguments of sundriemen, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another; it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse; which I will doe as briefly as Lean, 10 and without search to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addisted to the ene opinion thant othe other; by any sancie of mine owne, but meerely led by those reasons, which vponexamination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That Belosis was the same King who, first of the Asyrians, entred Palassina with an Armie; being called Pul, or Phul, in the Scriptures, and by Annius his Authors with fuch as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Aftrologer, fubtile, and ambitious; that hee got Babylon by composition made with Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of Affyria: finally, that he raigned 30 eight and fortie yeares, and then dying, left the Kingdome to Teglat phalasar his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of Merodach prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Metasthenes were sufficient proofe, could not be gainfaid: for that Author (fuch as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, how soeuer Annius his Authors descrue to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Historica tall. For it is manifest by the relation of 1500 orus (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that Arbaees and Belofus were Partners in the action against Sardanapalus; 40 and that the Backrians, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewife other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to have Asyria it selfe, the chiefe Countrie of the Empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least apparence is found in any Hiflorie. And certainely it flood with little reason, that the Asyrians should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of Miniue by Arbaces, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie, because thereby the people of that Nation might beekept downe, from aspiring to recouer the Soueraignetie, which elfe they would have thought to belong, as of 19 right, vnto the Scate of the Empire.

Vpon fuch confiderations did the Romans, in ages long after following, deftroy Cartinge, and diffolue the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of Capas; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed oner

dangerous

dangerous each to Rome it felfe, that was Miftris of them both. This being fo, how Twill.contact and the thought that the Affyrians in three or foure yeares had crefted their King. Radhom, or, 2, dome a-new, vnder one Pul? or what must this Pul haue beene (of whose defernings, or entermedling, or indeede of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in druision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very some after? Surely he was none other than Betofus; whose neare Neighbourhood gaue him oportunitie (as he was wise enough to play his ownegame) both to get Affris to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should have attempted

to circ vponit. The Prouince of Bibylon, which Belofus held, being (as Berodoius neodas), reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the Perfian Empire, was able to furnith him with all that was requifite for fuch a bufineffe; if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and filtuer that had beene in the Palace of Nimue. And queffionleffe to reflore fuch a Citie as Nimue, was an enterprife it for none to take in hand, except he had fuch meanes as Belofus had, which Pul, if he were not Belofus, is likely to haue wanted.

Belides all this, had Pul beene a diffinct person from Belosus, and Lord of Assiria, which lay beyond the Countries of Babylan and Assistanta, it would not have beene an ealite matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootic a sarre of in 1/2 set, the only action by which the name of Phalis knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call Pulor Phal, was

the same whom prophane writers have called Belosius, Beiefes, and Belessia, (in like manner as to sephus acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuero-togenalistic therwise than Darius the Mede, was the Sonne of Assages, and called of the Greekes case. It is supported by another name, that is, Crustures) then is this scruple vetterly temound. For Bishorand Mesopotania did border your Syria and Pelessians: so that Belosius, having settled his affaires in Assages towards the East and North, might with good lessure

encroach ypon the Countries that lay on the other fide of his Kingdome, to the South and Weft. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde enery one circum30 finace concurring, to proue that Plm! who invaded Ifinat, was none other than Belo30 fine. Forthe Prince of the Arabianis, who joyned with Arbiace, and brought in of mall part of the forces wherewith Sardamapalus was outerthrowne, did enter into that adion, meerly for the loue of Belofin. The friendlhip of these Arabianis was a thing of mame importance, to those that were to passe out Euphrases with an Armie into 
Syria. Wherefore Belofus, that held good correspondence with them; and whose 
most fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe 
them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to have quier passes through their 
borders, but their vtmost assistance; yea, it frands with good reason, that they, who 
loued not Israel, should for their owne behoose have guien him intelligence, of the 
detruction and civil broiles among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this Passes 
thousand talents, so it seemes that the Syrians and Arabians, that had solt an heavie

Neighbour of Irobosim, recoured their owne, fetting vp a new King in Damesto, and clearing the coast of Arabia, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to Hamash) of the Mobrer Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuded by Euphrates hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient confanguinitie; the memorie whereof was auaileable to the Syrims, in the time of Dawd, when the Aramites beyond the River came ouer willingly, to the succour of Inducer, and the Aramites about Damaseo. So Belosus had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King raigning so farreoff as Ximice, should have to doe in 50 Syri, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to Emphrates, it were hard to flow.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the Chaldars into Palassinta, it may be doubted, least it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes.

Ccc 3

For if the Crowne of Ifrael were worne by no man in three and twentie yeares, then is it likely that Belojus was either vnwilling to ftirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was faireft, and first discouered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not itrong enough, to feeke after helpe from fome Prince that lav further off; and so the opinion of those that diffinguish Phul from Belofus, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we lay, that Belofus did passe the Riuer of Euphrates, as foone as hee found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it feeme that the inter-regnum in I/rael was not follong as we have made it: for three and twentie yeares leifure would have affoorded better opportunitie. which ought not to have beene loft.

For answere hereunto, we are to consider; what Orosius and Eusebius have written concerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the departure of Abaces into Media, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mightic, betweene the times of Arbsees and Deigees the Medes. Now, though it be held an error of orofine, where hee supposeth that the occupying of Babylonia by the Chaldrans, was in manner of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein he and Enfebrus doe concurre, that the authoritie of Arbaees did reftraine the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it selfe. Now, though fome have conjectured that all Afiria was given to Belofus (as an overplus, belides the Prouince of Babylon, which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in re 29 gard of his high defernings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that hee did only encroach upon that Pronince by little and little, whilest Arbaces lined, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve yeares betweene the death of Arbaces, and the beginning of 26nahem his raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of Appria, and setting of that Countrie, was worke enough to hold Belofus occupied, belides the reflauration of Ninine, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his raigne, if perhaps he lived to feeit finished in his owne daies. So that this argument may rather ferue to proue that Phal and Belofus were one person; for asmuch as the journey of Phul against Ifrael was not made until Belofus could finde leifure; and the time of 30 aduantage which Belofus did let flip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Pronince of which Phul is called King. Eriefly, it may be faid, that he who conquered Affria, and performed fomewhat vpon a Countrie so farre diflant as Palaftina, was likely to have beene, at least, named in some historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrie to have beene spoken of for those victories : but wee neither heare of Phul, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, facredor prophane, once mention the victories or acts what focuer of the Afgrens, donein those times; whereas of Belofus, and the power of the Childens, wee finde good Record.

Surely, that great flaughter of fo many thouland Afforians, in the quarrell of Sar- 40 danapains, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouer whelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter defolation of Ainiue, must needes have so weakened the state of Assiria, that it could not in thirtie yeares space be able to inuade Palestina, which the auncient Kings, raigning in Minine, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable Belofus to fubdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of Media, and being (especially if he had compounded with the Medes) by the interpolition of that Countrey, secure of the Sothians, and other warlike Nations on that fide, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto ciuile diffention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the Avabians and Aramtes about Daweles, friends and coulins to the Chaldwans and Mesopotamians, did invite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of Psil in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of Belefus; cuen as by the names of Nebuchad-

never, have the Calede, Artafbafbt, and Abafbuerofb, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the fame, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, haue called Nabopollafiar, Cyaxares, and Artaxerxes: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath brene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our felues and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once graunted; other things, of more importance, will of themfance early follow. For it is a matter of no great confequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pul were Beselves, or some other man : the whole race of these Afferian and Babylonian Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, Nabonassar, Marclocempadus, and Aabe oldifor (famous for the Altronomicall observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore Belofus or Belefis were that Phal which intuded Ifrael; if he and his posteritie raigned both in Ainiae and in Babylon; if he were father of Teglat-Phul-Afar, from whome Salmanafar, Senacherib, and Afarhaddon descended; then is it manifest, that we must seeke Wabonassar, the Babylonian King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then Saimanafar, who is knowne to haue raigned in those yeares, which Ptolomer the Mathemati-20 clan hath affigned vnto Nabonaffar. As for Merodach, who supplanted Afar haddon, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all this disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not be fatisfied with fuch coniestures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peeces, hope to ouerthrow all the premiffes, vpon which it is inferred. For (fay they) if Nabonaffar, that raigned in Babylon, could not be Salmanaffar, or any of those other Affyrian Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that Phul and Belofus were fenerall Kings. This confequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To proue that Nabonaffar was a diffined person from Salmanaffar, are brought such argu-20 ments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworne to hold the contrarie. For first, Nabona far was King of Babylon, and not of Afria. This is proved by his name, which is meerely Chaldean, whereas Salman, the first part of Salmanasfars name, is proper to the Affyrians. It is likewise proued by the Astronomicall obfernations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Affyrians, doe thew, that Nabonaffar, from whom Ptolomie drawes that Epocha, or account of times. was a Babylonian, and no Affyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the succeffor of Nabonaffar, which was Mardocempadus, called in his owne language Mero-duc-ken-pad, but more briefely in E/ay his prophetie, Merodach, by the former E/ai 39.1. part of his name; or Merodach Baladan, the sonne of Baladan. Now if Merodach, the 40 Jonne of B. dadan, King of Babel, were the Jonne of Mabonaffar, then was Nabonaffar none other then Baladan King of Babel, and not Salmanaffar King of Affria.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonas and Salmanasar, which in Greeke or Latine writing hath no difference, wee are taught by Sealizer, that in the Hiebrew letters there is found no affinitie therein. So concerning the places of Babylonia, whereinto Salmanaffar carried captine some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Prozince of Babylon Salmonaffar had getten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of Babylon it selfe. To conclude, Mero lach beganne his raigne oner Babylon in the fixt yeare of Hezelia, at which time Salmanaffir tooke Samaria; therefore, if Salmanaffar were King of Babylon, then 50 must we say that he and Merodach, yea and Nabonassar, were allone man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer Tofeph Scaliger; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessarie inference.

Touching all that was faid before of Phul Belosiu, for the prouing that Phul and

Belofus were not fundrie Kings; tofeph Scaliger pitties their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesset that they were, who by their diligence might have wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning Annius his Authors given fuch offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answere.

For mine owne part, howfocuer I beleeue nothing that Annius his Berofus, Metalthenes, and others of that stampe affirmes, in respect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not fo faucamilh, but that I can well enough digeit a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good sellowes alleaged in it: I have (somewhat peraduenture too often) alreadie spoken my minde of Annius his Authors: neuertheleffe, I may fay here againe, that where other Histories are filent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and ferueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities,

Neither indeede are those honest and paintfull men (as Scaliger termes them. meaning, if I mittake him not, good filly fellowes) who fet downe the Attract Kings from Pul forwards, as Lords also of Babylen, taking Pul for Belefus, and Salm: nassar for Nabonassar, such Writers as a man should be assamed or vinwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Annius, though difliking him ingenerall) Gerard Mercator is not fo flight a Chronologer, that hee should be an laughed out of dores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene Scaliger and Mercator, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of Scaliger, and fee whether they be of fuch force, ascannot either be refifted or avoided. It will eafily be granted, that Nabona far was King of Babylon; that he was not King of Africa, some men doubt whether Scaligers reasons be enough to proue. For though Nabenassar be a Chaldwan name, and Salmanassar an Asyrian; yet what hinders vs from belowing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two feuerall names? That Astronomic flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to proue Nabenasiar Stal. Cann, 1.3. either an Aftrologer, or a Chaldean. So it is, that Scaliger himfelfe calls them, Pro- 33 phet.is rescio quos, qui NABONASSARVM Astronomum suisse in sommis viderunt; Prophets I know not who, that in their scepe have dreamt of NANONASSAR, that hee was an

Altrologer.

Whether Nabonafar were an Astrologer or no I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord ouer the Chaldrans, doth not prouchim to have been elearned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also King of Asiria. The Emperor Charles the fift, who was borne in Gant, and Pinlip his Sonne, King of Spaine, and Lords of the Netherlands, had men farre more karned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then living in Spaine, if Spaine at 40 that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that Spaine was none of theirs. It may well be, that Salman, for or Nabonaffar, did vse the Affyrian Souldiers, and Babylonian Scholers: but it feemes, that he and his posteritie, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King Philip lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by fuch a courfe. As for the two ynanfiverable arguments, (as Scaliger termes them, being me thinks none other than anfweres to somewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawen from the vnlike found and writing of those names, salman if a rand Nabonassar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is 50 not likenesse of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that Salmanaffar might be Lord of some places in the Province of Balylon, yet not King of Babylon it selfe: this indeede might bee so, and it might bee otherwise.

Hitherto

alleaged out of the Prophet Efai, concerning Merodach the Sonne of Baladan; and in that which is faid of this Merodach, or Mardokenpadus, his being the Successor of Nabonaffor, and his beginning to raigne in the fixt years of Hezekia, I findematter of more difficultie, then can be answered in hast. I will therefore deferre the handlang of these objections, vntill I meete with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of Hezekia, wherein Merodach lived and was King, Verthat I may not leave too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here fatisfie him; that how firong focuer this argument may feeme, Seato cerhimfelte did line to retract it, ingenuously confesting, that in thinking Mein heb to be the Sonne of Nabonaffar, he had beene deceived. Now therefore let vs confider, in what fort they have fallioned their storie, who

Hitherto there is nothing fane conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is

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taking Pul to be a diffinct person from Belosus or Belestis, have in like fort, as was necoffere, diffinguished their off-spring, making that of Pul to faile in Marhaddon, which left all to Merodach the Babylonian. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I have feene, that fince lofeph Scaliger delinered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: 20 but Sethus Caluifus himfelfe, who hath abridged Scaligers learned Worke, De emenditione Temporum, hath not beene carefull to give vs notice, how long Belefus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Pulaffar, did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in Scaliger) but is content to let downe Baladan, for the same person with Nabonas ar, which Scaliger himselfe renoked. In this case the Fre I must lay downe the plot of these divided Kingdomes, in such fort as I finde it contriued by Angustinas Torwiellus; who only of all that I have feene, fets downe the fuccession, continuance, and acts, of those that raigned in Asprinafter Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Belofus, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This Torniellus is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. P. aul, whose Annales were printed the 30 last veire; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, found judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inferting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow Scaliger, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto Torniellus; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee haue instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and leffe timoroufly in other things, 40 which now I have not leifure to reuife. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared leaft it had ouer hafuly pailed out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vallie of Siddim, and were flaine by Abraham, I finde him aduenturing, as I have C.1. \$.13. done, to fav, that they may probably be thought to have beene some pettie Lords;

the contrarie opinion of all Writers not withstanding. But now let vs consider how he hath ordered these last Affyrian and Babylonian Kings.

After the destruction of Sardanapalus, Arbaces being the most mightie, fought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by Belosus; in which contention, one Phul, a powerfull man in Afria, fided with Belofus, and they two prevailed fo farre, that fi-50 nally Arbaces was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman Empire, betweene Octavian, Anthonie,

Another conjecture is (for Torniellus offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainetie) that Arbaces made himselse Soucraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate

of his Empire in Mesia, appointing Belofus his Lieutenant in Babylonia, and Phul in Affyria. But inflort space, that is, in soure yeares, it came to passe, by the just judgement of God, that Phul and Belofus rebelled against arbaces, like as arbaces had done against Surdanspalus, and in stead of being his Viceroyes, made themselses absolute kings. And to this later opinion Tornicius himselse leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is sound in propane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, refoliog to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Having thus deussed, the more supposition are sourced to the steep in the supposition without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Having thus deussed, and and Belofus might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their successor, in this manner.

Four yeares after Arbaees, Phul beginnes to raigne, and continues eight and fortic yeares. Theglasphalafar (whole name, and the names of other Princes, I write duserly, according as the Authors whome I haue in hand are pleafed to dissertifie them) fueceeding with Phul, raigned three and twentie. Salmanaffar followed him, and raigned tenne. After him Senaberib raigned feuen: and when he was flaine, Afarbadian his fonne tenne yeares; in whome that Line failed.

The fame time that Phul tooke vpon him as King of Allyris, or not long after, (why not rather afore) for foit had beene more likely) Belofits vsurped the Kingdome of Bishon, and held it threefcore and eight yeares at the least threefcore and eight yeares did passe, before Nationally rollowed him in the possession.

To Nabon sfire, whome (with Scalger) he thinkes to be Baladan, are affigued fixe and twentie yeares: then, two and fiftie to Merodach, or Mardocempadan; four and twentie to Ben Merodach: and laftly, one and twentie to Nabolasfor, the father of Nabochodonofor, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these Assyrian and Babylonian Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to Belefin, and contound him with Phul, appeare to me more neerely refembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that Torniellus would have conceived two different wayes, by which Phul might have gotten Affiria (for how Belofus came to get Babylon, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adhæres to the later of the 30 two, as better agreeing with Diodore, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make Phul on the fundaine King of Affyria; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it felfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most enlikely to have happened, valesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to fo high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) both he denifed the meanes, whereby Phul might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arife, Why this Phul, being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was veterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Dinision it selfe, and the civile Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of. Questionlesse, the interver- 46 ting of some Treasures by Belosus, with his Indgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we must confesse, the Dominion given to Phul to have beene exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to have Leene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of Phul and Belofus against Arbaces, it was almost impossible for the Affyrians to recouer such strength in four yeares, as might ferue to hold out in rebellion: for Belofus, it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that Arbaces did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an oner- 50 great fauourer of libertie) cuen the Medes, that were under his owne Gouernment, to doe what they lifted.

But it is now fit that wee perule the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owner times) but

fpeaking of their order and time in generall. It it bee fo vniawfull to thinke, that fome of Annius his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may bee true, especially sinch, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it said, that Phu. did raigne in Affiria eight and fortie yeares? For this hath no other ground than Annius. It is true, that painefull and judicious Writers haue found this number of yeares, to a gree fitly with the course of things in Hiltorie: yet all of them tooke it from Annius. Let it therefore be the punishment of Annius his forgerie (a squestionlesse he is often guiltie of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probabilitie, he be not belee to use far his owne sake; though for our owne sakes we make vse of his boldnesse, taking his wordes for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) were are vnwilling our schues to be A uthors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Herein we stall haue this commoditie, that wee may without brushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon Anneus, against whom we stall bee fure to hade friends that will take our part.

The raignes of Theglathphalafar and Salmans for did reach, by Anninchis meafine, to the length of fine and twentic years the one, and feuenteene the other;
To media hath'ent off two from the former, and feuen from the later of them, to fit
(as it inited) his owne computation; vling the libertie whereof I spake last: for that
20 any Author, saue our good Metasthenes, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone
about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I have yet sound.
To Senscherhand Ajarhadan, Tornicias gives the same length of raigne, which is
found in Metasihenes. I thinke there are not many, that with arrogate so much visto
themselves, as may well be allowed vinto a man so judicious as is Tornicias; yet
could I wish, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of Annus, in this business, wherein he himselie hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them,
than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath yled in measuring the raignes of the Chaldans; stuing up all the space betweene the end of Sardanpalus, and the beginning 30 of Nadonassa, with the three score and eight yeares of Bacsas. In this respect it was, perhaps, that hee thought Balosus might have begunne his raigne somewhat later then Phalison therefore and eight yeares would seeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he took posselfson of it. But how is any whit of his age aboved by thorning his raigne, seeing his lifereacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeede, eight and fortie yeares had beene somewhat of the most, considering that hee seemes by the storie to have beene little selfe, at such time as hee joyned with Abouts; and therefore the addition of twentie yeares did well described the note (which Terniellus aduisedly gives) that if his raigne extended 40 not to farre, then the raigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, with Nadonassas.

I neither doereprehend the boldnesse of Torniesses, inconjecturing, nor the modesse of Seedinger and Sessions, a lassions, in sorbearing to set downess war antable, such things as depend only youn likelihood. For things whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in Historie, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries whereof as yet there is made no true discourse; that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmics, Rocks of loadesson, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, aggreeable to common report, though many times controlled by follow-some greaterinee, and sound contrair to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariests from the remeditesse oblinion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet sairts

Neg, fernidis Pars inclusa caloribus Orlundi, nec Borea finitimum latus, Durataq, (ole Nines, Atercatorem abigunt : horrida callidi Vincunt aquora Nauite.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne snow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The subject Regions can fence, And keepe the greedie Merchant thence. The fubtile Shipmen way will finde, Storme neuer fo the Seas with winder

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ferue only to milleade fuch discouerers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angric curses, or well deserved scorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot ferue alwaics. To which purpose I remember a pretie jeast of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthic Spanish Gentleman, who had been comploied by his King in planting a Colonic vpon the Streights of Mogellan: for when I 20 asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Iland in those streights, which me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to bee called the Painters wines Iland; faying, That whilest the fellow drew that Mappe, his wife sitting by, defired him to put in one Countrie for her; that free, in imagination, might have an Iland of her owne. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we neede not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themfelues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if fome good Copie of an ancient Author could be found, thewing (if wee haue it not aircadie) the perfect truth of these vicertaineties? would it be more shame to have beleeved 39 in the meane while, Annius or Torniellus, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not fay, that the credit, which we give to Annius, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names hee pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authoritie, I had rather trust Scaliger or Terniellus, than Annius; yet him than them, if his affertion be more probable, and more agreeable to appround Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it feemes to me; it having moreouer gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanely learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, fo to deale as Pacunias in 40 Capua did with the multitude, finding them delirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senators vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtayning thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthie of death, and eleeted a better in his place. The condemnation was haftie; for as fast as every name was read, all the Towne cryed, Let him die : but the execution required more leifure, for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or basenesse of his condition, or infufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: fo that finding the worse and lesse choise, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old flould be kept for lack of better. 50

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they beganne,

Fter this division of the Affgrian Empire, followes the instauration. of the Olympian games, by Iphitus, in the raigne of the same King Vazia, and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were chablished by Iphitus, in the first of Intham : yet is not that opinion fo generall, but that Authors, waigh-

to tie enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred Hiltorie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not bee too carefull of drawing the Hebrewes to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that fetting in due order thefe beginnings of accompts, we joyne them to matters of Ifrael and Inda, where occation requires.

Their Olympian games and exercises of activitie, were first instituted by Hercules, who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which Pythagoras found out the stature and likely strength of Hercules his bodie They tooke name, not from the Mountaine Olympus, but from the Citie Olympia, otherwife Pifa, neare va-20 to Elis; where also tupiters Temple in Elis, famous among the Grecians, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. Thele games were exercifed from cuery fourth yeare compleat, in the plaines of Elis, a Citie of Peloponnefus, neare the River Alpheus.

After the death of Hercules, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, Aut. Gell. 1. 2.3 till Iphitus by aduife from the Oracle of Apollo, re-established them, Lyourgus the explus. Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the Gracians, till Pier, or of Hermitian of Thesis Continued by the Gracians, till Pier, or of the resistance of the state of the raigne of Theodofius the Emperor, according to Cedrenus: other thinke that they were diffolued under Conflantine the Great.

From this institution, Varro accompted the Gracian times, and their stories, to be 30 certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet Plinie gives Plinie 36.04; little credit to all that is written of Greece, till the raigne of Cyrus, who beganne in the fine and fiftieth Olympiad, as Eufebius Out of Diodore, Ceflor, Polybius, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wife Gracians flourished. For Solon had speech with Crass, and Crass was overthrown and taken by Cress.

Many patient and piercing braines have laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these olympiads, namely to set them in the true yeare of the World, and the raigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that h of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly jumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cell against Inlian, and Didymus, beginne the Olympiads the nine and fortieth of Ofasor Azaruh.

Enfebrus who is contrarie to himfelfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that Enfeb. de Prop. finds the first olympiad in the beginning of the foure hundreth and fixth yeare after Evang. Lio.c.3; Troy, yet he telleth vs that it was in the fiftieth yeare of Vazia, which is (as I find it) two yeares later.

Transfibenes placeth the first Olympiad sourchundred and seuen yeares after Troy, Ermosto, apad reckoning the yeares that passed betweene; to whom Dionysius Halicarnasses, Dio Clem. Alex. dorus Siculus, Solinus, and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first Olympiad, is thus codecled by Eratofthenes. From the taking of Troy to the descent of Hercules his Po-30 fleritie into Peloponnesus, were sourcecore yeares; thence to the Ionian expedition, threeleore yeares; from that expedition to the time of Lyeurgus his gouernement in Sparta, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first Olympiad, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first Olympiad is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to feeke the beginning of the Olympiads, by numbrane the yeares from the taking of Troy, which is of a date farre more vicertaine. Let is fuffice, that by knowing the inflauration of these games, to have been in the source hundreth and eight yeare current after Troy, wee may reckon back to the taking or that Citie, setting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the Olympiads, mult teach vs how to finde when they beganne.

To this good vie, we have the enfuing yeares, vnto the death of Alexander the Great, thus divided, by the same Eratofthenes. From the beginning of the olympics. to the paffage of Xernes into Greece, two hundreth fourescore and seuenteen yeares, 13 from thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre, eight and fortic yeares. forwards to the victorie of Lylander, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of Leucha, thirtie foure; to the death of Philip King of Micedon, fine and thirtie; and finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. The whole fumme arifeth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeare; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth yeare of Vzzith, we have arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of Cyrus his raigne, and the death of Alexander; as also you the Alironomicall calculation of fundric Eclipses of the Sunne as of that which happened when 13 Xerxes fet out of Sardis with his Armie to inuade Greece; and of divers other.

Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeare of the fine and liftieth Olympiad, and that he raigned thirtie yeares; they who give him but twentienine yeares of Yull, de Diu. 1.1. raigne (following Herodotus, rather than Tullie, Iustine, Eufebius, and others) beginne a yeare later, which comes an to one recogning. Our trade and four teenth Olympiad. This Build, de Prop. all good Writers, in the first yeare of the hundreth and four teenth Olympiad. This Gauss Lines. a yeare later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexander let by Eurg. 1:10-6.3. an good Writers, in the first years of the number shade of the beginning of Cyrus; as many the like observations doe. For if we rock on vpwards from the time of Alexander, we shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the Olympiads, wherein Cr. 30 rus beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to fignifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Crrus, in the first yeare of the fine and fiftieth Olympiad, vnto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth olympiad, we find two hundred and thirtie yeares compleat: from the beginning of cyrus his Monarchie, which lafled but feuen yeares, we finde compleat two hundred and feuen yeares, which was the continuance of the Perfine Empire.

Now therefore feeing that the first yeare of Cyrus his Monarchie (which was the last of the lixtieth olympiad, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeare from the institution of those games by Iphinus, followed the last of the seuentic yeares, of the 40 captiuitie of Inda, and defolation of the Land of Ifrael; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventie yeares, and one hundred threescore and ten yeares more, the last which passed vinder the Kings of Inda, to finde the first of these Olympiads; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of Fazia, as wee haucairea-

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples fake, that which was feene when Lerxes mustered his Armie at Sarels, in the two hundreth threescore and seuenth years of Nationasian, being the last of the threefcore and fourteenth olympiad; leades vs back vnto the beginning of Aerxes, and from him to Cyrus, whence we have a faire way through the three core and ten 13 yeares, vnto the destruction of Ierusalem; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of Inda, to the one and fiftieth yeare of Vazia.

Thus much may fuffice, concerning the time wherein these olympiaels be-

Totell the great folemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wraftling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maftrie in those feats, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that ferued only for oftentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musitians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yeathevery Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them to should get the honour, of having placed the best part.

The Eleans were Prelidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held fo much, that when Diagoras had feene his three Sonnes crowned for their feuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation : Morcre DIAGORAS, non enim in culum afcensurus es; that is; Die DIAGORAS, For thou shalt not clime up to heaven: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what alreadic had befailen him. In the like sense Horace 20 speakes of these Victors, calling them,

> Quos Elsa domum reducit Palma calestes.

Herat.Carm.l.

Such as like heavenly wights doe come With an Elwan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the fongs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these Olympian prises; but euen graue Historians 30 thought it a matter worthic of their noting. Such was (as Tullie counts it) the va- Tallin Orator? nnie of the Greekes, that they effected it almost as great an honor, to have wonne Flaces. the victorie at Running or Wraftling in those games, as to have triumphed in Rome for some famous victorie, or conqueit of a Prouince.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombeon, which doth answere to our June; and what meanes they yield to make the Moneth beginne with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of Inda, and leave the merric Greekes at their games, whom I shall meete in more serious emploiments, when the Persian quarrells draw 40 the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of Ionia and Hellesbont,

## Of IOTHAM and his Contemporaries.

OTHAM the Sonne of Vzziah, when he was flue and twentie yeares old, and in the fecond of Pekah King of Ifrael, was annointed King in 2 (2001), 33) terufalem, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gateto the Temple of three (core cubits ypright, and therefore called ophel: besides divers Cities in the Hills of Inda, and in the Forrests, Towers, and Palaces: he inforced the Ammonites to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundreth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee raigned fixe and twentic yeares : of whom Iosephus gives this testimonie. Finsmodi vero Ddd 2

ganne.

Princets hie fuit, vi nullum in eo virtuis genus degideres; vi qui Deum adeo pie colneri. hommibus suis adeo sufie prafuerit, orbem spfam dante sibi cura che passus sit, ortanie pere auxerit, vi vniuer jum regnum hofibus quidere mimme contemnendum, domelico. autem eius incolis atque ciuibus felix, fauflum & fortunatum fua virtute effecerit; Th. was such a Prince, as a man could fin le no kinde of vertue wanting in him; he worlde. ped God fo religiously, he gouerned his men fo righteously , he was fo provident for the Citie, and did to greatly amplifie it, that by his worthe and proveffe he made his whole King lome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens. profeerous and happie.

This is all that I finde of *10tham*: his raigne was not long, but as happie in all 10 things, as he himfelfe was denout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded Phelosteus in Corineh: after whome, the Corinthians erested Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet Paufanias in his ficond Booke, with Strabo and Plutarch, in many places are of opinion, That Corinth was gouerned by Kings of the race of the Backle, to the time of Cyp/elus, who droue them out.

Panf. 1. 3.

Teglathphalaffar, or Tiglathpelefer, the fonne of Phul, the fecond of the Babylenians and Allyrians that was of this new race, about this time inuaded Ifrael, while Fekab (who murthered his Master Pekaiah) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of Nephialiand Galile, with those of Gilead, ouer Iordan, 20 and carried the inhabitants captine. This Tiglath raigned fine and twentie yeares, according to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemins findes, that with his sonne Salmansfar he raigned yet two yeares longer; which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne. because the acra of Nabonafar beginnes with his single raigne, but reckon them to Tighlath Phulasar himselfe, who therewith raigned seven and twentie yeares.

Afchylus, the sonne of Agamnestor, about the same time, the twelfth Archonin Athens, ruled fine and twentic yeares. Aleamenes gouerned Sparta: after whome, the Estate changed, according to Eusebius: but therein surely Eusebius is mistaken. For Diodore, Plutarch, Paulanius, and others, witnesse the contrarie. Paulanius affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and raig- 32 ned threescore yeares, and out-lived the Melleniack Warre: which was ended by Theorompus, the fonne of Wicander, his royall companion.

At this time lived Nahum the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the Affirian Empire, and of the Citie of Minine; which succeeded (fayth tofephus) a hundred and lifteene yeares after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were built at this time, while in Media, Sofarmus and Medidus raigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

Of A CHAZ and his Contemporaries.



Has, or Achus, fucceeded vnto Iotham in the fenenteenth yeare of Fish, the fonne of Remalis: the fame being also the last yeare of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same Peka, and raigned insteam, but not complete yeares. This Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his

predecessors. He made molten Images for Baalim, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll Meloch, or Saturne, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, fet vp not farre from Ierufalem, in a Valley 50 shadowed with Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophes, from whence the word Gehenna is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkatic of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the facrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pitifull cryes of the children

might not be heard: which viniaturall, cruell, and deutlish Oblation, terenie the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. Hierome vpon the tenth of Attather hath written at large. By the prohibition in Leuitiens the eighteenth, it co. 19-32appeareth that this horrible inne was ancient: in the twelfth of Deuteronomie, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practifed elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from ludger, diners Authors witnesse; as Virgil in the second of his Aneids, - Sanguine placefles, &c. and Silius, - Poscere cede Deos. Saturne is faid to have brought this custome into Italie, besides the casting of many foules into the River of Tyber, in flead of which, Eercules commanded that the 10 waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the Carthaginians this kinde of butcherie, in fo much that when their Citic was befieeed, and in diffresse, the Priest made them beleeve, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore Saturne had flirred up and firengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be flaine, and offered to Saturne or Saturn, to appeale him : who belides these forenamed Nations had instructed the Rhodisms, the people of Crete, and Chios, of Messe . Energy le. na, of Galatia, with the Massagets, and others, in these his services: Further, as if hee Dom. 1. 1. were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 20 (25 Acolla writeth) the Mexicans and other people of America, were brought by Acolla de Hill. the Deuill under this fearefull servitude, in which he also holdeth the Floridans and nat. Somor. 11d.

For the wickednesse of this King Ahaz, God stirred up Rezin of Damaseus, and Pekah the Sonne of Remalsah, King of Ifrael against him, who inuaded Iudea, and befieged Ierufalem, but entred it not.

The King of Syria, Rezin, possesh himselfe of Elab by the Red Sea, and cast the Ienesout of it, and rekab flaughtered in one day twelve hundred thousand Indeans, 2. Chem. 28, 6; of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time Manfeials the Sonne of Achaz was alfo flaine by Zichri, with Azrikam the Gouernour of his house : and Eleanath the se-30 cond person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the Ifraelites led away to Samaria: but by the counfell of the Prophet oded, they were returned and deliuered back againe.

As Ifraeland Aram vexed Iuda on the North; fo the Edomites and the Philiftims, who enermore attended the ruine of Index, entred vpon them from the South; and tooke Bethlemes, Aialon, Gaderoth, Socho, Timnah, and Gemzo, flew many people, and chron. 28, carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when Achaz saw himselfe environed on all fides, and that his I dolls and dead Gods gaue him no comfort, hee fent to the Affrian Tiglathpilefor, to delire fome aide from him against the Ifraelites and Aramites, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings a. Kings 16.

Tiglathpilefer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that role in Palalima. His Father having lately made himselfe from a Provinciall Lieutenant, King of Babylon and Affyria, had a little before led him the way into ludea, inuited by Menahem King of Ifrael. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly hearkened to Achaz and embraced the aduantage. As for Belochus himfelfe, he was content to affigue some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have faid before) he was not firmely fetled at home, and the Syrian Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, having now, with the treasures of ierusalem, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Terri-30 torie of Damafeus, wanne the Citic, and killed Rezin, the last of the race of the Adads, who beganne with David and ended with this Achaz. At Damafeus Achaz met Tiglath, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar sent it to Vrish the Priest, commanding the like to be made at Ierusalem, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the Syrians. In the meane while Tiglath possess all Basan, and the rest

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beyond lordan, which belonged to the Tribe of Reuben, Gad, and Manaffe. And then palling the River, he mastered the Cities of Galilee, invaded Ephrain, and the Kingdome of Ifrael, and made them his Vassalls. And not withstanding that he was inuited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoile of Ifrael, he possess himselfe of the greater part of Iuda, and as it feemeth inforced Achaz to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings the eighteenth it is written of Ezechia, that he revolted from Albur. or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by Senacherib. After Abaz had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeare of his raignehee died : but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of Inda.

With Ahaz lined Medidus, the third Prince in Media, who governed fortic yeares, 10 Enfeb. inchion, faith Eufebius : Diodorus and Ctesias finde Anticarmus in flead of this Median, to haue beene So/a mus his Successour, to whom they give fiftie yeares.

Tiglath Phileser held the Kingdome of Asyria, all the raigne of Ahaz : yet so, that Salmanaffar his Sonne may feeme to have raigned with him some part of the time, LKings 28, 16. For we finde that Abaz did fend onto the Kings of A SHVR to helpe him. The Geneua note faies, that thefe Kings of Afour were Teglath Pilefer, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made fuch conquests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of Albur, were Tiglath, and Salmanaffar his Sonne, who raigned with his Father, as 20 hath beene faid before: though how long hee raigned with his Father, it bee hard to define.

At this time beganne the Ephori in Lacedamon, a hundred and thirtie yearesafter Plus in vita Soli. Lyeurgus, according to Plus arch. Eufebius makes their beginning farre later, namely in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these Ephori, Elalus was the first, Theopompus and Polydorus, being then joynt Kings. These Ephori, chosen enery yeare, were controllers, \* as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their adulfe and confent. For (faith Cicero) they were opposed against their Kings, as the Roman Tribunes against the Consults. In the time of Ahaz died Afchylus, who had ruled in Athenseuer fince the fiftith yeare of Vzzia. Aleamenon the thirteenth of the Medon- 30 tide, or Gouernours of the Athenians (fo called of Medon who followed Codens) faccceded his Father Afchylus, and was the last of these Gouernors: he ruled only two yeares. For the Athenians changed first from Kings (after Codrus) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this Aleamenon, they erected a Magistrate whom they termed

an Archon, who was a kind of Burghomaster or Gouernor of their Citie for ten yeares. This alteration Paufanias in his fourth Booke beginnes in the first yeare of the eight Olympiad. Eusebius and Halicarnasseus in the first of the seventh Olympiad: at which time indeede, Carops the first of these, beganne his ten yeares rule.

The Kingdome of the Latines gouerned about three hundred yeare by the Syluy, of the race of Aneas, tooke end the same Ahaz time: the foundation of Rome 40 being laied by Romulus and Romus in the eight yeare of the same King. Codoman builds it the eleuenth of Achaz, Bucholzer in the eighth, as I thinke he should, others fomewhat later, and in the raigne of Ezechia. Cicero, Eutropius, Orofius, andothers, square the time of the foundation to the third yeare of the fixth Olympiad. But Halicarnassaus, Solinus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, to the first yeare of the feuenth: who feeme not only to mee, but to many very learned Chronelogers, to have kept herein the best accompt.

CHAP.

## CHAP.24. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

### CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Ftalie , and foundation of Rome in the time of  $\mathbf{A}$  HAs:

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.



N D here to speake of the more ancient times of Italie, and what Nations possessit before the arrivall of . Enew, the place may feeme to inuite vs: the rather be- X cause much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italie before the fall of Troy, was knowne to the Greekes by divers Helicarda names : as first Hefperia, then Aufonia, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it : one ancient name of it was alfo Oenotria, which it had of the Oenotri : whom Halicarnasseus thinks to have been the first, that brought

a Colonie of Areadians into that Land. Afterward it was called Italie of Italies : concerning which changes of names, Virgil speakes thus.

> Est locus Hesperiam Gray cognomine dicunt : Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere gleba : Oenotrii colucre viri, nanc fama minores . Italiam dixi/le, ducis de nomine, gentem:

There is a Land which Greekes Hefperia name; Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie. Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame, That by late ages of Posteritie, T'is from a Captaines name called Italie.

Who this Captaine or King may have beene, it is very vncertaine. For Firgil 40 speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued to long vpon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, Reineccius hath made a very painfull feafch, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of Halicaintaffants, Halicaintaffants, who speakes of a Colonie which the Eleans did leade into Italie, before the name of Italie was given to it: Secondly, vpon that of Instine, who faith, that Brundusium Inf. L. 12. was a Colonie of the Atolians: Thirdly, upon that of Strabe, who affirmes the strabelle. fame of Temefa or Tempfa, a Citic of the Bruty in Italie : Laftly, vpon the au-50 thoritie of Plime, who thewes that the Italians did inhabite only one Region of the plin 13 cot. Land, whence afterward the name was derived overall. Concerning that which

is faid of the Eleans and Atolians, who (as he shewes) had one originall; from them hee brings the name of Italie. For the word Italia, differs in nothing from Aitolia, faue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the Greeke 582

words is common, and the letter (a) is changed into (a): which change is found in the name of Athalia, an Illand neere Italie, peopled by the Athalians: and the like changes are very familiar in the Aolic Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the Atolians) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the Latines, as Dionysius Halternasseus, Quintilian, and Priscian the Grammarian teach. Hercunto appertaines that of Inlian the Apollata, who called the Greekes comins of the Latines. Also the common original of the Greekes and Latines from Liuan; and the Fable of Janus, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as Greece and Italie lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Shippe on the other fide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to I.a.a., 10 father of the Greekes and Latines: who fayling ouer the Ionian Sea, that lyes betweene Esolia and the Westerne parts of Greece and Italie, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas Respective thinkes, that the names of Ailes and Italias belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethum, 11:lus; though it may feeme strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whilest he abode in Italie with Electra, the daughter of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, calily disproued. For they who make mention of Atlas, place him before the time of Stofes: and if Allas were Cethan, or Killin, then was he the sonne of Janan, and nephew of Japheth, the eldest sonne of Wash; which antiquitic farre exceedes the name of Italie, that began after the departure of 20

Hercules out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of Troy. Likewise Virgil, who speakes of Atlas, and of Dardanus his marriage with Eleetra, hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italie; but calleth Electra and her fifter Maia (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine Atlas in Africa, naming Italias among the Kings of the Aborigenes; which he would not have done, had Ailus and Italis beene one person.

As for the authoritic of Berofus in this case, we neede the leffe to regard it, for that Repreceises himselfe, whose conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames wherewith Annius hath filled Berofus, holdes it but a figment.

That the name of Italie began long after Atlas, it appeares by the Verses of 122-32 gil last rehearfed, wherein hee would not have said, - Nune fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem, had that name beene heard of ere Dardanus left the Countrey. But feeing that, when Hercules, who died a few yeares before the Warre of Troj, had left in Italien Colonie of the Eleans (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the Etolicus, as Strabe, Herodotus, and Paufanias teach) then the name of Italie began: and feeing Virgil makes mention of Italus among the Italian Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that Italia was Commaunder of these Eleans. For though I remember not, that I have read of any fuch Greekeas was named Italus, yet the name of Etolus, written in Greeke Aitolus, was very famous both among the Atolians, and among the E- 40 leans, he being sonne of a King of Elis, and sounder of the Atoian Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to derive the name Italia from Atolia, then Italia from Atolia. So may Virgils authoritie stand well with the collections of Represeits; the name of Italie being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

ð. II. 50

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium,



N Italie the Latines and Hetrurians were most famous; the Hetrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the Latines by the vertue and felicitie of the Romans, who were a branch of them, fubduing all Italie, and in few ages whatfocuer Nation was knowne in Europe : together with all the Westerne parts of and North of Africk.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Haircarneffaus, Varro, and Reyneccius (following them) thinke to have beene Arcadians: and this name of Aborigines (to omit other fignifications that are flrained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the Areadians are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of Peleganneliss inforced to forfake their feates fo oft as other Greekes were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the Arcadians fo vifure a dwelling as 20 the rest of the Pelapannesians, because their Countrie was lesse fruitfull in land; mountainous, and hard of accesse, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of thefetherefore having occupied a great part of Latium, and held it long, did according to the Arcadian manner, ftile themfelies Aborigines, in that language, which either their new Scate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the Arcadians who dwelt fomewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, thould have beene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforceth the superfluous companie to secke another seate, and that some 30 expeditions of the Arcadians, as especially that of Eugander, into the same parts of I. tale, are generally acknowledged.

After the Aborigines, were the Pelasgi, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to all Greece : but their antiquities are long fince dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glorie fuch in Italie, as could long fulfaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in thort space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The Sicani, Aufones, Aurunci, Rutili, and other people, did in ages following diffurbe the peace of Latium, which by Saturne was brought to some civilitie; and he therefore canonized as a God.

This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or Stevenlius, others terme him Stercus-40 tius, and fay, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That Latium tooke his name of Saturne, because he did latere, that is lie hidden there, when he fled from Impiter, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from an other; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King raigning in those parts was so mightie, that it should bee hard to finde one Countrie or an other, wherein a man might be fafe from his pursuit. And yet, + as most fables and poeticall fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which See lib. 1. cap. 6 either by ambiguitie of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely ex- 5.1. 6 sq. preffe (for fothey fained a paffage ouer a River in Hell, because death is a paffage to

another life, and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the River Styn of Hate, Cocytus of Lamentation, and Acheron of Paine: fo alfo because men are stonic hearted, and because the Greeke and people, and was stones, are neare in found, therefore they fained in the time of Deucation tiones connerted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may

All. 17.22. 6/4.45.15.

be , that the original of Saturnes hiding himfelfe was some allusion to that old on nion of the wileit of the Heathen, that the true God was ignotus Deus, as it is noted in the Acts; whence also Esay of the true God saies, tu Deus abdens te. For it can not be in vaine that the word Saturnus thould also have this very fignification, if it bee deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew Satar, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the original of this word, Latium, ought rather to be fought elsewhere.

Reyneceius doth conjecture that the Ceteans, who descended of Cethim, the Sonne of Jauan, were the men who gaue the name to Latium. For these Celeans are remembred by Homer as aiders of the Troians in their Warre. Strabo interpreting the place of Homer, calls them subjects to the Crowne of Troy. Hereupon Reynecoins gathers, 10 that their abode was in Afia: viz. in agro Elaitico; in the Elaitian Territorie, which agreeth with Strabo. Of a Citie which the Lolians held in Afia, called Elea, or Elaia, Paulanius makes mention: Stephanus calls it Cidamis, or (according to the Greeke writing) Cidamis, which name last rehearsed hath a very neare sound to Cethim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greeke Letter (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing only in the firength or weakeneffe of vtterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these Cereans being descended of Cethim, Cittim, or Kittim, the Sonne of Jaum, who was Progenitor of the Greekes, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called Elaites, or Elai. 20 tes, it is very likely, confidering that among the Arcadians, Phocians, Atolians, and Eleans, who all were of the Lelique Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine Eleus, the Hauen Eleas, the people Elaite, the Cities Eleus, Elaia, and Elateia, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then Elatini, from whence Latini may come. Now whereas both the Cerai and Arcadians, had their originall from Cethim, it is nothing vnlikely, thatagreeing in language and limilitude of names, they might neuertheleffe differ in found and pronunciation of one and the fameword. So that as he is by many called Sabinus, to whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) give the name of Sabins in the like manner might be whom the Areadians would call Elatus (of which name 20 they had a Prince that founded the Citic Elateia) bee named of the Ceteans Latinus. Reyneceus pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when Euripylus, Lord of the Ceteurs, being the Sonne of Telephia, whom Herenles begat vpon Auge, the Daughter of Aless King of Arcadia, was flaine by Achilles in the Troian Warre: then did Telephus, brother to Euripylus, conduct the Ceteans; who (fearing what cuill might befall themselues by the Greekes, if the affaires of Troy should goe ill) passed into that part of Italie, where the Arcadians were planted by Ocnotrus. And Represents farther thinks, that Telephus being the more gracious among the Oenotrian Arcadians, by the memorie of his Grand-mother Ange, an Arcadian Ladie, was well contented to take an Arcodian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciation 40 either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotrians, was first Elatinus, and then Letinus: That this name of Elatus may have been taken or imposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of Aphidas, the other of Elatus, who were Sonnes of Areas King of Areadia, which gaue name to the Countrie : and betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did paffe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the Troisn warre it fell into the hand of Hippotheus of the race of Elatus, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name Latinus, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Regneceins, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leffe reproofe, 50 confidering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probabilitic among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originalls of Latium.

River Liris neare Alinturna. Of the name Lainas, there are by Pomponius Sabinus recounted foure; one, the

Sonne of Faunus, another of Hercules, a third of Vlyffes by Circe, the fourth of Telemachus. Suidas takes notice only of the second, of whom he faith, that his name was saids in the Telephus, and the people anciently named the Cety, were from his furname called word taken Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Reynecems, the difference confilling almost in this only, that Suidas calls Telephus, the Sonne of Hercules, whereas Rerneccus makes him his Nephew, by a fonne of the fame name. This Letious haning obtained the fuccession in that Kingdome after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter 40 and Heire Lauinis, to Turnus the Jonne of Venilia, who was lifter to Amata Latinus

But when Aneu arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarked according to the rate which Thurydides allowes to the Veffells then yfed, about one thou fand and two hundred men; then Letinus finding that it would fland best with his affurance, to make alliance with the Trojan, and moved with the great reputation of Anew, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of Trey, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with Turnus, who incenfed herewith, fought to auenge himfelfe by warre: which was foone ended with his owne death.

50 Of Amata the Wife of Latinus, it is very certaine, that were shee an Italian, shee could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of Aneus; vnleffe we should wholly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct of the Cetei into Italie, to Telephus the Father, than to his Sonne who ferued in the last yeare of the Troism Warre. But Reyneceius holds her an Asiatique, and thinks withall that Lauinia was

of the ancient Kings of the Latines until ENEAS his comming.

He Kings which raigned in Latium before the arrivall of Eneas, were, Saturnus, Pieus, Faunus, and Latinus. Of Saturne there is nothing remembred, faue what is mentioned alreadie, and many fables of the Greekes, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the Saturate

to of the Greekes, called by them Keeres, or some other, filled Saturne by the Aborrgines. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have beene the fame: \*ssakidofien but the names of \* Sterces, and Sterculius ( for it may bee this name was not bor- cals the idols rowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the foile which they of the headen laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him feeme andhence it

Of Pieus it is faid that he was a good Horfe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pic, may well feeme (as it is interpreted) to have Birkebub, Reizegrowne from the skill which he had in footh-faying, or dinination, by the flight and interpreted chattering of Fowles. Faunus, the Sonne of Pieus, raigned after his Father. Hee Dominus Ster-20 gaue to Evander the Arcadian (who having flaine by milehance his Father Echemus concest and it may be that King of Arcadia, fledinto Italie) the wast grounds on which Rome was afterward after the sa-

Fauna, called Fatua, the lifter of Faunus, was also his Wife, as all Historians at the name of and only topical gree; shee was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie; which sed God that praise in her must needes have beene much blemished by her marriage, it selte be-

It is not mentioned that Faunus had by his fifter any child, neither doe we reade ficker ato

of any other Wife which he had, faue only that Firgii giues vnto him Latinus as his Assid. 7. Sonne, by a Nymph, called Afarica. But who this Marica was it is not found, faue only that her abode was about the

· borne before Telephus came into Italie. That this name Amata, by which Fingland Helicarnasseus call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by Varie who calleth her Palatia: which name very well might be derived from the Greeke name Pallas. Amata, which fignificth beloued, or deere, was the name by which the High Priest called enery Virgin, whome hectooke to serve as a Nunne of Vella; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, how socuer virgil discourse of her and Venilsa her fifter.

Lauinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Aneas, the Kingdome of Latium, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race: wherein it continued untill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the Roman.

# Q. IIII. Of ÆNEAS, and of the Kings and Governours of Alba.



NEAS himselfe being of the royall bloud of Troy, had the commaund of the Dardanians: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Trojans. By his wife Creufa, the daughter of Priamus, he had a fonne called Afcanius; whose furname was Iulus, having before the ruine of Troy (as Virgil notes) 20 beene furnamed Ilus. But when Eners was dead, his wife La-

ainia, the daughter of Latinus, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this Afeanius, fledde into the Woods, where she was delicered of a fonne, called thereupon Sylaim, and furnamed Posthumus, becausehe was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of Lauinia was so cuill taken by the people, that Afanius procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vfing ber as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother Sylvins. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the figuration of the place; Afeanius leaving to his mother in law the Citie Lanimum, which Aneas had built, and called after his new wines name, founded the Citie 30 Alba Longa, and therein raigned. The time of his raigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeares: Virgil gives him thirtie; others five and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decease, there arose contention betweene Sylains, the sonne of Aneas, and Islus the sonne of Ascanius, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of Lauinia, Julus was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to Sylvine Posthumus, whose posteritie were afterward called Sylay.

The raigne of the alban Kings, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus fet downe

• ., ,,,	••			
I.	Sylvius Posthumus.	-	297.	40
2.	Syluius Aneas,		31	40
3.	Syluius Latinus,		50	
4.	Syluius Alba.		39	
5.	Syluius Atis.		26	
ó.	Syluius Capys.		28	
8.	Syluius Capetus. Syluius Tiberinus.		¹ ¿ > yeares.	
9.	Syluius Agrippa.		41	
	. Sy'nius Alladius.			
	· Syluius Auentinus,		19	
12	Syluius Procas.		37	20
	· Syluius Amulius,		23	
SV	luius Numitor.		444	
	7/: 11 1 10 1			

The

Ilia, called also Rhea and Syluia, Romulus, Remus.

CHAP. 24. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

The most of these Kings lined in peace, and did little or nothing worthic of re-Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of Latinus: who standing much

voon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called Prifet Latini. Of Tie hermus some thinke that the River Tiber had name, being formerly called Abula: but Virgil gives it that denomination of another called Tibris, before the comming of Eneas into Italie. The Mountaine Auentinus had name (as many write) from Anentinus King of the Albanes, who was buried therein: but Virgil hath it otherwile. Islins, the brother of Auentinus, is named by Eufebius as father of another Intolius, and grandfather of Iulius Proculus; who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Rome. Numitor, the elder fonne of Proc.15, was deprined of the Kingdome by his brother Amulius; by whome also his sonne Egesihus was slaine, and sita his daughter made a Nunne of Veffa, that thereby the illue of Numitor might be cut off. But the conceined two fonnes, either by her vncle Anulius, as fome thinke; or by Mars, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by fome man of warre: both the children their vncle commaunded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Laws X which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was fo. that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of Antho, the daughter of Amsline, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by 20 all, that the two children were preferued, who afterward reuenged the crueitie of their vncle, with the flaughter of him and all his, and reftored Numitor their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he raigned I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of Alba and of Latium were presently eclipsed by the swift encrease of Rome; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of Italie) is dependant. After the death of Numitor, the Kingdome of Alba ceased; for Numitor left no male iffue. Roundes chose rather to live in Rome; and of the Line of Sylvius none else remained. So the Albanes were gouerned by Magistrats; of whom onely two Dictatots are mentioned, namely Caius Cluilius, who in the dayes of Tullus Hoftelius, King of 20 the Romanes, making Warre vpon Rome, died in the Campe; and Metius Suffetius, the fuccessor of Cluitius, who surrendred the Estate of Alba vnto the Romanes, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each fide, who decided the quarrell by Combat : in which, the three brethren Horatif, the Champions of the Romanes, prevailed against the Curiatis, Champions of the Albanes. After this Combat, when Metius (following Tullus Hoffilius with the Albane forces against the Veientes and Fidenates) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leave the Romanes to fuch an overthrow, as might make them weake youngh for the Albanes to deale with. Tullus notwithstanding this falsehood obtaining the victorie, rewarded Metius with a cruell death, causing him 40 to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in peeces. Then was Alba destroyed, and the Citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made Patritians; among which were the Iulij: of whome C. Iulius Cefar being descended, not onely gloried in his auncient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full affemblie of the Romanes, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and judgement obtained the Soueraignetic of the Romane Empire, much by him enlarged, to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of Enew, and honor of the Troian and Alban Race, was for eniued, that fel-

Ecc

dome, if euer, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

à. V.

Strabo. I.s.

fol. 159.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMVLVS birth and death.



F Rome, which denoured the Alban Kingdome, I may here best show the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of Romulus, the grand-child of Numitor, the last that raigned in Alba. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene Euphrates and the Óccan were bro-

ken in pecces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beaft, it is not to be described in one to place, having beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. Q. Fabius, Pictor, Portius, Cato, Calphur. new Pilo, Sempronius, and others, fecke to derive the Romans from Ianus : but Herodo. tus, Marfylus, and many others of equal credit, give the Grecians for their auncestors: and as Strabo reporteth in his fifth booke; CAECILIVS rerum Romanorum (criptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Gracis effe conditam quod Romani Graco ritu, antiquo instituto HERCVLI rem facram faciunt, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur Romani; CAECILIVS (faith he) a Romane Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greekes, because the Romanes, after Greekish fashion, by auncient Ordinance doe facrifice to HERCVLES: the Romanes also worship the mother of 20

Plutarch in the life of Romalus remembers many founders of that Citie; as Romanus the fonne of Viyffes and Circe; Romus the fonne of Emathion, whome Diomedes fent thither from Troy; or that one Romus, a Tyrant of the Latines, who draue the Tuscans out of that Countrey, built it. Solinus bestowes the honour of building Rome vpon Euander, faying, That it was before times called Valentia. Heraelides giues the denomination to a captine Ladie, brought thither by the Greeians: others fay, That it was aunciently called Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars; witnesse Saint Augustine in his third Booke de Ciuitate Dei. But Liuie will haue it to be the worke of Romulus, euen from the foundation : of whome and his 30 conforts Iuuenal to a Roman Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these

> Attamen vt longe repetas, longeá, reuoluas Maiorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum, Aut paftor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree fo farre: Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were, Some Shepheard was, or elfe, that Ile forbeare. meaning either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of Romulus begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That heehad Rhea for his mother, and Mars was supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Fauffula, a Shepheards wife. The fame vnnaturall nurling had Cyrus, the same incredible fostering had Semiramis; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Plutarch faith, it is like youngh that Amulius came concred with armor to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other to fatisfie his appetite, because slice 50 was faire and goodly. For thee being made a Nunne of the Goddeffe Festa, it Fanchet, fil, 114 was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also finde in Fanchet his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Merouee, King of the Francs, was begotten by a monfler of the Sea: but Fauchet fayes, Let them beleene it that lift; Il le croira qui voudra:

CHAP.24. S.5. of the Hiftorie of the World.

allo of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poeticall inuentions: but to answere these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; thendid many women greatly borne, couer fuch flips as they made byproteiting to beforced by more then humane power,: to did Oenone confesse to Paris, that thee had beene ranished by Apollo. And Anohijes boasted that hee had knowne Fenue. Ent Rhea was made with child by fome man of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars, the God of battell, according to the fense of the time. Oerene was over-

to come by a firong wit, and by fuch a one as had those properties after bed to Apollo. The Mother of Merones might fancie a Sea Captaine to bee gotten with youg by fuch a one: as the Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to Hero Joins. Aness was a battard and begotten upon forme faire Harlot, called for her beautie Venus, and was therefore the child of fuft, which is Venus. Romalus was norn by a Wolfe, which was Lupa, or Lupina, for the Curtefans in those daies were called Wolfes, que nune (faith HALICAR NASSAEVS) honeitiori vocabulo amice appellantur; Which are now by as honester numeeriled friends. It is also written, that Ronnelus was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather our of the world by his Father Mag, in a great florme of thunder, and lightning: fo was it faid that Aneas vanished away by the

20 River Numicus : but thereof Laureailo for aketh modertly; for hee rehearfeth the other opinion, that the florme was the furie of the Senators, but feemeth to achere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree that there was an vinaturall darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not valikely. For the Emperour Anaflafus was flaine with habtning, fo was Strabo the Father of Pompey flaine with a thunder-boit : fo Carns the Emperour (who fucceeded Probus) whilefthe lodged with his Armie vpon the River Tigris, was there flaine with lightning. But a Mars of the same kinde might end him that beganne him; for he was begotten by a man of Warre, and by violence destroied. And that he died by violence (which destinie followed most of the 30 Koman Emperours) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus; who was but the feworth

King after him: who when he had murthered his father in law, commanded that helhould not be buried, for (faid he) Romulus himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let Halica raffiens end this dispute : whose words are these. They (faith he) who crownecrest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in puniforments of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his flaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was ranified, whether by fome man, or by a God, the whole body of the funne was celipfed, and all the earth concred with darkeneffe like vnto night, and that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of Romulus: whose life historified by Plutarch, 40 doth containe (befides what is here already spoken of him) the conqueit of a few miles which had foone beene forgotten, if the Roman greatn-fie built upon that foundation, had not given it memoric in all ages following, even vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vie of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition hee knew not how to temper, which caused him to flay his brother, and neglect renenge of the death of Tatius his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord' alone in those narrow Territories. He raigned seuen and thirtie yeares: first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death fingle, till he was flaine, as is alreadie shewed: after which time the Soueraignetie fell into the hands of Nama, a man to him vn-

30 knowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Eome it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long beene sole Governesse till Constantinople shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperour was crushed by forraine enemies, and the Latines dispoiled of Imperiall power, shee fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

Sword, and therewith victorious to excelline magnificence, from whence by the fame degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein has uing beene vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crossers staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the storic of the times of King Ahaz, during whose raigne in Jurie, the foundations of this famous Citie

### CHAP. XXV.

## Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries.

Of the beginning of EZECHIAS, and of the agreeing of PTOLOMIES, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR, and MARDOCEM-PADVS, with the Hifloric of the Bible.



the first yeare of Ahaz his raigne was confounded with the last of his Father totham, so was the later end of his fixteene yeares taken up in the three first of Ezekias his Sonne. This appeares by the raigne of Ho-(ea, ouer Ifrael, which beganne in the twelfth of abes, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Abaz his fourteenth. But the third of Holes was the first of Ezekin; so it followes, that Ezekin beganne to raigne in his Fathers fourteenth yeare. Like e- 30 nough it is, that the third yeare of Hofea, the same being the fourteenth of Abaz, was almost spent when

Ezekia beganne, and so the fifteenth yeare of Ahaz may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of Ezekia.

By supposing that Hosen beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeare of Abaz was almost compleat, some would finde the meanes how to disloyne the first of thezekia from the fifteenth of Ahaz, placing him yet one yeare later, of which years, Abaz may perhaps have lived not many daies. But seeing that the fourteenthand fifteenth yeares of Ezekia, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour

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In the foureteenth of EZEKIA, SENACHERIB inuading Inda, and the Countries adjoyning, loft his Armie by a miraculous stroke from heaven, fled home, and was flaine. The yeare following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of Ezekia, when he had alreadic raigned fourteene of his nine and twentie: and the fame yeare was that miracle feene of the Sunnes going back; of which wonder (as I heare) one Bartholomew Scultet, who is much commended for skill in Astronomic, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered vnto the twentie fifth of Aprill, in the Iulian yeare, being then Thursday. I have not seene any workes of Senitet; but furely to finde a motion to irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. How soeuer it be, the 50 fifteenth years of Ezekia is agreed upon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. 24ction. 28.27. As for that faying, which is vivall in the like cases, that A H A Z fieft with his Father, and E z K K I A his Sonne raigned in his flead, it doth no more proue that Ezekia raigned not with his Father, than the like faying doth inferre the like at the death of IchoCHAP.25. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

labu, and fuccession of lehoram; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whileft his Father lived, we have alreadic faid enough.

Ofthis godly King Ezekius, we finde, that his very beginning tettified his deuo. rion and zeale. For whether it were fo that his vnfortunate and vngratious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeare and first moneth of his raigne, wherein Ezekins opened the dores of the Temple, 2 chien. 29. 133 were to be understood as the beginning of his fole gouernement; we plainely finde it to have beene his first worke, that he opened the dores of the house of the Lord, which Achaz had thut vp, cleanfed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idolls, restored the Pricits to their offices, and effates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered 2.6/1000.20. which had beene for many yeares neglected, and brake downe the brafen Serpent of Moles, because the people burnt incense before it, and bee called it Nebulhtan, 2. Kings 18. which tignifieth a lumpe of braffe. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the ifraelites of the ten Tribes : many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to Ierufalem, to this feast. But the generall multitude of ifrael did laugh the Meffengers of Ezekia to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the Egyptian feruitude, fell into a new feruitude, out of which they neo yer were deliucred. For in the fourth of Ezekia his raigne, Salmanaffar the Sonne of Tiglath, the Sonne of Belochus, hearing that Holea King of Ifrael had practifed with See King of Egypt, against him: inuaded Ifrael, befreged Samaria, and in the third yeare (after the Inhabitants had endured all forts of miferies) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into Afgria and Media : among whom Tobias and his Sonne of the same name, with Anna his Wife, were sent to Ninine, in whose Seats and Places the Afgrians feut strangers of other Nations, and among them manv of the ancient Enemies of the Ifraelites, as those of Cutha, Ana, Hamah, and Sphernam, befides Babylonians: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatife of the holy Land.

These later Asprian Kings, and the Persians, which sollowed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore ferue most aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than sabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of Cyrus and fome other Perisans, we finde in the Bible the fame names by which other Authors have recorded them : but of Phal and Salmanaffar, with other Afgrian, Children Kings, diverlitic of name hath bred queltion of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of Salmanaslar, King of Allur, who raigned in the time of Jhaz, and Ezekia, Kings of Iuda, and of Fielen King of Ifrael, whom he 40 carried into captinitie; and whereas Ptolomie makes mention of Nabonaslar, speaking precifely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that Salmonassar and Nabonaffar were one and the fame man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of Nebushadnezzar, that hee was the same, whom Ptolomic calleth

Of both these points Bucholerus hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of fundric good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares that betweene Nabonaffar and the birth of Christ, there passed seven hundred fortic and fixe yeares : at which distance of time the raigne of Salmanassar was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same Bucholerus alleageth out of Erasmus Reinholdus, 30 in the Prutenick Tables. Wardocempadus King of Babylon (whom Piolomie, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call Merodach, who fent Embaffadors to Hezekia, King of Iuda: So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene Merodach and Salmanasfar, we shall finde it the same which is betweene Mardocempadus and Nabo-

nailar. Likewise Function doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of Samares. to the denastation of Ierufalem, in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnessar, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeares : the selfe same diffance of time is found in Ptolomic, betweene Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For. whereas Ptolomie seemesto differ from this accompt, making Nabonassar more ancient by an hundred and fortic yeares, than the destruction of Ierufalem, we care to understand that he tooke Samaria in the eighth yeare of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirtie and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of Prolomie. Prolomies computation is, that from the first of Nabonassar to the fifth of Nabopolassar, there passed one hundred twentie and seuen yeares. Now it wee adde to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirteene enfuing of Nabuchadnessars yeares, before the Citie and Temple were destroied, we have the summe of one hundred and fortie yeares. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that Piolomie placeth the first of Nahopolassar one hundred twentie and two yeares, after the first of Nibonas ar, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the confent of all Mathematicians; which in accompt of times I hold more fure than the authoritie of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so

throughly concurre. Yet foralmuch as that argument of the learned Scaliger doth rest vnanswered,

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whereby he proued Baladan the Father of Merodach, to have beene this Nabonafiar, I will not spare to loose a word or two in gining the Reader satisfaction herein, It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which Ptolomie recorded, after the time of Nabonassar, were in the raigne of Mardocempadus; the second yeare of whose raigne, is, according to Ptolomie concurrent in part with the twentie feuen of Nabonassar. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of Mardocempadus, was from the beginning of Nabeniflar twentie feuen yeares, seuenteene daies, and eleuen houres : the accompt from Natonifar, beginning at high noone the first day of the Egyptian moneth Thot, than 32 answering to the twentie fixt of Februarie; and this Eclipse being fittle minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of Februarie; fo that the difference of time between thetwo Kings Aabonassar and Mardocempadus, is noted by Ptolomie, according to the Agyptian yeares. But how does this proue, that Mardocempacus or Merodale, was the Sonne of Nabonaffar? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Succesfor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to fatisfie me, in this argument, that Scaliger himselfe did afterwards beleeve Mardocempadus to have beene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of Baladan, or Nabanassar. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But 40 because our Countrie-man Lidy ste hath reprehended Sealiger for changing his opinion; and that both Torniellus, who followes Scaliger herein, and Sethus Calminus, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, De Emendatione Temporum, doe hold up the same affertion, confounding Baladan with Nabonassar: I have taken the paines to fearch, as farre as my leifure and diligence could reach, after any fentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the Aimagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerse to Sealiger; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this businesse) any fentence more nearely prouing the fuccession of Merodach to Nabonassar, than the place now last rehearfed : which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was 50 Father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neare succession of William the Conquerer, declares him, to have beene Sonne, or Grand-child to Edward the Confessor. This considered, wee may fafely goe on with our accompt from Nabonassar, taking him for Salmanassar; and not fearing that the Readers will

be driven from our booke, when they finde fomething in it, agreeing with annius. for a fmuch as the fe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, raigned in Babylon, and A Bris. in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomie are assigned to Belofus, Nabonaffir, and Mardacempadus, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that raigned there in those ages, and all Astronomicall observations, fitly concurring, with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

### ð. I I.

Of the danger and delinerance of Indea from SENNACHERIB.



Hen Salmanaffar was dead, and his sonne Sennacherib in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeare of Ezechius, he demanded of him fuch Tribute as was agreed on at fuch time as Tiglath, the Grand-father of Sennacherib, and Father of Salmana //ar, inuited by Ahaz, innaded Rezen King of Damafeus, and delivered him from the dange-

rous Warre which Ifrael had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when Exechias denied, Sennacherib, having (as it feemes) a purpose to in-20 uade Agypt, fent one part of his Armie to lie before Ierufalem. Now though Ezen chias (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of filter, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he prefented Sennacherib, now fet downe before Lachis in India, yet vnder the colour of better affurance, and to force the King of Indiato deliner hostages, 2, King 18, 21the African environed Ierusalem with a groffe Armie, and having his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Exechias directed his three greatest Counsellers, to parlie with Rabfaces, over the Wall; and to receive his demands; who yied three principall arguments to perfwade the people to yeeld themselues to his Master Sennacherib. For though the 30 Chancellar, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by Ezechias, defired Rabfaces to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, and not in the Ierrifb, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued oblinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, bee inforced to cate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Agypt, from whom the In least hoped for fuccour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whoseeuer leaneth pierceth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the Gods who should helpe them, Exechias had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by fome) the bralen Serpent, which had beene preferued euer fince Offofestime: 40 and withall he bad them remember the Gods of other Nations: whom, not withstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom shey trusted, he perswaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people filent (for fo the King had commanded them) after a while when he had understood that the King of A-

rabia was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himselfe left the Asprian forces in charge to others, and fought Sennacherib at Lebna in Indea, either to informe him

Terhacathe Grabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from Sennacherib to Ezechias, whom he partly aduifed, and partly threatned to fubmit himfelfe : vling the 50 fame blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But Ezechias fending those Counsellers to the Prophet Efar, which had lately beene fent to Rabfaces, received from him comfort, and affurance, that this Heathen Idolater should

not prevaile; against whom the King also befought aide from almightie God, re-

of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of

peating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of Sennacheribs letter, before the

CHAP.25. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Altar of God in the Temple, confelling this part thereof to be true. That the King of Ashva had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their Gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moved Sennacherib to desire to possesse himselfe in hast of Jerusalem, was that he might thereinto have retraited his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for feare of Terhaea : and though the Scriptures are filent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Paralipomenon, speake but of the affaires of the lewes in effect) ver the ancient Berofus, and out of him Iofephus, and S. Hierome, together with Herodo-

Herails 12.69 tus, remember it as followeth. Herodotus calleth Sennacherib King of Arabia and Af- 10 fyria: which he might justly doe, because Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Pekal King of Israel : as Gilead ouer tordan, and the rest of Arabia Petrea adjoyning : the same Herodotus also maketh Sethon King of Legypt, to be Vulcans Pricit, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacheribs returne from Pelusium in Egypt, which healfo besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: Tofand literate but the approach of Terhaes, remembred by Iofephus and Berofus, was the more vr-

gent. S. Hierome vpon the feuen and thirtie of Efay, out of the fame Berolin, as also Hey. Emery, L.z. in part out of Herodotus, whom to fephas citeth fomewhat otherwise than his wordes 20 lie, reports Senacheribs retrait in these words. Pugnasse autem SENACHERIB Regem Afgriorum centra Agyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, iamá, extructis aggeribus, vrbi espiende, venisse T ARACHAM Regem Athiopum in auxilium, o vnanočte iuxta lergsalem centum octoginta quing, millia exercitus Afiyrij pestilentia corruisse narrat HE-RODOTVS: & plenissime BEROSVS Chaldaice Scriptor Historia, quorum sides de prepryslibris petendaest; That SENACHERIB King of the Assrians fought against the \* Town in Egyptians, and before a Pelulium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the durin mention. Citie, TASHACAS King of the Ethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night

neare Ierus demone hundred eightie five thousand of the Asyrian Armie perished by pellineither of Tur-baca, nor of te- lence, of the ethings (faith HIBROME) \* HERODOTVS reports: and more at large 30 rusalum, not of BEROSUS a writer of Chaldean storie, who (ecredit is to be taken from their owne bookes, Out of Efay it is gathered, that this destruction of the Asyrian Armie was in this manner. Thou fault be vifited of the Lord of Hofts with thunder and faking, and a great Efai,29.6. noise, a whirle winde and a tempest, and a flame of denouring fire. But tosephus hath it more largely out of the same Berosius, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, SENNACHERIBUS autem ab Agyptiaso bello

Mandacan resertens, oftendit ibi exercitum, quem sub RABSACIS Imperioreliquerat peste disinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte postea quam Vebem oppugnare caperat, absumptis cum Dueibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, adregiam que Ai- 40 nus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, è filijs suis, ADRAMELECHI, &

Selemar other- SELENNARI, vitam amifit: occifus in ip fo Templo quod dicitur ARASCI; quem prawho slew him, cipuo cultu dignabatur : quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugien-2.King. 19.

as he was pray- tibus, As ARACOLD As minor filius in Regnum successit; SENNACHERIB (faith I O SEPHVS) returning from the Agyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which he had lest under the command of R ABSACES, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begunne to affault the Towne : one hundred four efcore and fue thousand of the Souldiers being confumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which deftruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome , to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where 10 Shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, ADRAMELECH and SE-LENNAR or SHAREZER, heloft his life in the Temple dedicated to ARASCES, or NES-

1. Rings 19. 37. ROCH: whom he especially worshipped. These his somes being sortheir particide chased a-Ejara. LAV. 2 way by the people: and flying into Armenia, A SARACOLDAS his yonger sonne succee-

d in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne fent new troupes out of Alliria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonic therein planted by his grandfather Salminaffar. What this Nefroch was, it is vncertaine: Hierome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing politicely. It is certaine, that Venus Frania was worthipped by the Affyrians; and fo was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eufebius, and Cyrillus witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his some had to murther him but the in most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empirc on Allarhaddon. Tobit tells vs, That it was fiftie fine dayes after Senacheribs returne, ere he was murthered by his fonnes; during which time he flew great numto bers of the Ifraelites in Niniue, till the most just God turned the Sword against his

> Of EZEKIAS his ficknesse and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated bim.

Fter this maruellous deliuerie, Ezekias sickened, and was told by Isaiah, that he must die: but after he had besought God with teares for his deliuerie, Isaiah as he was going from him returned againe, and had deliuerie, If siah as he was going trou and reconcile after three warrant from the Spirit of God to promife him recouerie after three warrant from the Spirit of God to promife him recouerie after three warrants. But Ezekin somewhat dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fifteene yeares. But Ezekius fomewhat

doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a figne to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of Isaiah, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and 2. Kings 20. went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of Achaz. The cause that moued Ezekiss to lament (faith Saint Hierome) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the Messas should come out of the house of David, or at least of his Seede. His difease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine ginen him by the Prophet, to wit, a maffe of Figges, layed to the Botch or Soare.

This wonder when the Wife men of Chaldes had told to Merodach, King of Balylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezekias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezekias shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet Isaiah, who tolde him; The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and what soener thy fathers have layed E/ay 394 op in flore to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, sayth the Lord. It may freme firange, how Ezekia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for Senacherib had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same Senseherib his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made Ezekia richer vpon the fuddaine then euer he had beene: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptati-40 on to boasting. After this time Ezekia had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, having raigned nine and twentic yeares. One onely offenfine Warre he made, which was against the Philistims with good successe. Among his other acts (thortly remembred in Ecclesiasticus) hee Eccl. 43. denifed to bring water to Ierufalem.

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that hee so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued Ezekhus (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit 50 him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recourse of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the house of Senacherib, his fearefull enemie. For Alredach, who was Commaunder and Lieutenant under Senacherib in Balylon, vfurped that State himselfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his sonne Asserbaddon; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength,

by the molectation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembring, that their ancestor Phul Belochus had fet his owne master Sardanapalus besides the cultion, thought it as lawfull for himfelfe to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakenesse did offer, as it had beene for Belechus to make vie of the others wickedneile: and fo, finding himfelfe beloued of the Babylonians, and fufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The affertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were yield in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phal Belochus; which I will not here againe rehearfe. So of this new Race, which cut afunder the Line of Ainus, there were onely fine Kings

Phul Belochus.
Tiglath Philaffir.
Salmanaffar.
Semacherib.
who raigned 10 yeares. Phul Belochus. Affarhadaon.

But for a fmuch as the last yeare of Salmanaffar was also the first of Senacherib his fonne, we reckon the time wherein the house of Phul held the Affyrian Kingdome, to have beene an hundred and one yeares; of which, the last fine and twentie were Spent with Ezekia, under Salmanaffar, Senacherib, and Affarhaddon.

### ò. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the raigne of EZEKIA: Of the difference found betweene fundrie Authors, in rehearing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of EZEKIA: Of CANDAY-LES, GYGES, and the Kings descended from HERCVLES.

N the time of Ezekia, Medidus, and after him Cardicens, raigned in Media. Whether it were fo, that varietie of names, by which these Kings 20 were called in scuerall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the fonnes raigning with the fathers, have caufed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of

I me, wherein they gouerned Media, to exceede the due proportion; or whether the Copies themselues, of Ctesias and Annius his Metasthenes, have beene faulticas neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diuerfly reported of these Median Kings, that followed Arbaces: Therefore it neede not feeme Arange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardice as as contemporaries with Ezekia. Forto reconcile fo great a difference, as is found in those Writers that varie from Eusebius, is more than I 40 dare undertake. I will onely here fet downe the roll of Kings that raigned in Media, accordingly as fundrie Authors have delivered it.

Annius his Metasthenes orders them and their raignes thus:

Arbaces.	)	r28.	า <sup>™</sup>	
Mandanes.	1	150.	1	
Sofarmon.		30.	l	
Articarmin.	i	1 -	Į.	
Arhianes.	I	50.		
Artaus.	who raigned.	22.		
Attines.	i anglica	40.	yeares.	
	1	22.	,	50
Aflybarus, with his		20.		
fonne Apanda.				
Apanda alone.		30.		
Darius with Cyrus.		26		

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Annius made his Metalthenes follow Diedere, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower ) placeth them thus.

Arbaces.		128.	1
Mandanes.		50.	ì
Sofarmus.		30.	
Artycas.	>who raigned	50.	veares.
Arotanes.	who raightu-	22.	Sycares.
Arfæus.		40.	
Artynes.		22.	
Artabanus.	i	(40.J	ı

Ithe continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and tomake them also agree with Eusebius. But for asmuch as it seemes to me an impollible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon Ctesias and Metasihenes, I will lay the burthen upon Eusebius, who liucdin an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekia) Medidus and Cardiceas, are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardiceas were Diodorus his Arbianes, I will not flay to fearch. The Kings of Media, according to Eufebius, raigned in this order.

Sofarmus. 30.
Medidus. 40.
Cardiceas. raigned 15. yeares
Deioces. Chaighed 54-
Phraortes. 24
Cyanares. 32.
Aflyages. J (38.)

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, Cyaxares the fonne of Aflyages, according to Xenophon; and fometimes follow Herodolius, in setting downe the length of a Kings raigne, otherwise than Engelius hath it: of 40 which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeares of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen Gouernours of Athens for ten yeares; that is, of Charops, Alimedes, Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, sauc that Rome was built in his first yeare; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of justice, or rather of crueltie, that hee shewed vpon his owne Daughter. For he finding that shee had offended in vnchastitie, caused her to bee locktyp with an Horse, giving to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappie Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and Founder of that Citic Romulus, did raigne both before, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King, ruled in the same age.

This

Clem. Alex.

Euphorion.

This Region was first called Maonia. Lydus the sonne of Atys raigning in it, gaue the name of Lydia, if we beleeue prophaneauthoritie. This Kingdome was alterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon Argen, who came of Alcaus the sonne of Heracles by Lardana, a bond-woman. The race of these Hardadae continued raigning fiftic line yeares (in which two and twentic Generations passed the sonne continually succeeding the father. Candanles the sonne of Myssa was the last of this race, who doated so much upon the beautic of his owne Wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needes enforce one Gygs, the sonne of Dassylva, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vinvilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so clossly carried, but that the Queene perceitued Gygs at his going forth, and understanding the matter tookeit in such high disclaime, that shee forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So Gygs, being brought againe into the

Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He raigned thirtie eight yeares, beginning in the last of Ezekia, one yeare before the death of Romulus.

After Giges, his fonne Andys raigned nine and fortie yeares; then Sudyattes, twelue; Halyattes, fittie feuen; and finally Crassus, the sonne of Halyattes, fourteene yeares; who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by Cryns of Persia.

fame chamber by the Queene, flew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lyslam Kings, whom Grafus his 10 Progenitor disposses, are deduced from tiereules, so of the same Hereules there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned sewerall Countries very long, as in Asia, the Myssams, in Greece, the Lucedamonians, Odessenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, and Argiues; and from the Argiues, the Macedonians; as likewise from the Corinthians, the Synansjanes: besides many great and samous, though private, Families.

But of the Heraclide that raigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my felfe to take notice in the times of their feuerall raignes: for little is found of them, befide the bare mass. and the follic of this laft King Gardaules.

CHAP:

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## CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that raigned in Ægypt, betweene the deliuerance of Israel from thence, and the raigne of Ezekia in Juda, when Ægypt and Inda made a league against the Assyrians.

ð. I.

That many names of Ægyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged only to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of WILLIAM of Tyre his Historic of the boly Warre.



HI e mulation and quartells arising in these times, between the mightic Kingdomes of \*\*gypt and Affyria\*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in \*\*gypt\*, and setting downe briefly the flate of that Countrie, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with \*\*Affyria\* for the Maltire. Of Cham, the sonne of Nach, who fird planted that Countrie, and of Ofris, Orus, and other ancient Kings, that raigned there, vinill the \*\*Ifactive were thence delivered, more hat beene faid alreadie than

39 I can fland to; though I hold it no flame to faile in fuch conjectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the \*\*Egyptian Dynassies, must here againe helpe me. For it may truely bee affirmed, T hat the great number of Kings, which are said to haue raigned in \*\*Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as to sep was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore, I will not only forbeare to seeke after those, whom \*\*Berodotn\*\* and \*\*Diodorns\* haue reckond vp, from the mouthes of \*\*Egyptian\*\* Priects, deliuering them by number, without rehearling their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their raignes, and other circum-later.

flances, prouing them to haue beene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not feeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I lift; it were not amille, to give vnto the Reader fuch fatisfiation in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth as doord. First therefore, were ought not to beleeue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priefs haue reckoned by, to magnific their Antiquities. For week how, that from Abraham, our Sanion Christ was removed only fortic two descents, which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the Persun Empire, there could not have passed any twice as many successions in \*\*Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have raigned longer than fortie yeares. It followes that we should square the number of the \*\*Egyptint\*\* Skings, in some even proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries.

50 Kings, in fome euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countrier.

Assortherest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the painest to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by tilliam Archbisshop of Type, may easily per swade b himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to haue raigned in Ægypt, being none other them.

F 1

than Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I here infert, as briefly as I can, fomethings making to that purpole; for the pleafure and information of fuch, as will not trouble themselues with turning ouer many Authors.

When Elbadech the Caliph ruled in £gypt, one Dargan, a powerfull and a fubtile man, made himfeile Saldan, by force and curning, chaling away Sanar an Araban, who was Soldan before and after him. This Dargan ministred matter of quartell to Amalricke King of Iemfalow, and fustained, with little losse, an inuation, which Amalricke made vpon Ægypt. Hereupon hee grow so infolent and proud, that Sanar the Inner Saldan hoped to make his partie good against him, it hee could get any forces wherewith to enter Ægypt. Briefly, Sanar Beeth to Norelline, King to of Damasleo, for aide, who sends an Armie of his Turkes, wheether Command of Syraon, against the Saldan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met, and sought: The Victorie was Dargans, but be enjoyed it not: for in sew dayes after, he was faine by treason, whereby Sanar did recover his Dignitie; which to establish he slew all the Kindred and Friends of Dargan, that he could finde in the great Citic of Caine.

To all these doings, the Caiph Elibidea's gaue little regard; for he though it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest hee might have the profit of it; and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe nearely touch the Caiph himselfe. System with his Tankes, whom Sama hath gotten to come into Acgypt, will not 20 now be intreated there to leave him, and quetly goe their way home. They size vpon the Towne of Belbeis, which they fortifice, and there attend the arruall of more Companie from Damssee, for the conquest of all Acgypt. The Solimper-cities their intent, and finds himselfe not strong enough to expell them, much lest to repell the Tanksh Armic, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messer to King Almarieke of Israslaten, whom with large promises, hee gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the Tankes. Of all this trouble, the great Calip be haverened thing, or not for much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owner game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the Califb Elbadech particularly, in his owne Title. Stracon, Captaine of the Turkes, that had beene in Aegypt, goes to the 20 Caliph of Baldach (who was opposite to him of Aegypt, each of them claiming as heire to Mahomet, that falle Prophet, the Soueraignetic over all that were of the Stracen Law) and tells him the weakeneffe of the Aegiptian, with his owne abilitie of doing feruice in those parts, offering his best meanes for the extirpation of the Schilmaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Aegypt, with the Westerne parts, under the Subjection of the Babylenian. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Easterne Prouinces are vpin Armes; and Syracon, with a mightic power, defcendeth into Aegypt. The noise of this great expedition to affrighteth King Amaricke, that with all his forces hee hafteth into Aegypt: well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of Isrufalem, to keep the Sarracens from joyning 40 all under one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Christians his friends, wellcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behooved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not fo foone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concernes our prefers purpole) that of fode sperate a danger, the Coliph, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have beene Kingia title only, who medled so little in the Gouernement? The Soldan, sinding that the Christians (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well say, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King dimensite, you condition, that he should abide by it. He promise ha great Tribute (William of Tyre calls 13 it a Tribute; the Sanaeaus, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of tenglem should receive out of Ægypt, for this behoovefull affistance. But the Christians with soldam (how much soever he tooke vpon him) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargaine of such importance, with any other than

the Caliph himfelie. Hereupon Hugh Earle of Cofarca, and a Knight of the Templars, are fent vnto Elhadech, to ramie the couenants. Now shall wee see the great-ness of the Caliph and his citate.

Thele Embaffadors were conneighed by the Soldan to Cairo; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Athiopians, which, with all diligence, did renerence vnto the Soldan, as he pasted along Through these fireights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauntie of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eies. For there they faw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with emboffed works, curious pauements, filipponds of marble with cleare waters, and many forts of itrange Birds, vnknowne in these parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then were vnd feouered. The further they went the greater was the magnificence; for the Calipb his Eunsches conneighed them into other Courts within thefe; as turre excelling the former, as the former did furpaffe ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearfe, how, the further they entred, the more high flace they found, and cause of meruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally, they were brought into the Caliphs owne 20 lodeinas, which were yet more flately, and better guarded, where entring the Prefence, the Soldan, having twice proftrated himfelfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curraine, behind which the Caliph fate. Prefently the trauerfe, wrought with gold and pearles, was opened, and the Caliph himfelfe discouered, fitting with great Majelue on a throne of gold, having very few of his most inward servants and Eunaches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiffed his Mafters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King Almaricke, deliring the Caliph himselfe to ratisfie them, in presence of the Embaffadors. The Caliph answered, That he would throughly performe all 30 which was promifed. But this contented not the Embaffadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargaine; which the Agyptians, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of Cafarea faw that the Caliph gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. Sta, Truth feekes no holes to hide it felfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Give vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for wee will make no bargaines with your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it feemed against the Majestie of such a Prince to yeeld so farre. But, when it would none o-40 therwife be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) hee vouchfafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearling the couenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embailadors, with fuch rewards as tellified his Greatneffe.

in this Caliph and his Sultan, were may different the Image of the ancient Pharach, and his Fiterop: we fee a Prince of great clates, litting in his Palace, and not vexing himfolic with the great preparations made againft him, which terrife his neighbour Countries: we fee his Viceroy, in the meane feafon, ving all R oiall power; making warre and peace, entertaining, and expelling Armies of thrangers; yea, making the Land of Egppt tributarie to a forraine Prince. What greater authoritie was given 50 to 16/ph, when Pharach faid unto him, Thou shall be over mine boute, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings Throw will I be about thee, Behold, I have fother content all the Land of Egypt?

I doe not commend this forme of Gouernement; neither can I approoue the conjecture of mine Author, where he ethinks, that the Leyptians; euer lines

In/ephs time, haue felt the burthen of that feruitude, which he brought vponthem. when he bought them, and their Lands, for Pharaoh. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the Agyptian Kings, in taking their case, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practifed by the Pharaolic For we finde, that even the Ptolomies (excepting Ptolomicus Lagi, and his sonne Plice ladelphus, founder and eltablisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Ennuches, and other ministers of their delires. The pleasures which that Countries affoorded, were indeede sufficient, to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Ægyptians held their Princes, gaue them 10 fecuritie, whereby they might the better trult their Officers, with so ample Com. mission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroies gouerning A. gypt, is fet downe by Mofes, and that a lively example of the same is found in William of Tyre; who lived in the same age; was, in few yeares after, Chancellor of the Kingdome of Ierusalem; and had full discourse with Hugh Earle of C.esarea, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Agyptians, have honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of fuch, as wee finde by circumstance, likely to have raigned in that Countrie; after 20 whom it followes that we should make enquirie.

### . I I.

of Acherres; whether he were Vchorevs that was the eighth from Osymandy as. Of Osymandy as and his Tombe.



N this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope 30 to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as Diodorius varies from Herodotius, Englebius, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case Annius would do

good feruice, if a man could truth time. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either fay nothing, or that which may juftly bee fulfpected. I will therefore hold my felfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of Ofria, 161, Orm, and those antiquities removed to fare cut of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Expr., it shall suffice, that Herodorm, Diedown, and Enfehiss, have not beene silent, and that Reines 40 eight hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of Ifraelout of Egypt, vnto the raigne of Thueris (who is generally taken to be the fame that the Greeks call Proteus) there is little or no difa, greement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in Eusebius, and give to every one the same length of raigne.

Atheres was the first of these, who succeeded vince Cheschers, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to Reinectus to bee the same whom Diedorus calls Vehorcus, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in Diedorus of a great King, named Ofmandyus, from whom I there wis said to be the eighth; it will so either hardly follow, that Timans (as Reineccius conjectures) was the great Ofmandyus; or essential that this Achieres was I chorus; for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mercater judgeth Ofmandyus to have beene the husband of Acentheres, Orus the second his Daughter; thinking that Membhan

(cited by Iosephus) doth omit his name, and insert his wives, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wines right. As for Vehoreus, it troubles not Mercator to finde him the eighth from this man : for he takes Ogdons, not to fignifie in this place of Diodore (as that Greeke word elfe doth) the eighth, but to be an Agyptian name, belonging also to Vehoreus, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprositable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that Diodore hath found of this Ofymandyas, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the Eexplians did fabuloufly expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie, to with the fiege of a Towne, the captivitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians faid to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King : which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which Diodore so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of Agpt, and to their Viceroies; whileft yet they were not fo ambitious, as every one to have his owne particular monument, ftriuing therein to exceede all others. This appeares by the many statuacs, therein placed, by the Warres, the judgement Seate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the accompt of Reuennucs, and plentie of all Cattaile and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the 20 feuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of Ofmanayas was this inferiorion. I am O SYMANDY AS King of Kings; If any defire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceede some of my workes. Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But fince by those wordes, or where I lie, it should feeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was to seph, whose bodie was preserved among the Hebrewes, to bee buried in the Land of Canam, and this emptie Monument might King Orus, who out-lived him, creet in honor of his high deferts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattaile, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name ofymandy as doth not hinder this conjecture; feeing lofeph had one new name given to 30 him by Pharaoh, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerbeg, as the Turkifb Baffaes are called, that is, Great aboue

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between ethetimes of 10/eph and Acherres, (for Acherres was the eighth in order, that raigned after the great Orus, whose Viceva piecph was yet will I hereby seek, entither to fortilie mine owneconjecture, as touching 10/eph, norto inferre any likelihood of Acherres his being Yehoreus. For it might well bee, that Achemphu was built by some such that the like to the Caliph Elean, who having to his Masters and to the Caliph Elean, who having to his Masters and to the Caliph Elean, who having to his Masters.

Iohn Leo Hift. Afric.l.1.6-1.

vie, conquered Agypt, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old Namphis, the great Cite of Candy (corruptly fo pronounced) naming it El Calirs, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mikreffe, though hee himfelfe

were a Dalmatian

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ò. III.

Q. III.

of CHERRES, ARMEVS, RAMESSES, and AMENOPHIS. Of MYRIS. and the Lake that beares his name.

Hen Acherres had raigned eight yeares, Cherres succeeded, and held the Kingdome fifteene yeares : then raigned Armeus fine yeares, and after him Rame/fes, threefcore and eight. Of Armeus and Rameffes is that Historie vnderstood by Eusebius, which is common among the 10 Greekes, under the names of Danaus and Egyptus. For it is faid that

Danaus, being expelled out of Agypt by his Brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom you feeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers fittle Sonnes, but commanded euery one of them to killher husband the first night; that only Hypermnestra, one of his Daughters, did faue her hufband Lynceus, and fuffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie fifters, when they died, were enjoyined this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessell with water.

The raigne of Danaus in Argas was indeede in this age; but that Armeus, was Danaus; and Ramesses, A gyptus; is more then Remeecius beleeues: hee rather takes 20 Armeus to have beene Myris, or Meris, who caused the great Lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eafily believue, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of fuch qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom wee spake before; so doe I not finde how in so short a raigne, as fine yeares, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of waris, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his Wines being fome part, it is manifest that he was not buried in argos. Wherefore of Atyris, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose raignes we have no assurance, I may truly fay, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of Pharach, feeing that greater deedes, or more absolute, then were those of Joseph, 30 who bought all the people of Agypt as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of Geboar, who founded Cairo; and of Sanar, who made the Countrie Tributaric; were performed by none of them,

It shall therefore be enough to set downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to have followed one another in order of fuccession: but in rehearing the great acts which were performed, I will not fland to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of Myris is, by the report of Diodore and Herodotus, three thousand fixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fiftic fadomes deepe. It served to receive the waters of Nilus, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Coun-40 trie, and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rife high enough. In opening the fluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftie talents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost; feeing the tribute imposed vpon Fish taken therein, was every day one talent, which Myris gaue to his Wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middest of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of Miris and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to Herodotus) fiftie paces high; having on the rops their statues, fitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet is it very great. The yeares of Armeus are by Manethon divided, by inferting one 50 Armesis (whom Eusebius omits) that should have raigned one yeare and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthie of examination.

After Ramefes, his fonne Amenophis held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some giue him only nineteene yeares; and Mercator thinkes him to have beene the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have alreadic spoken in the first Booke.

### ð. I I I I.

Of the Kings that raigned in the Dynastie of the Larthes.



FIHOSIS, Or Zethus, raigned after his Father Amenophis, fiftie fiue yeares. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient sefosiris. But the state of the World was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old Sejostris made, could have beene either cailly performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paffed, had it now beene performed, as any man will perceive if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who lived with this Zethus. With this King beganne the Dinastie of the Larthes; which Reineccius conjectures to have had the fame fignification, wherein the old Kings of Hetruria, were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iffued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Agypt) and to have fignified as much as Imperator or Generall. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls, 20 I take to have been against the Athiopians: for fure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of Palastina, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they transiled ouer the defert fands, on the other hand; to feeke matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of Africa. But these Generalls (if the Larthes were fuch) were not many. Fine only had that title; and the last of these tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such fort as the Roman Emperors were proud for a while, to be called Antonini, till the most vusuteable conditions of Heliogabalus, made his Succeffors forbeare the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appeares by this particular) tooks name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the gouernement them-30 selues; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroics. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these Larthes, depends only vpon conjesture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroies, might bee great enough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For fowe finde in lohn Leo, that the Soldan of Agypt (after fuch time as the 16th Leo, 18. Soldan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the Soueraignetic to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, stiled Eddaguadare, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good spend of 40 the Soldans Treasure. So might the Office of the Viceroies continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as those of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the feuenteenth Dynastie was called of the Sheep-heards, because to seph governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that raigned; as this was faid to be of the Larthes or Generalls. The next, as Mianetho (but Annius his Manetho ) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, for a funch as Vapines, and Se/ae, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs 50 now returne to the businesse which we left.

Ramfes was King after Zethus, or Setholis, threefcore and fixe yeares. He is mistaken for that fecond Sefostris, of whom I have spoken in the first Bookes. I finde nothing worth rehearfall of this Ramfes, or of Amenophis, and Annemenes, that followed him in order, the former of which raigned fortie, the later fixe and twentie

veares. Wherefore it may well bee, that the name which Zethus had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thuoris, the last of the Larthes, raigned only seuen yeares; yet is heethought to haue beene that Process, of whom Herodotus hath mention, faying, That he tooke Helena from Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her to Menelaus. I neede say no more in refutation of this, then that the time of Thuoris his raigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of Helen to her restitution.

This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by fome) together with Thon, and others. tnentioned by Greeke Writers in this bulinesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for fuch only are like to have had their relidencie about Pha- 10 res, and the Sea coast, where Menelaus arrived.

Of Protein, who detained Helen, it is faid, That he could foretell things to come, and that hee could change himfelfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea God. and keeper of Neptunes Scale-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of Pharos, as was said before.

Remples, the Sonne of Proteus, is reckoned the next King, by Diodore, as also by Herocotus, who calls him Ramfinitus, and tells a long tale, fit to pleafe children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theese, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeue what he list. How 20 long this King raigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did

Of Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors. their times being not recorded. The Kings of Agypt, according to CEDRENVS. Of VAPHRES and SESAC.

Any other names of Agyptian Kings, are found scattered here and 30 there; as Tonepherfolis, of whom Suidas delivers only the bare name and titles Senemures, or Senepos, mentioned in Macoabim, who perhaps was the fame that by Suidan is called Senves, or Euenes, noted by occasion of a great Philition that lined under him, Benehyin, recor-

ded by the same Suidas, for his great justice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Isle of Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and that he consulted with the Deuil, or (which is all one) with Seraphis, defiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him should be so mightic as himselfe. The answere or confession of the De- 40 uill was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of Pless his worke, Of the truenesse of Christian Religion. The Greeke Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the fense is all one; which is this:

> First God, and next THE WORD, and then THE SPRITE, Which three be ONE, and joyne in ONE all three: Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight, The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suides had borrowed all this of Cedrenes, had I not found fomewhat more in Suidau, than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which Thulis vied, and that claufe, of his giving name to the Hand: though in this last point I hold Suides to be deceived; as also Cedrenus is, or (at least) seemes to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of raigne. Indeede the very name of that Booke, cited often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little Genelis, is alone enough to breede suspition of some imposture : but the Frierly stuffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is fuch as would ferue to diferedit himfelfe, were it not otherwife apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compaffe. I will here fet downe the Lift of olde Egyptian Kings deliuered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets downe is Mizraim, the sonne of Cham. After him hee findes many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: Wimrod, the to fonne of Chiss, was also called orion; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet Saturne, had to wife Semiramis, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three fonnes: Picus, furnamed Inpiter, Belus and Ninus. Picus chafing his father out of Allyria into Italia, raigned in his flead thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to Iuno, his fifter and wife, and to Belus his fonne: after which Belus, who raigned onely two yeares, 2(inus had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother Semiramis. But Picus went into Italie, to visite his olde father Saturne: Saturne forthwith religned the Kingdome to him . Picus Jupiter raigned in Italie threefcore and two yeares, had threefcore and tenne Wines or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of Crete. The principall of Inpi-20 ters fonnes were Faunus, Perfeus, and Apollo, Faunus was called by the name of the Planet Mercurie: hee raigned in Italie, after his father, five and thirtie yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into £grpt, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of Mizraim, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeares. After Mercurie, Vulcan raigned in Act ypt foure yeares and a halfe. Then Sol, the fonne of Fulcan, raigned twentie yeares and a halfe. There followed in order Sofis, Ofiris, Orus, and Thules, of whome we spake before: the length of their feuerall raignes is not fet downe. After Thules, was the great Sefostris King twentie yeares. His successor was Pharao, called Narecho, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of 30 Pharae, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of Cedrenus I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them; let their credit reft voon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are faid to have raigned in Acgypt, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to beingprehended of vaine curiofitie, in the fearch made after these alreadie rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting fuch as might have been eadded.

Vaphres, the father in law to Salamon; and Sefac, the afflicter of Rehoboam, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of Vaphres is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and Eufebius for it. clim.strom.l.t. 40 Thele give vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he lived in the times Euleb. de Prap.

of Dauid and of Salomon. He came into Palestina with an Armie, tooke Gezar from Enanglig. c.4. the Canaanites, and gaue it to his daughter, Salomons wife: though for her fake per- 1. King 9.16.6 haps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) Sefae his forme 11.0.18,19,000. did fauour the enemies of Salomon, who kept fo many Wines and Concubines, bgfides this Aegyptian Princeffe. In the life of Rehoboam all hath-beene written that I finde of selae, excepting the length of his raigne, which must have beene fixe and twentic yeares, if he were that Smendis with whome Eufebius beginnes the one and twentieth Dynastic.

Now for a finuch as it would ferue to no great purpole, that wee knew the length 50 of Sefac his raigne, and of theirs that followed him, voleffe therewithall we knew the beginning of Selac, vpon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeare of Iehoaikem, King of Inda, in which Pharao Neco was flaine; I reckon vpwards the yeares of the same Neco, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of Sefae: by which accompt, the first yeare of Sefae is found, concurrent

with the twentieth of Salomons raigne, and the twentie fix tof Sefas with the fift of Reliaboum: wherein Sefac spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then Io. the Ifraelite and Craffus the Romane did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of Ierusalem.

To hill up the time betweene Sefac and Neco, I have rather taken those Kings that I finde in the Greeke Historians, than them which are in Eufebius his Catalogue. For of these that are delinered by Enselines, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, sauc onely of Bocchoris, who is remembred by Diodore, Plutarch, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to have beene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the fuccellion is often interrupted in Enfebius by At- 10 thiopians, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwife it appeares by the Prophet Efay, that the Councellors of Pharae did vaunt of the long and flourithing continuance of that house, infomuch, that they faid of Pharach. I am the Sonne of the Wife, I am the Sonne of the auncient King. But that which ouerthrowes the reckoning of Enfebius, is, the good agreement of it with his millaken times of the Kings of Iuda. For though it pleafe him well to fee how the raignes of Iofics and Neco meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all . the raigne of Iofias being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the raignes of the Kings of Inda with theirs of Ifrael: by which occasion, Inram, King of Ifrael, is made to raigne three yeares after Abazia of Inda; Samaria is 20 taken by Salmanaffar before Hezekia was King : and in a word, all, or most of the

Kings, have their beginnings placed in some other yeare of their collateralls than

Of CHEMMIS, CHEOPS, CEPHRENES, and other Kings recited by HERODOTUS and DIODORVS SICVLVS, which raigned betweene the times of REHO-BOAM and EZEKIA.

the Scriptures have determined.

Collowing therefore the Greeke Hifforians, I place Chemmis, or (according to Diocore) Chembis, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after Sefac. Hee raigned fifthe yeares, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accompted one or this words.

The Pyramis bath his name from the shape, in that it resemblesha

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toppe. This of Chemmis being foure-fquare, had a Bafe of feuen akers enery way, and was about fixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had 40 lasted, when Diodore saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had fuffered by weather in follong space. From the raigne of Chemmis, vnto the age of Augustus Cefar, wherein Diodorolined, are indeede a thoufand yeares; which gives the better likelyhood vnto this time wherein Chemmis is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers teffifir that they have feene them yet standing.

After Chemmis, Diodore placeth Cephrenes his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his fonne Chabreus fucceeded. Herodorus hath Cheeps (who might bee Chabreus) and Cephrenes after him. Thefe are faid to have beene brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to have beene 50 fonne to the former : for Cheops raigned fiftie yeares : Cephrenes fiftie lixe. Thefe were, as Chemmis had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who alreadie had oner laboured themselves in creeting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes; for those that raised them;

Dioder.l.r.

but the malice of the Egyptians is faid to have cast out their bodies; and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardfinan, that kept his Beatls thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poore Dist fellow to their workes, was held to be the calting out of their bodies : otherwife, it Hen is hard to conceive, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to avoide the like flauerie, laid vpon them by the yonger brother, or fonne, should have power or leifure to take fuch reuenge vpon his Predeceffor. To the like malice may be aferibed the tale denifed against Cheops his Daughter; That her Father wanting monie. did profitute her, and that thee, getting of every man that accompanied her, one to flone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that flood in the middeft of the other three. Belike thee was an infolent Ladie, and made them follow their drudgerie, for her fake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raifing a Monument. with the fuperfluitic of her Fathers prouitions.

emperimenthe fonne of Cephrenes, raigned after his Father fixe yeares. He would

have built as his foregoers did, but prevented by death, finished not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did fet open the Temples, which Cheops and Cephrenes had kept flut. But an Oracle threatned him with a first life of fixe yeares only, because of this his denotion; For (faid the Oracle) Agent (bould have beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which thy Predecessors no knew, and performed for their parts, but thou hast releafed it, therefore shalt thou line but five yeares. It is very firange, that the Gods should bee offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were defirous to ferue them; or that they having fo decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter dellinie, and make the ordinance of the Godsto faile in taking full effect. But these were Aegyptian Gods. The true Go D was, doubtlesses more offended with the restitution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether Chemmis did not learne somewhat at Ierusalem, in the last yeare of his Father Sefac, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanitie of his Acgyptian Supersition? Sure it is that his raigne, and 20 theraignes of Cheops, and Cophrenes, were more long and more happic, than that of Myarinus, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and so doubled the time appointed: a feruice more pleafing to the Deuill, than the restitution of Idolatrieduril then feeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in Reineceius fiftie yeares alligned to this King; which I verily beleeue to have beene some errour of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other fuch ouer-fights: for I know no Author that gives him fo many yeares, and Reinectius himfelfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned Mycerinus with a shortlife, as is before shewed.

Boschorus is placed next vnto Myserinus, by Diodore, who speakes no more of him 40 than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. Heisspoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that Banchyris, whom Suides commends in that kinde: Eufebius reckons foure and fortic yeares of his raigne.

After Boschorus, one Sabacus an Aethiopian followes, in the Catalogue of Diodore: but certaine ages after him. Herodotus, quite omitting Bocchorus, hath Afrehis; who made a tharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paied. This Afrehis made at Pyramis of brick, more coftly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raifed. Belides this Afrehis, Herodotus placeth one Anylis, 50 ablinde man, before the Aethiopian. The raignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the Aegyptians, to magnific their antiquities, accounted betweene Becchorus and him that followed them. But all this could make but fixe yeares; and folong doth Functus, folong doth Reineccius hold, that these two Kings, betweene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnpro-

bable, that the raignes of two Kings should have beene so soone spent; he may doe it by taking fome yeares from Sethon or Pfammeticus, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breeden manifest inconvenience: for asmuch as part of sefae his raigne, must have beene in the fift of REHOBOAM; as also the last of Pharao Neco was the fourth of Ichoiakim, a. Chroning owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeares only to these two Kings, than to loose the witnesse of Herodotus, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of Senacheribs warre: at which time Sethon was King of Aegypt. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeares, wee shall thrust the beginning to of sethon out of place, and make it later than the death of senacherib. In regard of this agreement of Herodotus with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his Aegyptian Kings. Otherwife it were a matter of no great enuic, to leave both Affichis and Anylis out of the roll; which were casily done, by placing Selse lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of Pfammeticus his raigne) into the yeares of Rehoboam.

Of Sabieus the Aethiopian, who tooke the Kingdome from Amylis, it is agreed by the most, that he raigned fiftie yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but impoling bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out 22 their feruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vie than pompe, to the fingular benefit of the Countrey. Zonaras calls this King Sna, the Scriptures call him so. Hofes, the last King of Ifrael, made a League with him against Salmanassar, little to his good : for the Aegyptian was more rich than warlike, and therefore his

friendship could not preserve the Israelite from destruction. It feemes, that the encroching power of the Afgrian, grew terrible to Account

bout these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulassar, and Salmanassar, having caten so farreinto Syria, in the raigne of this one King So or Sabacus. Yea, perhapsit was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of Menabem) that Phul himfelfedid make the first entrance into Palessina. This caused So to animate the halfe subdued 32 people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Succefforgaue them was so faint, that Senacherilis Embassador compared the Aegyptian succourtoa broken staffe of Reede. Such indeede had Hofea found it, and fuch Ezekia might haue found it, had hee not beene supported by the stronger staffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of Rabsake, that the opinion was great in Inda, of the Acgyptian forces, for Charrets and Horse-men; but this power, what soeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of Aegypt it felfe, which So left vnto Sethon his Succeffor, having now fulfilled the fiftie yeares of his raigne. Herodotus and Diodorus haue both one tale, from the relation of Aegyptian Pricits, concerning the departure of this King; faying, that he 40 left the Countrie, and willingly retired into Aethiopia, because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worthipped at Thebes, that his raigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Priests in Acgypt; which rather than to doe, he refigned his Kingdome. Surely, these Aegyptian Gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their Servants, and invited Kings to doc them wrong. Well might the Aegyptians (as they likewife did) worship Dogs as Gods, when their chiefe Gods had the propertie of Dogs, which love their Mastersthe better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have fained this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuise, of the fearefull old man, who feeing his Realme in danger of an invalion, fought an 50 honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into Aethiopia, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the Aethiopis into which he went, was none other than Arabia, whereof Tirhaka the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armic against Senacherib, when hee

meant to inuade Agypt, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my selfe with such enquirie. This I hold, that So, or Sabacus, was not indeede an Ethiopian (for in his time lined the Prophet E/ay, who mentioneth the antiquitie of Pharaohs house) but only so surnamed for his education, and because illuing from thence, he got the Kingdome from Anyfe, who was his opposite. The quiet and milde forme of his Gouernement; his holding the Kingdome fo long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee hetooke to a private life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speake of sethon his next Suc-10 ceffor, who is omitted by Diodore, but remembred by Herodotus, by a fure token of his hauing beene King.

of Sernon who raigned with Ezekin, and fided with him against

He first yeare of Sethons raigne falls into the twelfth of Ezekia, which was the fift of Senacherib. It was a troublefome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of Asyra and Asyr, being then in-gaged in a Warre, the filue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The Asyrian had the better men of warre; the Agyptian, better provision of necessaries : the Afgrian, more Subjects ; the A-

ayptian, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of Ajjur, maniethat were Agyptian in heart, though Afgrian in outward frew.

Of this last fort were Ezekia, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned Pharao, to protect them against his owne great Enemie, preserved the friendship of so neare and mightie a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet sarre 30 removed King. But herein was great difference, betweene Ezekia and his Subjects. For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course or policie, which hee thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrie : the multitude of Indea, looking into the faire hopes which this Egyptian league promifed, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was fare, and that now they should not neede to feare any more of those injuries, which they had suffered by the Affrians, and so became forgetfull of God, taking counfaile but not of him. Elargo. The Prophet Efar complained much of this prefumption; giving the people of Indatovnderfland, That the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their Horfes fielb, and not Spirit; that God himselfe should defend Israel vpon repentance, and that 40 Assva Should fall by the fivord, but not of man. As for the degyptimes (faid the Elegania & 8 Prophet) they are vanitie, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to Euryon.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentment and affurance was given to the Ienes, by Sethon, or his Agents, who filled them with fuch reports, of Horses and Charrets, that they did not looke (as Efay faith) auto the holy one of Ifrael, nor feeke 1/431-122 unto the Lord. But he yet is wifest.

After a while came Senacherib with his Armie, and wakened them out of these dreames; for Sethon their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did feeme farre off, 30 being vnreadic, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed, rather to make Palastina than Aegypt the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the Apprians and Ienes, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with menie; for he sent Horses and Camells laden with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom

Ejay calleth a people that cannot profit. These Arabians did not profit indeede; for (belifier that it seemes by the same place of Ejay, that the rich treassers missers and riell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from Tribases, all the strong Cities of inda were taken by Senatherib, except Libra, Luchis, and terujalem it selte, which were in sore diffresh, till the sword of God, and not of Man, destated the Assirtant, who did goe, for fanctio has Towers, that is, he fled to Ximue, where he

was staine. Concerning this expedition of Semelecrib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against £gypt, where the men of warre, being offended with sethon their King, who had taken away their allowance, resulted to beare arms indesence of him and the Countrie; that Sethon being ruleum Priest, bemoaned himse set on his God, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon sethor, with such as would follow him, (which were crasts-men, stop-keepers, and the like) marched towards Pelusums, and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of Semelers by night, did so knaw the bowes, quituers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to slie away in all hasse, shading themselues distributed. In memoric hereof scale the local status of this king is set up in the Temple of Valeun, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription. Let him, that schools are, so we can.

wherein how farre they swarued from the truth, being desirous to magnific their 23

owne King, it may cafily be perceived. It feemes that this Image of Sethon was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in Diologous his time, or elfe perhaps, the Priefls did forbeare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the Lower was then well knowne to the world, whereof every child could have told.

how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We finde this hiftorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That Senacherib King of the Afgrians, and Arabians, (fo Herodotus calleth him : the Syriansor peraduenture some borderers upon Syria, being meant by the name of Arabians) liued in this age, made Warre vpon Agypt, and was miraculoufly driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that Fulcan did vnto his Priest; 30 happy it was (if Seehon were a Priest) that he tooke his God now in so good a moode. For within three or four yeares before this, all the Priests in Agypt should have beene flaine, if a mercifull King had not spared their lives, as it were halfe against the Gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serve as an example, that might flirre up the Agyptians to pietic, seeing that their denotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent Senseberib himselfe, and that the Moule in his hand, fignified Hieroglyphically (as was the Agyptian manner of expression things) the shamefull iffue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of 40 God, shewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeede a very good motive to pictie. But the embleme, together with the Temple of Vulcan (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that Sethon, finding him felfe in danger, did call vpon his Gods, that is, vpon Fulcan, Serofis, or any to whom he had most deuotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede : yet which of them had obtained fuccour by the like miracle? Surely the Ienes (even such of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have beene ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Charrets of Agypt, he- 50 canse they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were very strong; had it beene told them, that Sethon, in flead of fending those Horse men and Charrets, was befeeching Vulcan, to fend him and them good luck, or elfe (for the fe also were Agretian Gods) addressing his praiers to some Onyon or Cat. How socuer it was, doubtlesse the prophecie of Esis tooke effect, which said, They shall be all assumed of the peo-1197 sost, plets that cannot prosit them, nor sheep, nor doe them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproch. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisedome, when resting secure up-pon promision that it selles hath made, it will no longer seeme to shand in neede of God.

Some there are who take Sethon to have beene set down by Eusebius, under the

Some there are who take Sethom to have beene feet downe by Eufebius, vnder the name of Tarsebus the Ethiopius, and therefore the twentie yeares which are given to Tarsebus ethe Ethiopius, and therefore the twentie yeares which are given to Tarsebus, they allow to the raigne of Sethom. The le have well observed, that Tarsebus the Ethiopius is mentioned in the Seriptures, not as a King of EEZpt, buts 10 a friend to that Countrie, or at leaf an enemie to Senaterio bin the water laft spoken of: the Ethiopius (as they are englished) over which hee raigned, being indeede Chuster or Arabans. Hereupon they suppose aright, that Ensebus hat missaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this Tarsebus or Tirbuka, is placed in the roome of Sethon, and therefore give to Sethon the twentie yeares of Tarsebus, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this Ethiopius (as he is called) beganne his raigne ouer Egzpt, by Eusebus his accompt, after the death of Senatherib and of Ezekia, in the first yeare of Manasses King of Inda. Therefore he, or his yeares, have no reference to Sethon.

Herodelus forgets to tell how long Sethon raigned; Functions peremptorily, citing

no Author, nor alleaging reason for it, sets him down thirtie three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded wnto my selfeat the first, for measuring the raignes of the set segretar Kings. The yeares which passed from the sit of Reholeam, who the fourth of tehnakim, I so duited among the \*\*Espriam\*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed wnto him by the Author in whom hee is sound, the rest is to bee conferred youn him whose length of raignes is necetaine; that is youn this Sethon. By this accompt I finde the thirtie three yeares, that are set down to by sentime, to agree very nearely, if not precisely, with the time of Se-

thons raigne; therefore I conforme my owner cekoning to his, though I could be content to haucit one yeare less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of Psimmiticus, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me; the &.

courfe of this Hiftorie will shortly bring me; the £gyptian affaires growing now to be centerlaced
with the matters of Inda, to which it
is meete that I re-

turne.

Gaa

CHAP:

### CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

ò. I.

The wickednesse of MANASSES. His imprisonment, Repentance.



A NASSE, the Sonne of Ezechias, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, fet vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the hoft of Heauen, as Gods, and 20 worshipped them : and of all his acts the more abhominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill Moloch, or Melcher, in the Valley of Hinnon , or Benhennon : wherein was kindled

the fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witch-crast and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintayned those that had familiar Spirits, and all forts of Enchanters; belides, he fhed so much innocent bloud, as Ierusalem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abhominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet Efay (who was also of the Kings race, and as the level 30 18th, Marys. adittme, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neare vnto the Foun-Ghan pug. 175 taine of Siee to be fawne in funder, with a wooden faw, in the eightieth years of his

Tartoll, de Pai, lifeta crueltie more barbarous and monftrous then harb beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are filent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Islove, Eu-2.chron.33.11: febius and others, too many to rehearfe, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Hoft of the Kings of Ashva, which tooke MINASSE, and put himin fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to Babel: Where after he had lien twentie yeare as a captine, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praier, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the Assyrians heart to deliver him.

It is a fo likely that Merodach, because he loued his father Ezechia, was the casilier perswaded to restore Manasse to his libertie & estate. After which and when he was againe chablished, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detefted his former foolish and deuillish Idolatrie, and cast downe the Idolls of his owneerection prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of serufalem: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie five yeares. Glycas and Suidas report, that Clansife was held in a case of yron by the Asyrians: and therein sedde with bread of branne

and water, which men may belowe as it shall please their fancies.

à II.

of troubles in Egypt following the death of SETHON. The raigne of PSAMMITICUS.



Hat the wickednesse of King Manasses was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needes beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the flate of things. lecue: for it is annine in the Scripe in the feath of the World, fuch, at that time, as would have invited in those parts of the World, fuch, at that time, as would have invited for the feath of the world of the feath of the f any Prince (and did perhaps inuite Alerodach, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to

makeattempt vpon Iuda. For the Kingdome of Agypt, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of Inda leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill diffention, and after two yeares, ill amended by a division of the government betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these,eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally fubdued by him, who made himfelfe absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or meere Anarchie, that was in Agypt, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is 20 placed by Diodore, who omitteth Sethon, betweene the raignes of Sabacus, and Planmitions: but Herodotus doth fet the Ariflocratic, or twelve Governours, immediately before Plammitieus, who was one of them, and after Sethon.

The occasion of this diffention feemes to have been the vicertainctic of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of £gypt paffed by fuccession of bloud, I have often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not fetled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignetic.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preferue, they made firait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their effate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should 30 depofe all the reft, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke offering, in Valcans Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileft this vnitie lafted, they joyned together in raifing a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neare unto the Lake of Maris; a worke to admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beheld it affirmes) no wordes could give it commendation, answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it felfe. I will not here fet downe that unperfect description, which here latur makes of it, but thinke enough to fay, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he faith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephefus, or and the fairest workes in Greece. Diodorm reports this Labyrinth to have been worke of Marus, or Menides, a King which lived flue generations before Pro-

40 Lui, that is, before the Warre of Troy, and from this Labyrinth (faith he) Dedalus tooke the patterne of that which he made for Minos in Creete. Who this Marie, or Menides was , I cannot tell. Reineccius takes him to haue beene Annemenes, which raigned immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees not with Diodore: for Dadalus and Minos were both dead long before Annemenes was King. Belike Reineccius, defiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Manethon, Charemen, and others, that are found in Tolephus, touching Amenophis and his children, to the floric of A- Income Applie mass, and Attisares the Athiopian, mentioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethons Amenophis, to be Dieder' his Amafic, that Section thould

be Actifanes, and that Annemenes should be Marus. If in this case I might intrude 50 a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which Reineceus hatherred in making fearch; Amalis was Anylis; Actifanes was Sabacin; and Maries was one of these twelue Princes, to whom Herodotus gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For Actifanes the Athiopian deposed Amasis; Sabacus the

Ggg 3

Athiopian deposed Anysis; Attifanes gouerned well, and was milde in punishing

orlendors, fo likewife was Sabaeus; Alarus the next King after Actifanes built this Labyrinth; and the next (fauing Sethon, whom Diodore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabaeus, performed the fame worke, according to Herodorus, who was more likely to heare the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, which was familiar with them, in multiplying there a part of the Experior vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boatting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumflances remembree by Herodorus, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to prove, that it was the worke of these twelve Princes. But I halten to their end.

At a folemne feaft in \*Valent\* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-of-crings, the Prieft, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Hereupon \*Pfammitiens\* who itanding last, had not a Cup\* tooke of this brasen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him yon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbase to kill him, but, being jealous of their citate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euen, is held by \*Docate\* as a fable, which I beleeve to have been none other: In the rest \*Herosless\* and \*Diodoreagree\*, saying, that \*Pfammitius\* hyred\* Souldiers out of \*Curis\* and \*Joins\*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and 20 made himselfie fole King.

The yeares of his raigne, according to \*Hero-latur\*, were fiftie foure; according to \*Eurlehun\*, fortie foure; \*Mercator\*, to reconcile the fet woo, gives fortie foure yeares to his fingle raigne, and ten to his ruling, joynthe with the Princes before fpoken of Indeeds, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason be fippofed to have been then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelve Gournours, must be thought to have lived vnto extreme old age, if hee ruled partly with otherspartly alone, threefore and nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to \*Eufehun\*, but will not aduenture to cut flue yeares from the \*Arifeerstate\*, though peraduenture \*Pfammiticus\* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or 70 as next of bloud) into the place of fome Prince that dyed, and was ten yeares companion in that government.

Another Gruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeares of the Georgians, as we finde them fet downe, are more by one, than Grue to fill y phe time, betweene the fift of \*Rehobam, and the fourth of \*teheialim. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from \*Sethons raignes; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because Fams.\*im. may have followed Exter authoritie than I know, or than himselfe alleageth, in giving to \*Sethons\* a time so nearely agreeing with the truth) wee must consound the last yeare of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent, 40 For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronologicall tables, raigned precisely so many yeares as are asched vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surphisage of one mans time. Supplied the decret of anothers. Wherefore I consound the last yeare of those fifteene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of \*Psamminus\*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself is Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Azept, who entertained any strait amitie with the Greekes; that he retayned in pay his Mercenaries of Carns, Jons, and Arabis, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that 19 he greatly offended his Azeppian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into Sprit. Vipon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, for sooke their natural Countrie of Ægypt, and went into Æthnopia, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Meflages, nor by the King himfelfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wiues, and Children, \*they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to bee brought up in such some such with the reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such some what Nation or Language was most ancient; for a fine men six he considered the children to speake that language, which men spake at the children tried, Becaus, which wend being found to signific Bread in the Phrygian tongue, ferued greatly to magnific the Phrygian antiquitie. Con opins Because makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his Low Dutch; in which the word Becker, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne over any part of Goropus his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that Admand all the Patriarchs, seed none other tongue than the Low Dutch, before the confusion of languages at Babel, the name it selfs of Babel, being also Dutch, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they beganne to bable, and all ke, one knew not what.

But I will not infift you all that is written of Pfammitieut. The most regardable 20 of its acts was the slege of Asotus in Palsstims, about which he spent nine and twentieverers. Neuer haue we heard (faith Herodoins) that any Citic endured folong a slege as this; yet Pfammitieus carried it at the last. This Towne of Asotus had Epicoci been women by Tatan, a Captaine of Senscherib, and was now, as it seemeth relected, but in vaine, by the Babylonian, which made it hold out so well.

### è. III.

What reference the see Agyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of MANASSES. In what part of his raigne MANASSES was taken prisoner.



Rere it certainely knowne, in what yeare of his raigne Manssfer was taken prisoner, and how long it was before hee obtayned libertie; I thinke wee should finde these Agyptian troubles to haue been of small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended only their

owne bufineffe, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civill warresin A-40 gype that followed upon the death of Sethon; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were into twelue peeces; or the warre betweene Pfammitieus and his Colleagues; or the expedition of Pfammiticus into Syria, and the fiege of Azotus, might minister vnto the Babylonian, either fuch cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or fuch necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make fure worke with the King of Inda. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the delinerie of Manasses, after he was taken. For he was taken (as Iosephus hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only wast it. So that the Ierres, hauing learned wit, by the ill fuccesse of their folly, in redeeming Amazia, were like to 50 be more circumspect, in making their bargaine upon such another accident: and the Babylonian (to whom the Acryptian matters presented more weightic arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of Juda could affoord, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the Icares, hee might make his way the fairer into Acgypt.

Now concerning the yeare of Minaffes his raigne, wherein hee was taken prifener; or concerning his captinitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are illent. and tofephus gives no information. Yet I finde cited by Torniellus three opinions. the one of Bedarmine, who thinks that Manaffes was taken in the fifteenth years of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chronologie, who affirmes. that it was in his twentic feuenth yeare; the third, of Rabbi Kimbi vpon Ezekiel, who faith, that he was fortie yeares an Idolater, and lived fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vaheld by Tornielle, who rejects the second, 1. as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleaged by Torniellus in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to favour the Cardmall, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely diffent from him) than to have vied his accustomed dillgence in examining the matter, before he gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of Bellarmine: the one, that summon the Sonne of Manaffes, is faid by tofephies, to have followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had Manaffes growne old in his finnes, it is not like that hee flow dhane continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, Hee no reason, why the sinnes of Manaffes, might not be diffin- 20 guilhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve yeares old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of Rabbi Kimbi) vntill hee was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the second; how socuer it be a searcfull thing, to saft off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ener God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the finnes, which are not for faken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, thall beepun fled with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of Tornicslus, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That Man fee continued longer in this wickednesse, than Bellarmine hath intimated, if notasiong 40 as Rabbi Kimhi hath affirmed. In the fecond Booke of Kings, the cuill which OLLmasses did is remembred at large, and his repentance veterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to have taken up no great part of his life, the storie of him 2. King 21.17. being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the

acts of MANASSES, and all that he did, and his simme that he sinned, are they not writtenin the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda. The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearling the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of Iehnskim, the great Grand-child of The 14.3.4. this Manasses, it is said; Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this woon lade, that he might put them out of his fight, for the sinnes of MANASSE, according to all that 40 he did, and for the innocent bloud that he fled ( for he filled terufalem with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who fo confiders well these places, may finde fmall cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of Manaffes was no earlier than fifteene yeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was twentie seuen yeares old, he repented, and becomming a new man, liued in the scare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, feeing that the truth cannot be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of civill diffention in Aegypt, fourteene or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetie; the warre of Pfammitiess against his Affociates; and fourcand twentic yeares, of the nine and twentic, 50 wherein the flege of Azotus continued, being all within the time of Manaffes, did leaue no one part of his raigne (after the first fifteene yeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the Bubylenian, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of viliting his Countrie. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of

CHAP. 27. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Manaffes, was the last yeare of Sethon in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of Silerodach his raigne, or (accounting from the death of Afarhaddon) the twentieth: The feuen and twentieth of Manaffes was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of Merodach : his fortieth, was the twentie third of Pfammiticus. and the fift of Nabulaffar, the fonne of Merodach in Babylon ; but which of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbeare to shew mine opinion, least I should thereby seeme to draw all matters over violently to mine owne

This was the first great mastric that the Babylonians had of the Kingdome of In-10 da. For though Achaz promised Tribute to Salmanaffar, yet Ezechias neuer paved it. True it is, that hee hoped to flay Sennacheribs enterprise against him , by present and series ting him with three hundred talents of filter, and thirtie of gold, belides the plate which couered the dores and pillars of the Temple.

But Manaffes being preffed with greater necessities could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the Babylonian would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of feruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the Egyptions, whilest they were enemies to Babylon. This appeares not only by his fortifying with men of warreall the firong Cities of Inda after his returne (which was rather against Planmiticus, whose partie hee had forsaken, than 20 against the Babylonian, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewife by that opposition, which lofters made afterwards to Pharso Neco, in fauour of Nabulaffar, which had been against all reason and policie, if it had not been his dutie by couenant. Of this I will speake more in convenient place.

#### ò. IIII. ,

of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the raignes of Ezekia, and Manasses Kings of Inda

were performed abroad in the world; about these times of Manasses, the most remarkeable were the Messes mism Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, betweene the Troian and Persian Warres, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first Messenian Warre beganne and ended in the daies of Ezekia; the second in the raigne of Manaffes: but to avoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is 40 needlesse, than to say, that the posteritic of tiercules, drining the issue of Pelops, and the Acheans, out of their feates, divided their lands betweene themselves, and crected the Kingdomes of Lacedamon, Argos, Messene, and Corinth; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these Messenian were the greateft.

The pretended grounds of the Mellenian Warre, are learce worth remembrance; they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the Lacedemonians were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie defires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one Polychares 50 a Messenian had flaine many Lacedamonians, for which the Magistrates of Sparte defiring to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The Messenians on the other fide, excused Polychares, for that he was growne frantick, through injuties received from Eurphnes a Lacedamonian. This Eurphnes had bargained to give Paper to the Cattell of Polychares, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gaine appointed, hee fold the Cattaile, and Slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, faying, that they were stollen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the flaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The Lacedamonian being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large a. mends; which to receive, hee carried the Sonne of Polychares home with him; but hauing him at home, hee vilanously slew him. Wherefore, the Lacedemonars has uing refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the Messenans, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vato the judgement of the Amphictyones, who were as the generall Counfaile of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the Lacedamonians, who had a great defire to occupie the faire Countrie of Meffene, that lay close by them, were not content with fuch allegations. They thought it enough, to have some shew for their doings. which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with Mellene, till they had maltered it : which done, they feized vpon Amphia, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercic, very few elcaping.

Hereupon the Meffensans tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious 20 battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with yncertaine victorie. The Messensans did strongly encampe themselves; The Lac. da. monians, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the fecond yeare of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourtenth Olympiad, hauing lasted twentie yeares. The two enemic Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the Lacedemonians waiting the inland parts of Meffene; and the Meffenians, the Sea coult of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends, on both fides, were cailed in to helpe. The Arcadians, Argines, and Sicyonians, tooke part with Messene; the Spartans had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Crete. So a fecond, third, and fourth battaile 19 were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; sauing that, in the fourth battaile, the Lacedemonians were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still vincertaine, though in one of them the Messenians lost Emphaes their King, in whose stead they chose Aristodemus.

Many yeares were spent, ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monieto entertaine Souldiers, caufed the Warre to linger. And for the fame reasons, did the Messenians, for sake all their inland Townes, excepting 1thome, which was a mountaine with a Towne vponit, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the Laced emonians were so obstinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that having absented themselvesten 40 yeares from Sparta, their wives fent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpeopled, by reason that no children had beene borne them in all that time: Where-

★ vpon they fent back all their ablest yong men, promiseuously to accompanie the yong women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called Parthenians. Diedorus referres the begetting of these was the youn- Parthenians to a former time. But in processe of this Mellenian Warre, when the Degeft Some of uill in an Oracle had aduifed the Messenians to Sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of Crefifien by Me- \* Agyptu, that fo they might be victorious against the Licedamonians; the lot salrope, the daughter of one Lycifeus, Epibolus the Priest, willing to saucher, said, King of Area- shee was only a fostered child, and not borne of the wife of Lycifcus: which answere 50 dia: of which giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, Lycifeus fecretly fled away with her into chiefe nobili- Sparta. Then Ariflodemus, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his tir of the Alef- owne Daughter: but a yong Noble man, being in love with the Maide, when otherwise he could not prevaile, said openly that shee was no Virgin, but that he had be-

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters beily, to disproue the Louers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterward falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of prenailing against the Laced emonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrie, which he loued most dearely. For after his death the Mesienians lost their courage, and finding themselves diffressed by many wants, especially of victualls, they craued peace; which they obtained vnder most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely truits of their Land they were bound to fend vnto Sparta; and they, with their Wines, to make folcome lamentations, at the death of enery Spartan King; they to were also fworne to live in true subjection to the Lice amonians; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the Afmai, and fuch as had followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon to vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the Meffenians not finding how to help themselues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able yong men, that were growne up in the roome of those Messenians, whom the former Warre had confirmed, beganne to confider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the Lecedemonians, and therefore scorning to serue such Matters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe 20 of these was Aristomenes, a noble Gentleman, of the house of Apytes; who perceiuing the vniforme delires of his Countrie men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the Ai gives, and Arcadians, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, beganne open warre vpon the State of Lacedemon. This was in the fourth years of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedamonians, hasted to quech the fire before it shuld grow too hot with fuch forces as they could raife of their own, without troubling their Friends mening to deale with their Enemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. So a firong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull; faue that the Messenians were pleafed with the iffue, for a fmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, 30 to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of Aristomenes appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better prouided. The Lacedemonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe : the Mellenians had the Argines, Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but Aristomenes did so behaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their lines. Of fuch importance was this victorie, that the Lacedemonians beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement. But one Tyrtais an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they 40 had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this, Aristomenes tooke by surprise a Towne in Laconia, and vanquished in fight Anaxander King of sparta, who did fet vpon him, in hope to have recovered the bootie. But all these victories of Aristomenes perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof

the honour (if it were honour) or furely the profit, fell vnto the Lacedemonians, through the treason of Aristocrates, King of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with monie, fled away, and left the Meffenians exposed to a cruell butcherie. The loffe was fogreat, that together with Andanis their principal Citie, al the towns in Mesene, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee 50 lafe abroade, was conucied, as into a place of lafetie. Here the Lated amonians found a tedious worke, that held them cleuen yeares. For befides that Era it felfe was a strong pecce, Aristomenes with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the fiege. He wasted all the fields of Mesene, that were in the enemies power, and brake into Leconia, taking away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, and all prouifions, necessarie for his owne prople; the Slaues and houlhold stuite he changed into monic, sustering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiefe the Lacedomonius made an Edd; that neither Assigne, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrie, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost vindone by it. Yet the Poet Tyrtem appeased this sproare with pleasing Songs. But Aristomenet grew so bold, that hee not only ranged overall the fields, but adventured upon the Townes, surprised, and fackt Amysla, and finally caused the enties to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likely hood of taking Em.

In performing these and other services, thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his descrues to bee remembred, as a thing year strange and meruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to Jetypon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caue into which the Spartans vied to cast head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punilhment were Aristomenes and his Companions adjudged. All therest of these poore men dyed with their falls; Ariftomenes (how focuer it came to paffe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungcon, among 20 dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while hee perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hercupon hee bethought himselfe, that this beast must needes know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, faued him felfe from biting with the other hand, by thrufling his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loofe, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did Ariftomenes delue fo long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage, 30 When some sugitives of Messene brought word to Sparta, that Aristomenes was returned home, their tale founded alike, as if they had faid, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedemonians in the fiege of Era, were cut in pecces, their Captaines flaine, and their Campe taken; then was it casily beiegued, that Ariflomenes was aliue indeede.

Thus cleuen yeares passed whilest the enemies hourring about Era, saw no likelyhood of getting it; and Aristomenes with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slaue, that had sled from Sparta, betraied the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rai- 40 nie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whileft the Adulterer was within. The Woman hiddeher Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the ftorme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for Aristomene, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroade; neither was it to be seared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, role vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedemonian Campe with the newes. There hee found Emperatures his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon 50 for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darkenesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neare hope of

ending along worke; the other inraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the affiliance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of feruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the fireets and other paffages, which admitted not manie hands to fight at once. But the Alesenians were in continuall toile; their enemies fought in course refreshing themselues with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplied the places of their wearie fellowes, with fresh Companies. Aristomenes therefore, perceiuing that his men, for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as having beene three to dayes, and three nights, vexed with all miferies, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compafied round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midflof the enemies. Emperanus Generall of the Lacedemonians was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a faire paffage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived fafe in Arcadia, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Aradianshad prepared themselizes to the rescue; but Arisson extensions the first base to the rescue; but Arisson extensions a single state of the substantial was alreadies of the Aradianshad placed his followers in faktice, the chose to the bundred the lusticit of his men, with whom he resoluted to march in all secrethast with Sparta, hoping to find the Towne secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messions. In this enterprise, if he speed well, it was not doubted, that the Lacedannians would beeg lad to recover their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others, if all saided, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred includes that offered to joyne with him, but Arisson extensions are said to the speed advertisement hereof, to Anasander King of Sparta. The Epistle which Anasander see back to Arisson extensions are some some all his falseshood, which being published in open 30 also might be Areadians stoned him to death, and calting forth his bodie vinbured, credted a monument of his treacherie, with a note. That the Periurer cannot decoine Sod.

Of Millomenes no more is remaining to be faid, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne Gorgus and other sufficient Couernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, heresolved himselfs to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the Lacedemonians worke at home. His daughters hee belowed honourably in marriage. One of them Demagetus who raigned in the sille of Rhodes took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the belt man in Greece. Finally Aristomeus went with his daughter to Rhodes, where he purposed to have travailed vnto Ardys the Son of Gyes King of Lydis, and to Phrantes King of Media: but death prevented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

The Meffenians were inuited by Anaxilas (whose great Grandsather was a Meffenian and went into Italie after the former war) being Lord of the Inhegians in Italie, to take his part against the Zandeansin Stellie, on the other side of the straights. They did so, and winning the Towne of Zande, called it Messiene, which name it keepes to this day.

This fecond Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twentie eight Olympiale. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served to Lacedemoins found meanes to rebell; but were foone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake Pelepomessia, they went into Acamania; whence likewise, after sew ages they were expelled by the Lacedemoinan, and then sollowed, their uncient Countrimen into Italie and Sieilie, some of them went into Africa, where they chose who telmsselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourescore yeares, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta and loue of their forfaken Countrie, with a defire to returne vnto it. In the third yeare of the hundreth and fecond Olympiad, that great Epaminondas, haning tamed the pride of the Lacedemonians, revoked the Meffenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dweltabroad, into Pelsponnefus. There did Epaminon. das restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citic. to which, by the name of the Province, was called Meffene, and was helde by them cuer after, in despight of the Lacedemonians, of whom they never from thenceforth

> Of the Kingsthat were in Lydia and Media, while MANASSES Raigned. Whether DEIOCES the Medewere that A R-PH AXAD whih is mentioned in the Booke of IVDITH. Of the historie of IVDITH.

R DY'S King of Lydia, and Phraortes of the Medes, are spoken of by Paufanias, as raigning thortly after the Meffenian warre. Ardys fuccee ding vnto his father Gyges, beganne his raigne of nine and fortie yeares, in the second of the fine and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who enchroaching upon the lonians

ini Alia. had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus and Smyrna. In like manner Ardys wanne Priene., and affailed Atiletus; but went away without it, In his raigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their owne Countrie by the Southians, ouer-ranne a great part of Asia, which was not freed from them before the time of Alyattes this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They 30 had not onely broken into Lydia, but wanne the Citic of Sardes; though the Cattle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King Ardys; whose long raigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect

Phraortes was not King untill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olumpiad, which was fixe yeares after the Meffenian warre ended; the fame being the laft yeare of Manaffes his raigne ouer Inda.

Deioces the father of this Phraortes, was King of Media, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeares in which Manaffes raigned. This Deieces was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors 40 had done. For they, following the example of Arbaces, had given to the people lo much licence, as caused eueric one to desire the wholesome scueritie, of a more Lordly King. Herein Deioces answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his perfon, he feldome gaue prefence, which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies, he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letter fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, hee did vprightly and seucrely adminifler iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the King- 50 dome. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by enchroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweenethis King, and fuch as were before him, feemes to have bred that opinion which Herodotus deliuers, that Deioces was the first who raighed in Media.

CHAP.27. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

This was he that built the great Citic of Echatane, which now is ealled Tauris; and therefore he should be that King Arphaxad, mentioned in the storie of Indith, as also Ben Alerodach, by the same accompt, should bee Nabuchodonofor the Afgreen, by whom Arphexad was flaine, and Holophernes fent to worke wonders; vpon Phud and Lud, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeare of Deiecesto have beene the nineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others place it otherwise, fome earlier, in the time of Merodach Baladan, fome later, in the raigne of Nabulal far, who is also called Nabuchodonofor.

In fitting this Booke of Indith to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene frent' with ill successe. The raignes of Cambyses Darius Hystaspis, Xeres and Ochus, have beene fought into; but affoord no great matter of likelihood : and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of Ierusalem, have beene thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faine would) agree with him-Whileft Cambyfes raigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the florie of Inaith, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, Darius and Aerxes, are acknowledged to have beeneverie fauourable to the lewes; therefore neither of them could be Nabuchodonofor, whose part they refused to take, and who fent to destroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes bath some conneniences, aptly fitting 10 this Historie; and about all the opinion of a few Ancient writers ( without whose indgement the authoritie of this Bookewere of no value) having placed this argument in the Persian Monarchie, inclines the matter to the raingne of this vain-glorious King. As for Ochus, verie few, and they faintly, entitle him to the bulineffe. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be, a returne from captimitie lately foregoings the Temple rebuilt: Incim High Pricit, and along peace, of threescore and tenne yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the tenes. Likewise on the other side wee must finde a King that raigned in Ninime, eighteene yeares at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Iewes refused to affift; one that fought to bee generally adored as 30 God, and that therfore commanded, all temples, of fuch as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose victoric or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances, the Priesthood of Ioacim, with a returne from Captiuitic, are found concurring, with either the time of Atanasses before the destruction of lerufalem, or of Xerxes afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of Xernes; the rest of circumstances requilite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the Jewes and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuerfic is, that the Booke of Indith is not Canonicall. Yet hath Tornielles done 40 as much, in fitting all to the time of Xerxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder Xerxes there were other Kings , among which Arphaxad might be one (who perhaps reftored and reedified the Citie of Echstane, that had formerly beene built by Desoces) and Nabuchodonofor might be another. This granted; he addes that from the twelfth yeare to the eight centh of Nabuchodonofor, that is fine or fixe yeares, the absence and ill fortune of Xerxes in his Gracian expedition (which he supposeth to have beene so long) might give occasion vnco drphaxad, of rebelling : and that Nabuchodonofor having vanquished and slaine Aphaxad, might then feek to make him selfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder Holofernes. So should the Jenes have done their dutic, in adhering to Nerxes their 30 Soueraigne Lord, and refifting one that rebelled against him; as also the other ircumstances, reheaased before be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iurie were agreeable to the Historic of Iudith, and such a King as this supposed Nabuchodonofor, might well enough bee ignorant of the Jewes, and as

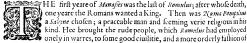
proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away Hhh 2

beliefe, from this coniccture : and the supposition it selfe is verie hard, that a rebell. whose King was abroad, with an Armie contisting of seventeene hundred thoufand men, thould prefume fo farre, you the itrength of twelve hundred thouland foot, and twelve thouland Archers on horlebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he lift, yea that there was none other God than himfelfe. It is indeed eafie to find enough that might be faid against this deuise of Torniellus; yet if there were anie necessitie, of holding the Booke of Indith, to bee Canonicall, I would rather to chuse to lavatide all regard of prophane Histories, and build some detence voon this ground, than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it felfe. That Incith lived under none of the Perfian Kings, Bellamine (whose workes I have not read, but find him cited by Tornicline) bath prooued by many argumens. That shee lived not in the Raigne of Manasses, Torniedus hath prooued verie substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in faying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings Arphanal and Nabuchodonofor, found out by Torniellus, are the children of meere fantalie, it is fo plaine, that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truly fay, that they which have contended about the time of this Hittorie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stonic field) I have chased Hielosernes out of all parts of time, 20 and left him and his great expedition, Extra anni folique vists, in an age that never was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Surely to find out the borders of IAPHETH, which were towards the South, and ouer against Arabia; or the Countries of Phud and Lud, that lay in Holofernes his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Coimographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not buile my felfe herewith; having alreadie fo farre digreffed, in shewing who lived not with Manasses, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearfe what others I finde, to have had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

#### δ. V I.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.



a Salyne chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kind. Hee brought the rude people, which Romelus had employed onely in warres, to some good civilitie, and a more orderly fashion of 40 life. This hee effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called Egeria, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which hedelinered vnto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these devices of Numa were, in his owne judgement, no better than meere delutions, that ferued onely as rudiments, to bring the Sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by Romulus, to some forme of milder difcipline, than their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his grave, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superfittion taught by himfelfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a pecce of ground that 50 belonged to one L. Petilius a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chefts of stone were init, with an infeription in Greeke and Latine letters, which faid that Numa Pompilius the sonne of Pompo, King of the Romans lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being vtterly confumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

CHAP. 27. S.G. of the Historie of the World.

up in two bundels of wax; of his owne constitutions scueu, and other scuen of Phylofothie. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie defiring to have a fight of these Bookes, when hee perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a folemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more a doe, commaunded them to bee openly burnt. It feemes that Auma did meane to acquite himfelfe, vnto wifer ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene to foolish as to believe the Doctrine wherein he infructed his owne barbarous times. But the poylon wherewith hee had infected 10 Rome, when hee fat in his Throwne, had not left working, whenhee ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Bookes not come to light, untill the dayes of Tully and Cafar, when the mift of ignorance was somewhat better discuffed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they ferued as a confutation, without remedic, of Idolatrie that was inuctorate.

Auma Raigned three and fortic yeares in continuall peace. After him Tullus Hosijlius the third King was chosen, in the fix and fortieth of Manages, and R aigned two and thirtie yeares, bufied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field, but in regard of the danger, which both parts had 20 cause to seare, that might grow vnto them from the Thuseanes, caused them to bethinke themselves of a course, whereby without essution of so much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might bee decided, who fhould command, and who obev.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twinnes borne at one birth (Dionyfins fayes that they were Colen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their feuerall Countries. The end was that the Horatii, Champions for the Romans got the victorie, though two of them first lost their lines. The three Curatij that fought for Alba (as Linie tels it) were all aline, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were flaine: but the third Hora-30 tims, pretending feare, did runne away and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at fuch diflance one from another, that returning upon them, he flew them, as it had beene in fingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and fet vpon him all at once. Dionyfus reports it fomewhat otherwife, telling verie particularly, what woundes were given and taken, and faying, that first one of the Horatij was slaine, then one of the Curaty, then a fecond Horatius, and lailly the two Curaty, whom the third Horatius did comming scuer one from the other as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable thinges in the olde Roman Historie, both in regard of the action it felfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in wager, against Al-43 ba, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the Citic of Alba did immediatly become subject vnto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remooued vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alba, as the mother Citie, had beene chiefe, became ere long dependent vpon Rome, though not subject vnto it, and diugrse pettie States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearse (as being the works of sundrie ages, and few of them remarkeable confidered apart by themselves (vntill fach time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, thall grow to bee the maine subject of to this Historic.

The feuenth yeare of Hippomenes in Athens, was current with the fitth of Manafso. Also the three last Gouernours for tenne yeares, who followed Hippomenes, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find onely the names, Leocrates, Apfander, and Erizias. After Erixias yearely Rulers were elected.

Hhh 2

Thefe

These Gouernours for tenne yeares, were also of the race of Atedon and Course

but their time of rule was thortned, and from tearme of life reduced vnto tenne 1 yeares; it being thought likely, that they would gouerne the better, when they

knew, that they were afterwards to line prinate men under the command of others. I follow Dienyjus of Habearnaffue, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the O.

therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first years of the seventh Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of Charops his gouernment in

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of MANASSES to the destruction of ferusalem.

Of AMMON and Iosias.

AMON the fonne of Manaffe, a man no leffe wicked then was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God white hardened the heartes of his owne feruants against 2.Chron.33. him:who flew him after he had Raigned two yeares: Philo, Eufebius and Nicephorus gine him tenne yeares, following the Septuagint.

Tofias succeeded vnto Ammon, being but a childe of eight yeares old. Hee beganne to feeke after the s.chem.34.

God of Dausd his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged Inda and Ierufalem from the high places, and

the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake downe in his fight the Altars of BAALIM. He caused all the Images, as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses 30 of the Sunne to be burnt. Of Iofias it was prophecied, in the time of Iereboam the first, when he creefed the Golden Calfe at Bethel, that a child should be borne vnto the house of David, Josius by name, and upon thee (faid the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall hee facrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense upon thee . a pro-

phecie verie remarkeable. In the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time Helkiah the Priest found the Booke of Jeofes, called Deuteronomie, or, of the Lame, which hee fent to the King: which when hee had caused to bee read before him, and considered of the seuere commaundements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that observe them, and the fortow and extirpation to the reft, he rent his garments, and commaunded Helkiah, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse Huldah, or, Olda, concerning the Booke, who answered the meffengers in these words. Thus faith the Lord, behold I will bring outle ponthis place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curfes that are written 2.6bran. 34.14. in the Booke, which they have read before the King of Iuda, because they have for saken mee, and burnt incense to other Gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a louer of God and of his Lawes, it was promifed that this cuil! should not fall on Inda 1.8/21.15. and Terufalem in his dayes, but that hee himselfe should inherit his grane in 2. Chron. 34.

iofice affembled the Elders, caused the Booke to bee read vnto them, made 50 a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in Ierusalem and Beniamin to doe the like, promiting thereby to observe the Lawes and commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by iolius vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets, at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to have extended vnto those

CHAP.

lympiad, wherin the Chronologicall table, following this worke, doth fet them. For he not onely proteffeth himselfe to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning Dim.Halied.1. of times; but hath noted alwayes the yeares of the Greeks, how they did answers vn. folds: 3 45. to the thinges of Rome, throughout all the continuance of his Historie. Whereas

> Athens; I hope I thall not need excuse, for varying from Paulanius, who settes the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner. In the Raigne of Manaffes it was, that Midas, whome the Poets fained to have had Affes cares, held the Kingdome of Phrygia. Manie fables were deuifed of him: especially that hee obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that all thinges which hee should touch, might immedatly be changed into Gold: by which meanes heelad like to have beene starued (his meat and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not Bacchus deliuered him from his miscrable facultie, by causing him to wall himselfe in the River Pactolus, the streame whereof hath ever since for 22 footh, abounded in that precious Mettall. Finally it is faid hee died by drinking

Buls bloud; being inuaded by the Seythians. In this age flourished that Antimachus, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Rome-

lus) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome. The Milefians, or (as Erfebius hathit) the Athenians, having obtayned some power by Sea, founded Macieratis a Citie on the coaft of Agypt. Plammittens herein feemes to have affilted them, who vied all meanes of drawing the Greekes into Ægypt, accounting them his furest strength. For neither Miletes, nor Athens, were now of power fufficient, to plant a Colonie in Fgypt by force.

Plut. & Eufeb.

About this time Archius with his companion Miscellus, and other Corinthians, 22 founded Syracufe in Sicile? a Citie in after-times exceeding famous,

The Citie of Nicomedia fornetime \* Aileein, was enlarged and beautified in \* Whence in Strabo there is this age, by Zipartes native of Thrace. Sybilla of Samus according to Paulanias lived fonus Altreenus a part of Pro-About these times also was Croton founded upon the Bay of Tarentum by Mispontis where

about the same time, Manasse yet living, the Citie Phaseis was founded in Pamphilis,

Gela in Sieily, Interamne in the Region of the Vmbri, now called Vrbin in Italie. About

which time also Chalcedon in Asia, ouer against Byzantium, (now Constantinople) was

founded by the Megaren/es: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they

chose not the other side of Boshborus. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is

faid to have beene done in the five and fiftie yeares of Manaffes : that which hath al-

readic beene told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referuing onely Ben Merodach, and Nabulaffar, to the bufineffe that

this Citie fine cellus, the companion of Archias that built Syracufa: Strabo makes it somewhat

more ancient, and so doth Paulanias. About the same time, the Parthenians, being of age and banished Lacedamon, were

will shortly require more mention of them.

Strabel, 5. conducted by Phalantus into Italie, where it is faid they founded Tarentum : but Ia-Hine and Paufanias find it built before, and by them conquered and amplyfied. Also 40

Iustin.1.3. Pauli.10.

Halle.

Countres, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of Iofias in warre got possession of these places; but rather that Ezekiss, after the flight and death of Senachersb, when Merodach opposed himselfe against Aarhandon, did vie the aduantage which the faction in the North prefented vnto him, and laid hold vpon fo much of the Kingdome of Ifrael, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himselfe vnable to deale with Planimitieus in Syria (as wanting power to raise the fiege of Azolus though the Towne held out nine and twentic yeares) did give you to Manafes, together with his libertie as much in Ifrael, as himfelfe could not eafily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of Iuda had fo 10 long held with those of Agypt, by casting a bone betweene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the Ierres, which had beene lost by injuries

done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is faid, that Manasies did s.cbron.33.14. after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of Inda; it may be that some such butinesse is intimated, as the taking possession. and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manufelt that he tooke much paines, in making lerufalemit felfe more defensible, yet I should rather belowe, that he having alreadic compounded with the Babylonian, did fortilie himfelfe against the Agyptians, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee travailed in ac making fuch prouitions, onely for his minds fake. The earnestnesse of Iosias in the King of Babel his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which Manafer had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly tearmes, as required not only a faithfull observation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could fuffice to make Iofics fit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when Plarao Neco King of Agypt passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the River of Euphrates.

The last yeare of Iolias his Raigne it was, when as Neco the fonne of Pfanmitiess, came with a powerfull Armie towardes the border of Indea, determining to 2.chron. 35.20, paffe that way being the nearest toward Euphrates, either to strengthen the passes 20 of that River, about Careenifb or Cercufium, for the defence of Syria (as long after this; Dioclefian is faid by Ammianus Marcellinus to have done) or perhaps to inuade Striatt felfe. For it feemethe that the travaile of Pfammittens had not beene idlely confumed about that one Towns of Azotus, but had put the Agyrians in possestion of no small part of Syria, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the Adades Kings of Damafeo.

Neither was the industrie of Neco leffe than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against Esbel. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the Egyptians, and advanced their affaires and hopes : the extraordinarie valour of the mercenarie Greekes, that were farre better Souldiers than Legyl could of it film afford; and the danger wherein Affria flood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and thew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance them was the warre; as in place more concepient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldeans to reconquer, did enforce, or some disabilitie of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of Agret, into the Countries bordering vpon Euphrates, whither Pharao Neco ascended with a mightic

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, Jofies aduited with himselfe to which of 50 these he might adhere, having his Territorie set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not inuade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the verie face and bodie of his Countrie; Now though it were fo that Necohimfelfe defired by his Embaffadors, leave to paffe along by Indea, protefting that hee

CHAP.28. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

directed himselfe against the Assyrians onely, without all harmefull purpose against 10.23; yet all fufficed not, but the King of Ifrael would needs fight with him. Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of Hojes the last King of ifrael, who when he fell from the dependance of the Affirian, and wholly truned to Sabaeus or Sous King of Agypt, was veterly disapointed of his hopes, and in conclusion loft both his life and chate, which the Affyrian, fo rooted vp and tare in neeces, as it could neuer after bee gathered together or replanted. The calamities alfo that fell your Inda in the thirteenth and foureteenth yeares of Ezekia, whileft to that good King and his people relied upon Sethon; and more lately, the imprisonment of Manalles, were documents of fufficient proofe, to show the ill affurance, that was in the helpe of the Egyptians, who (neare neighbours though they were) were alwayes vireadie; when the necessities of their friends required their affiflance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why Accound not seeke, to haue the lewes renew there ancient league with him, but onely craued that they would be contented to fit ftill, and behold the pattime betweene him and the Affyvians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie as did, foone after this, out-face Nabulaffar, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the 19-3, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to give it any checke vpon the 20 way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince Iofias . was not firred up onely by politicke respects, to stop the way of Aees; but thought himselfe

bound in faith and honour, to doe his best in defence of the Babylenian Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlagement of Manaffes, or by the gift of fuch part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Inda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie. Somethinke, that this action of Iolias, was contrarie to the aduice of Ieremie 30 the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of Icremie, nor can finde rea-

fon to beleeve. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to aske the counfell of God: and this is verie likely; feeing hee might beleeue that an enterprife grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulne fle due to the King of Bibel, could not bee displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wicked neffe of the people (in whom the corruptions of formertimes had taken such roote, as all the care of Iolias in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp ) was questionlesse farre from hearkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betweene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in 40 fuch fort, as his death should give enterance to the miseries ensuing. So Iosias leauying all the strength hee could make, neare vnto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of Aunsses, encountered Neebo: and there he received the Broke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to Ieru/alem, brought him to the Sepulchers of his

Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of Inda, es. Landtenas ace pecially of Ieremie the Prophet: who inferted a forrowfull remembrance thereof

into his booke of Lamentations.

of PHARAO NECO, that fought with Iosias: Of IEHOARAS and IEHOIAKIM Kings of Inda

F these warres, and particularly of this victoric, Herodotus hath mention, among the acts of Neco. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of Nilus into the Redfea. It should have reached about a hundred miles in to length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeft of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused Ness to desist when halfe was done. There were confumed in this toile some businesse twelue hundred thousand Agyptians; a losse great enough to make the King for fake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition : How socuer it were he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leavied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of Babel. In this expedition he yled the feruice, as well of his Nauic, as of his landforces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, faue onely this victoric against Iofias, where Herodotus cals the place Alagdolus, and the Iemes Sy- 20 rians; which is a small errour, seeing that Indaa was a Province of Syria, and Magdolus or Magdala is taken to have beene the fame place (though diverfly named) in which this battaile of fought. After this, Accus tooke the Citie of Cadytis, which tof. Ant. Luc. 1, to was per haps Careberrift, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as lo/ephus witneffeth.

Herod.l.A.

Particularly we finde, that the Phanicians, one of the most powerfull Nations in Syria, were his Subjects, and that by his command they furrounded all Africa, fetting faile from the gulfe of Arabia, and so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and lowed corne for their fullenance, in that great voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first nauigation about Africa, 30 wherein that great Cape now called Of good hope was discovered; which afterwas forgotten, vntill I afco de Gama the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the Phanicians held, for they, beginning in the East, raune the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of Hercules (as the name was then) called now the straights of Gybraltar, having Africke still on the right hand : but the Portingals, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leave Africke on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phanicians, which Herodotus durst not believe, how the Sunne in this journie was on their right hand, that is, on the Northlide of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the observation then 40 madehercof, makes mee the better to beleeue, that fuch a Voyage was indeed

But leaving these discourses of Neco his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Inda, while the Agyptians were bufie at Curchemift, had made Iehoahaz their King, in the roome of his father lofus. The Prophet Ieremie cals this new King Shallum, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of shallum King of the tenne Tribes: for Shallam of Ifrael Raigned but one moneth; Icheahaz no more than three. Hee was not the eldest sonne of Iosias: Wherefore it may seeme that he was set up as the best affected vnto the King of Babel; the rest of his house being more inclined to the 50

3. Kine. 34. v. 32 Fryptian, as appeares by the fequell. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as Neve had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Indea. This Countrie was now so farre from making any reful, that the King himselfe came to Riblah in the Land of Hamath,

where the matter went foill on his fide, that Aeco did cast him into bonds and carrichim prilonerinto Egypt, giuing away his Kingdome to Eliakim his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of Riblath, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of Iuda, as may bee obserned in diners examples. Yet here Iehoiakim, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, fince he could no better vieit. But how euer Iehoiakim thriued by the bargaine, Pharao sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stoute to give him peace. when he defired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, Neco had a greater 10 taske lying upon his handes, than would permit him to wast his forces upon Indea: but now the reputation of his good successe at Mexiddo, and Carchemist, together with the diffention of the Princes Iofias his fonnes (of whom the eldeft is probably thought to have flormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gave him power to doe, euen what should please himselfo. Yet hee did for beare to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps upon the fame reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Terres had fuffered much, in the Egyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driven to for fake that partie, and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselues faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime 20 them; feeing they were fuch a people, as would not vpon eueric occasion shift side. but endure more, than Pharao, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth thould lay vpon them : so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheleffe he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of filuer, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leave vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed, carrying a long with him into £gypt the vnfortunate King tehoahaz, who died in his Capti-

The Raigne of Ichoahaz was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; o-30 therwife it would hardly be found, that Ieboiakins, his successour, did R aigne tenne whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short Raigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to bee voworthie of disputation; and so I leave it.

Iehoiainm in impictie was like his brother, in faction hee was altogether £gyptsan, as having received his Crowne at the hand of Pharao. The wickednesse of these lait Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the cuill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that 40 the poyfon wherewith Abaz and Manaffes had infected the Land, was not to expelled by the zealous goodnesse of Josius, but that it still cleaned vnto the chiefe of the people, Yea unto the chiefe of the Priefts alfo; and therefore it was not firange, that 2. Chron.cap 35. the Kings had their part therein. The Royallauthoritie was much abased by the softis dangers wherein the Countrie stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they lifted; neither would the Kings forbeare to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of Jehoiakim had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him infolent and cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with Vria the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appeare to have been infligators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements a-50 gainst the Citie, and Temple, in like fort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into sypt: but fuch regard was had vnto Iehoiakim, that Vria was delinered vnto his

Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome vsed, both in

those dayes and fince among all Civill Nations of giving refuge vnto strangers. that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned Pharao to give all contentment possible to Iehojakira for the rian Lion, that had not flirred in manie yeares, beganne about these times, to roare foloud ypon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Ailus, threatning to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had with. drawne the house of Alerodach, from opposing the Agyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemish, where shortly after this, the glorie of Agyp: is to fall.

#### III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to paffe that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to loose that

ERODACH the sonne of Baladan, who taking the advantage that sennacheribs misaduenture and death, together with the diffention betweene his children presented, made himselfe King of Babylon, was eleuen yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemie Aarhaddon the fonne of Senacherib, Raigning ouer the Myrians in Nininie; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faine to omitall bulinesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto Ezekia, fome part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this moleflation, the death of Afarhaddon did not onely fet him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Affria if not (as is commonly but leffe probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How 30 greatly this was to the liking of the Affyrians I wil not here fland to enquire: his long Raigne following, and his little entermedling in matters of Syria make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. Iofephas gives him the honour of having wonne Niniuie it felfe; which we may beleeue; but furely he did not hold it long. For in the times foone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished Phraortes the Atedian. Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings being of the Chaldean race, preferred Babylen before it.

Some thinke that this was the Affirian King whole Captaines tooke Alanaffo prisoner; but I rather beleeve those that hold the contrarie; for which I have given 40 my reasons in due place, To say truth, I find little cause why Merodach should have looked into those parts, as long as the lewes were his friends, and the Agyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselues quietat home, which was vutill the time of Psammiticus, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his sonne.

Ben Alerodach the sonne and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good confent of Authours, and that speake little of his doing s. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to have beene one and twentic yeares, for somuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne summe) de- 50 ducting the yeares of his Father , and of his sonne Nabulassar This (as I take it) was he that had Manaffes Prisoner and released him. Hee spedillin Syria; where Pfammiticus, by the vertue of his Mercinarie Greekes, did much prevaile. This may haue beene some cause that he released Manasses, and did put into his handes some

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part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alleaged before. Nabulassar that Raigned in Babylon after his Father Ben Merodach, had greater

busines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: infomuch asit may bee thought to have beene a great negligence or over-fight of Plammitiess and Neco, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that Phraortes King of the Medes inuaded Affria, and befeiged Niniue; from whence he was not repelled by any force of 2 abula flar but constrained to remoue by the comming of Scythians, who in these ages did oto uer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could master by ftrong hand. Of these Seythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asa, it is conucnient that I speake in this place; shewing briefly afore hand, how the Atedes, vpon whom they first fell, were builed in the same times with hopes of conquering

Phraortes, the sonne of Deioces, King of the Medes, having by manie victories enlarged his Dominions, conceined at length a faire possibilitie of making himselfe

That Citie (as Herodotim reports it) having beene a Soucraigne Ladie was not Herod. Ib. 1. forfaken of all her dependants; yet remained in fuch case, that of her selfe shee was 20 well enough.

This makes it plaine, that how focuer Merodach had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Countrie; yet it found the meanes to fet it selfe at libertie: as after this againe it did, when it had beene regain ned by Nabulaffar his Grand-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the verienoueltie of fuddaine violence, vse to difmay anie State or Countrie, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth even those that are vinwarlike. Niniue had beene the Palace of manie valiant Kings lately Raigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the furie, wherewith either Domelticall tumults betweene the sonnes of Senacherih, or forraigne warre of the Ba-20 bylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leffe wonderfull, that Phraortes did fpeed soill in his journie against it. He and the most of his Armie perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he vndervalued their forces, and brought a leffe power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may herein beleeue Herodotus.

Cyanares the sonne of Phraortes, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of Asia the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys, hee sought revenge vponthe Affyrians for the death of his Father, and belieged Niniue it felfe, having a purpose to destroy it. Irather beleeue Evsebivs, that he tooke the Citie and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than HERODOTUS, that the Scythian Armie come upon 40 him whilest he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictorie (as Ensebius, though farre later than Herodotus, yet having seene other Authours, that are now loft, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it best, to yeeld vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Seythians came vpon Cyaxares, whilest hee lay before Ninine, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that hee was faine to leave the Towne, when a warre so dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of fuch bufineffe as that Soythian expedition brought into thole partes, and with the State of the Chaldean and Affirian affaires ento fuing:

The destruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of Tobit, and there fet downe as happening about these times; of which Booke whosoeuer was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storic of those ages, and hath committed no fuch errour in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him

in this. As for the Prophelie of Nahum, though it be not limited vnto any certaine rearme, vet it appeares to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of Niniue by Nabuchodonofor, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of Agypt, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that afcribe more authoritie than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of Tobit, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times Ninine was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victorie ouer it, to Ben Oferodach : a needleffe conjecture, if the place of Enfebrus be well confidered. Yet I holdit probable, that Nabulaffar the fonne of Ben Merodach did feize vponit, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about fuch time as the Countrie of 10 Affiria was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Scythian watte ouerwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out readie to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Niniuites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon fo affwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if Nabulaffar, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as shalbe shewed in the Raigne of Aubucho done for.

#### ò. IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twentie yeares.

### †. I.

The time of this expedition.

OW that I have showed what impediment was given by the Aff- 19 rians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much dif abled to performe any action of worth youn the Agyptians in Spiris it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which onevoully afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes and Lydians, with the Countries adjacent, in such wife that part of the trouble redounded curn to the Agyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in generall, Herodotus makes verie large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with confent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will beeneedlesse to recite them, for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times, which by 40 inference out of his relations, may feeme very strange, needeth some answerein this place; leaft otherwife I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or elfe to bee too forgetfull of my felfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had alreadic buried. Eight and twentie yeares he faith that the Seythians Raigned in Asia, before Cravares delivered the Countrie from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene Cyaxares and Halyattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of Ninine; the fiege of Ninine being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, hauing vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountred in Palestina by Pfanmiticus King of Agypt, who by giftes and entreatic procured them to de- 50 part from him. These narrations of Herodotte may, every one of them, bee true; though not in such order of time as he hath marshalled them. For Pfammitiens was dead before Cyanares beganne to Raigne: and Cyanares had spent halfe of his fortic yeares, ere Halyattes was King of I ydia; fo that he could not, after those Lydiss warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeares together with the Seythisms. It is true, that Eufebiss doth also call Psissmis the some of Pharao Neco, by the name of Psissmissus, and this King Psissmis may, by some strained conjecture, bee thought to have beene he that met with the Seythisms: for he lined with both Cyascares and Halastims. But Eusebiss himselfe referres all that businesses of the Seythism irruption into Palestima, to Psissmissis the Father of Neco, whom hee leaves dead before the Raigne of thisyates. Therefore I dare not relie upon Herodotse, in this matter, o

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fuch order as he fets them downe.

10 Itemames, that I colled as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a workenecessarie, for that the greatnessic of this action was such, as ought not to be comitted in a generall Historie; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformitie.

therwise then to beleque him, that such things were in these ages, though not in

I have noted before, that in the Raigne of Ardys King of Lydis, the Cimmerians over-ranne that Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill Halyattes the Nephew of Ardy got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of Ardys, Sadyattes, and Halyattes, are wee to find the eight and twentic yeares, wherein the Seythians Raigned over Asia. Now forassimuch as Planmittens the Argyptan had some dealolings with the Seythians, cuen in the height of their prosperitie, wee must needes allow more than one or two of his last yeares, vnto this their Dominion. But he be-

low more than one or two of his laft yeares, wnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyattes his Raigne in Lydis, being three and twentie yeares complear after the death of Pfammittous, leaues the space verie scant, either for the great victories of the Seythians, necessarily supposed before they could meet the Seythian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must have received ore they could bee druen quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of Nabachadons for in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may weethink it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his Kingdome against the Seythians and towes, had be shood in daily seare of loosing his owne; to a more mighte National South and the strength of his Raigness and the set of the strength of the services as the services are the services as t

son, that may be not should be presented to Cyaxares and Halyattes ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole bodie of their Armie, but were the descatures of some troupes, that inselted their seurall Kingdomes 3 other Princes, and among these, Nabulassian hauing the like succession the people of the manuscript of the corrages of these hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeares of the Seythians rule, to as manie almost the last of Nabulassian Raigne, in compassion where the time, wherein As suffered the violence of these opporessions.

#### †. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their sournic.

Touching the expedition it felfe, Herodotu tels vs, that the Cimmerians being driuen out of their Countrie by the septimus, innaded and wasted some part of
Assand that the Septimus not contented with hauing wonne the land of the Cim30 merians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooned quarters of the
world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon Addia and Agpt, in this pursuit of
menthat were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Septimus, as mischieuous and soolists
or else Herodotus, and some other of his Countriane, great standerers of those, by

whom their Nation had beene beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grieuously runfackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is fo well knowne, and their manie Conquetts fo well testified in Histories of diucrfe Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is infulficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posteritie of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of Greece and Asia, as well before x and after, as in the age whereof we doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their original and actions, may peruse Goropius Becamis his imazonica; of manie things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned Ortelius is faid to have spoken, of all Gorepius his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, 10 but hard to confute them: There wee find it proued, by fuch arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Seythans, and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howfocuer diftinguished in name, by reason of their diuerfe Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. Homer indeed thath mention of the Cimmerians, whose Countrie whether he place in the West, as neare vnto the Ocean and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and coucred with eternall darknesse; certaine it is that he would have them neare neighbours to Hell: for hee had the same quarrell to them, which Herocosts had, and therefore belike would have made them seeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as Herodotus writing his life affirmes) to infertinto 20 his workes the names of fuch as lived in his owne times, making fuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserved. And for this reasonit is proued by Euftathius, that the Cimmerians were fo differed by him, because they had wasted his Countrie. Perhaps, that invasion of Phrygia by the Amazons. whereof Homer puts a remembrance into Prismes his difcourfe with Helen, was the

Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amuseus, together inuaded Alia, This is certaine, that both the Amazons and the Conmercial (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Afra; which though it bee not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with joynt forces, yet seeing they inua. 32 ded the felfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journie of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by Eulebius, was by the straights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in Diodore, who further telleth vs , that the

verie fame, which Eufebius noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of

Le Seythians therein gaue them affiftance. The fame Authour, before his entrieinto Diod, lib. 3.4.11. those discourses of the Amazons; which himselfe acknowledgeth to bee fabulous, doth report them to have beene Wives of the Scythians, and no leffe warlicke than their Husbands; alleadging the example of that Queene, who is faid to have flaine the great Persian Cyrus. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carrie their wives along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women; the terrible descent of them into Italie, when Atarius the Roman overthrew 40 them, gives proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; other place will give mee better leifure to speake of them; but seeing that they are noted by diverse Historians to have belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Serthians, and to the Sarmatians, wee may the better approone Goropius his conclusi-

on, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies. Now concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Seythians, it appeares to . have been none other than the fending a Colonic of them forth into Alia, with an Armie of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the

The Sarmatians also were companions in this journie. For the Citic of None- 50 grad in Russia (which Countrie is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was up in Armes : and therefore it is no maruaile though manie Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

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fine hundred yeares and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romens. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Meetis; they were then likewise affilted (faith Plutarch in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neigh- Plutarch in the bours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, be- lite of Maries, fides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer manie Countries, beating all downe before them, and finally, thinking to have fetled themselves in Italie, they divided their companie, for the more case passage thither and were confumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Confuls. Mere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard aducatures. to For their Countrie, being more fruitfull of men than of full enance, and thut vp on

the North fide with intolerable cold, which denied iffue that way to their ouerfwelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by rightor wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had powerto get, because they wanted ail, that weaker, but more civile, people had, Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all back. The gave them great aduantage ouer fuch as were accustomed vinto a more deficate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefor common y they provailed verie farre, their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner beridde of them; others giving them, befide partige, victuals and guides to con-

20 duct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great prefents, fo as the farther they went on, the more pleafant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

#### t. III.

#### Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

30 THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held > the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other fide, and behind them, the great Mountaines of Caucalius. These hauing passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Countric of Pontsus, and being arrived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontorie Hered libes. whereon Sinope, a famous Hauen Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it feemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their cariages, vnder some good gard: as drawing necreto those Regions, in conquest where cof they were to trie the vtmost hazard. For in like fort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of 40 their impediments, leaving them in a place of firength, where Antwerpe now flands, when they drew neere vnto Gaule, vpo which they determined to aduenture themselues in the purchase. From Sinope, the way into Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe

Rivers to state their march: for Iris and Halys they had alreadie passed. What battailes were fought betweene these inuaders and the Lyclisis, and with what variable fuccesse the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor amable to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of Ardys, the Cimmerians got pofsession of Sardes the Capitall Citie of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas Herodotus tels of the acts performed by G. ges so and Ardys Kings of Lydia, before this invalion, and by Halyattes and Crasus in the

times following: all that Ardys did against the Cimmerians, and all (faue burning the Milelians Corne fields) that was done in twelue yeares by Sadiattes his Son (who perhaps had his hands fo full of this businesse, that hee could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted. Hereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did anie thing

worthic of remembrance in those warres, but were gladenough that they did not loose all.

Certainly, the miferies of warre are neuer fo bitter and manic, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, for faking their owne feates, labours to roote out thee. stablished possessor another Land, making roome for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the masterie are pacified with tribute, or with fome other feruices and acknowledgements, which had they beene yeelded at the first, all had beene quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, even to the cradels of the sucking to infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution : seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or loofe their lines without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples hereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such invalions. But our Isle of Brittaine can best witnesse the diversitie of Conquests; having by the happie victorie of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civile arts, in exchange of libertic, that was but flenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Countrie, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible 20 crueltie, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memorial of theancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are alfo of the Cimmerian bloud) found fuch end of their enterprise, as it may seemethat the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive vnto. So that by confidering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceine the fortune of the other. Manie battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of fuch importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxons wonne vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of viter enmitie, had bred fuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of 30 both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great flaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrie wide enough to receive them, as having diffourthened it felfe of manie thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victoric of Holyattes may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was focom- 40 pounded between the Cimmerians and Halyattes', that the River of Halys should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the River was the Countrie of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimerians and other Scythian people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have beene.

And hercunto the quarrell enfuing, between Hulyattes and Cyaxnes the Mele, hath verie good reference. For Hulyattes (as is faid ) fought in defence of certaine Seythinns, yoon whom the Atelian fought reunge. And it flands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall flaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safetie: though o 57 therwise it had beene dangerous to Hulyattes, if he had permitted the Medianto extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, what so ever the pretences might bee, often thing reunge yoon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the warre between these two Kings, which Herolous relates, I find it of little

waight, and leffe probabilitie. He tels of Soythians, that being chaled out of their Countrie by faction, came vnto Cyaxares; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee instructed in the Seythian tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it so fell out (faith he) that these Scythians ving much to hunt, and commonly bringing home fomewhat with them, did neuertheleffe other whiles miffe of their game, and come home as they went. Hercupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was under their charge, whom dreffing like Venison they presented vnto him; which done they fied vnto Halyattes. This Herodotus deliners, as the ground of a warre that lasted fixe yeares betweene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demmanding these Fugitiues to bee deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betraie such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians, to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treacherie that he shewed in the massacring of their Countrie men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

#### t. IIII.

### The warre of the Scythians in the higher Afa.

A Sthe Cimmerians held their courfe Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine
A Sea: so the Scythians and Sarmatians tooke the other way, and having the Cafpinn Sea on their left hand, passed betweene it and Caucasus through Albaina, Calthone, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Gengia, and so they entered into Media. The Medica countered them in Armes sob were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to anie agreement with them. This was 30 in the time of Phraptes, while Pfammiticus Raigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixty care of Nabulasus Raigne ower Baylon (supposing him to have Raigned fiue and thirtie, otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeares of their Dominion end, one yeare before the great Nabusindanoso was King, so giving him good leave to provide securely, for the inuation of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as 10ssphus out of Berosous Teaches.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refused not to vindergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, and that would ferue to remoove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Seythians finding still the Countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did fuffer themselves to bee perswaded, that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much your their owne valour, that they feared no relistance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwel in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Agypt, I doe not thinke: Babylon was neare enough; whither if hee could fend these Locusts to graze, than should not his vnsriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his missortune. What shift Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had anie, dealings with them I doe not reade. But it is 50 well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the middest betweene Atedia and Agypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Alia Tributarie; wherefore we may verie well beleeve, that they watered their horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Pfammitieus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wise)
tooke

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tooke care that they might not looke vpon Egypt; least the tight thereof should more eatily detaine them there, than anic force or perfusiion, that hee could vie would fend them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, prefuming more on the great gifts which he ment to bellow vpon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. Agipt was rich; and halte the riches thereof had not beene ill spent in fauing all. Yet Pfammitieus tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had beene so obstinate as to 10 refuse all indifferent composition. For hee lay close vpon the edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palastina: whence hee never advanced to meet with the Seythians; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the scalding Sun-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as ni all the length of Stria could beat upon them. When they were come as farre as Alcalon, the next Citie to Gaza, then did he affay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke fo much the better, by how much the world they were pleafed with the heat of a Climate to farre different from their owne. Pfamminess had at his backe a vait wildernesse, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the Seythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie diffempers, could ill haue indured to purfue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdome of Agret being readic to entertaine him with relicts, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie journie. Wherefore they were 20 content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to vilite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Egyptian King (belides that he preserved his owne E state from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him ) found all his cost well repayed in the processe of his wars in Spria, where the Nations beyond Euplirates had no power to moleft him, being more then euer troubled themselues, with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resoluing now to seeke no further, beganne to demaund more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grieuous exactions, they prefumed to line at diferetion upon the Countrie, taking what they lifted from the Owners; and manie times (as it were to faue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long yfed over the higher Aia, that is, ouer the Countrie lying betweene the Caspian and Red Seas, and betweene India and Afia the leffe. Happie it was for the poore people, that in fo large a space of ground, there was roome enough for these new comers; otherwife the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those private men, to whose wealth anie Seythian did beare a fancie, would have lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aline, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it feemes that the heaviest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrie, not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the conflitution of their bodies: there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their 49 infolent Rule was taken from them.

Merod lib.z.

Cyanares King of the Medes, who in this extremitie was no betterthen a Rentgatherer for the Scythians, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and walle, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions; and that the matter could not be remedied by open force; refolued to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus delivered in briefe: That he, and his Wedes, feasted the better part of the Scythians; made them drunke; and flew them; recourring hereby the possession of all that they had

Such another flaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was re- 59 uenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practifed before. That the Scythians, which escaped this bloudie scaft, made any stirre in Media, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inuation from Septhia in time following.

This is the more itrange, for that the Armie returning home out of Mediawas verie firong, and encountred with opposition (as Herodorus reports it) no leffe then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of Cyrares to free his Countrie, tooke good effect, with leffe bloud-shed than hath beene supposed. For if hee surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compolition. Manie of them doubtleffe, in eight and twentie yeares, had so well setled themselues, that they were desirous of relt, and might be permitted, without anie danger, to remaine in the Countries manie (of whom I shall speake anon) shaning done what they could in the bufineffe, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home, with what they had gotten; fuch as were not pleafed with either of tixle two courses, might goe joyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seeke their fortunes in other prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are faid to have beene with Nabuchadnezzar, it may be underflood, that a great part of the Seythians, vpon hope of gaine, or delire to keepe what they had alreadie gained, were content to become subject vnto Nabulassar: mens lone of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more viquiet loue of inordinate libertie. This is certaine, that Nabuchadnez zar, as euer after, fo in his first beginning 10.259 of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing, had beene accultomed, to deale with the Babylonians after another fallion : and this new fuccesse of that 20 King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to fuch addition as this of new

Of the Seythian Armic returning out of Media, diverse Authours report a Storic, which confirmes mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to affifttheir kindred and friends, in acquiring a new feate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behinde them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellowes to their slaves. These got a lustie brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of flaues, 30 which compounded an Armie (as Herodotus would have it, who tels vs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens eies) it must needs be that they were verie Boyes, or else that the Women did verie little while continue chaft. Wherefore I rather believe the tale as it is told by the Ruffes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Anceftors returning homewards, which I will fet downe, as I find it, in Mr. Doctor Fletever his exact discourse of the Russe Common-wealth. They understood by the way that Kustemmon. their Cholopey, or Bonel-flaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their. 49.4. Townes, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet difdayning the Vilianie of their feruants, they made the more speed home : and fo not farre T

40 from Nonograd, met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon admfing . what was helt to bee done, they agreed all to fet upon them with no other thew of weapon but with their hor fe-whips (which as their manner is every manrideth with all) to put them in remembrance of their feruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And fo marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in ther hands, they gane the onfet. Which feemed fo terrible in the eares of their Villaines , and firoke fuch a yenfe into them of the fmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheef chefore the Driners. In memorie of this victorie, the Nouogradians ener fince bane Hamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nouverodskoy currant through all Ruffie with the figure of a Horseman Shaking a whip a loft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the 30 women of that Countrie, have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this wiverfall fault : for fuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those flaues, curioufly wronght by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscouisn Wife, even in time of wooling lends to him that shalbe her husband, in token of subjection; being well affured, to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the Beythians, or rather

Sarmatians, (for Nonograd stands in the Countrie that was called Sarmatia) to beware of abfenting themselues anie more so long from their Wines; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to fet downe of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to manie Countries; but for that it appeares to have beene a great cause, of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Indea, which to continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

# Of Princes lining in diverfe Countries, in thefe ages.



Auing thus farre digressed from the maters of Inda, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I wil here inserte a note of such Kines and men of marke, as were betweene the death of Manalies, and the ruine of Ieru/alem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Meses, and Lydians, I have spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In Kome, Tul-

lus Hostilius held the Kingdome, vntill the one and and twentierh yeare of Infias; at 20 which time Ancus Martius succeeding Raigned Foure and twentie yeares, After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but verie rich, preuaised so far by his gracious fieste among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disapointing the fonnes of Ancus, ouer whom he was Tutor. He beganne in the fourth yeare of Zedekia, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeares. In this time it was namely in the fecond yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedamonians, bethinking them how to bee avenged of the Arcadians, who gave fuccour to the Meffenians against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. Cypfelius expelling the race of the Bacida made himfelfe Lord of Carinihabout these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeares; leaving for successour his some Periander, one of the scuen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile als. flew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corintian women starke naked, burning their apparrell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wiscdome of the Greekes, was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Coun-

In these times also were Zaleness, and Draco, famous Lawginers, the one among the Locrians in Italie, the other in the Citie of Athens. The Lawes of Erace were fo rigorous, that he was faid to have written them with bloud: for hee rewarded eue- 10 rie small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power given to Solon, by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of Zaleucus were verie milde. He forbad anie Gentlewoman to walke abread with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unleffe it were when thee was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnlefle it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse herselse vp in immodest brauerie, vnlesse it were to inueigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his defire : for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a fingular example of juffice, that when his owne fonne had committed adulteric, and was therefore to look both his eyes, he did not cause him 52 to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to faue the yong man (who alfoloft one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often bane done, in pursuing of actions collaterall to the Historic, for inferting them in their order of

time. The Chaldeans will soone fall under the Persians; the Persians, ere long, encounter with the Greekes; the Greekes, with the Romans; the Romans, with manie Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estatesit will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeares, which paffed betweene the calling of Abra m, and the destruction on of Ierufalem, we finde little matter, wherein the Hittorie of Ifrael had anie dealine with otheir Nations, than the verience arett borderers. Yet reade we of manie Kingdomes, that in these manie ages, were credied, and throwne downe; as liketo wife, manie memorable acts were performed in Greece and elfewhere, though not following one another at anie neare distance; all which must have beene quite omitted, or elfe referued vnto a verievnfeafonable rehearfail, had they not beene difpoled in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniencie, may pardon

### The oppression of Indea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.



OW to returne to the Iemifb Storie, from whence wee have so farre digreffed. In the third years of Ichoiakim, Nabuchodonofor the fecond, his Father yet liuing, entred Iudaa with a great Armie, who befeiging and forcing Ierufalem, made Ieboiakim his Vasfall in despight of Neco,

that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges Daniel, being as yet a childe, with Ananias, Milael, and Azarias. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but staied not to fearch them throughly; for Aecho 30 hafted to the fuccour of Ichoiskim, hoping to finde Nabuchodenefor in Indea: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armie, it being a Countric of an cuill affection towards him, as also farre on from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, ande erea, twenoth of Southian horsemeninhis Armie; it was the more wifely cone of him, to tall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But belides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the fame time, gave him infl occasion to returne home; and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the fecond care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leasure: for the Egyptian was not readic to follow him to farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeare came in; which was the fourth of Iehoiakim, the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the last of Neco. In this yeare the Babylonian lying upon the Banke of Euphrates (his owne Territoric bounding it on the North-fide) attended the arrivall of Necho. There, after a resolved contention for victorie, Necho was flaine, and his Armie remayning forced to faue it felfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victorie Nabuchadonofor fa well purfued, as he recourred all Syria, and what focuer the Egyptians held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The Agyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the prefent discouraged, tehaiakim held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart unto the Agyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the yeare 50 before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to laie anie Tribute vpon Inda. But this coole referuednesse of Iehoiakim, was on both fides, taken in ill part. The Agyptian King Pfammis, who fuccees ded vnto Necho, beganne to thinke vpon restoring Iehoshiz, taken Prisoner by his

tather, and fetting him vp, as a Domestical Enemie, against his vngratefull brother.

# The second Booke of the first part CHAP.28. S.6

Againitall luch accidents, the Judiesn had prepared the viuall remedie, practifed by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne fonne Iechonia King with him long be-fore, in the second yeare of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but Eight yeares olde. As for this rumour of Ichoahan his returne; the Prophet Ieremie fortold, that it thould proue idle, faying : he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whither they haveled him captine, and shall fee this Land no more. The Egyptians indeed, having foent all their Mercinarie forces, and received that heavie blow at Carchemilb, had not remayning fuch proportion of sharpe steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of Neco was not in Planmis, A. pries who Raigned after Pfammis, did once aduenture to flew his face in Spria; but to after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braue words, teiling fuch friuolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vie, of their glorious acts ionepaffed, against Iosias and Iehoahaz. In this case it was calle for Ieholakim to give them fatisfaction, by letting them understand, the sinceritie of his affection towardes them; which appeared in time following. But Nabuchodonofor went to worke more roundly. He fent a peremptoric meffage to lehoiakim, willing him not to fland upon any nice points, but acknowledge himfelfea Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto fuch fearefull threats, as made the poore Indaan lay atide all thought of

Josph Anti, lib. Pharaoh, and yeeld to doe, as the more mightic would have him. So he continued 20 in the obedience of Nabuchodonofor three yeares. At this time Ieremie the Prophet cried out against the series, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their cares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captinitiest hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seuentic yeares. The same calamitic hee threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Agyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumeans, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the Babylanian Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had forfaken, and after the feuentic yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselves should talk of the fame cup, and be veterly subnerted by the Medes, & the Indeans, permitted to return 20 againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet teremie seemes to have beene in the fourth yeare of this lehoiakim, at which time Ba-

Barueh to hide themselves. Iehoiakim after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe but did cut the Booke in peices and cast it into the fire. All which Ieremie caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead bodie of sehoiskim, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should bee none of his seede to sit on the Throne of David.

ruch the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee tent to reade

them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King:

but fearing the Kings furie they had first set Ieremie at libertie, and aduised him and

Time thus running on, while Iehoiakim rested secure of all danger, as Tributarie to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Leyptian; the mightie Citie of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces; and vpon just confidence of her owne Arength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now for asmuch as the terme of feuentic yeares, was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of Tire, as of Ierusalem, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeare of Nabucheauno. for, have fure authoritic for their warrant. Whereupon likewife it followes of necessitie, that the siege thereof beganne in the seventh of his Raigne; as having 50 lasted thirteene yeares.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the feuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath rifen much disputation. The third yeare of Jehoiakim, was the last of Nabulassar, who being CHAP.28. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of fuch as had revolted from him vnto Pharao Neco, and fent this Noble Prince, his fonne, with an Armie into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was Daniel carried away, who therefore makes posterior mention of the same yeare. The yeare next following, being the fourth of 1ehoia- 10 ton, 25. 1. kim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which Ieremie affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeare he conquered £gypt; and then beganne to R aigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offena him. The second from this yeare it was, wherein he faw that vision, of the Image consisting of fundrie Mettals; which did prefigurate the fuccession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the com-

ming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of Tyre, which beganne in the feuenth of his Raigne.

The Citie of Tyre couered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the maine, by a deep & broad channel of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vie them, excelled all other Nations; and euerie Winde, from one part or other, brought needfull prouisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuerthelesse the indgements of God (denounced against it by Esty 2; 20 E/ay, leremie, Ezechiel,) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution 1000 25 of Nabuchodonofor, had fully determined to performe it. This high minded King, Exters. impatient of relistance, vndertooke a vast piece of worke; euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citic of olde Tyrus, that stood op-

politero the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of Libanus neare adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and aboundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeares were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for Aexander working vpon that foundation which was remayning of Nabuchodonofers Pecre; and being withall affilled by a strong Fleet, was yet seuen months ere hee could 30 make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith Alexander laboured to couer a shelue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were confume, the worke of Nabuchedonofor, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striuing as it were, to fill the emptic bellie of this Cormorant, whereas the Micedonian, did only ftop the throat of it. Euerie manknowes, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his ownethreats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vie, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the faucurable concurrence of all second helpes. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastiling the pride of man, to

40 viethe hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may sceme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans Everie head was made bald, and eneric shoulder was made bare. Yet Nabuchodonoser would not Free 19. giue ouer till he was master of the Towne.

When he was entred vpon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some lossesceined, some mutinie in his Armie, or (which is most likely; and so Iofephut reports it) some glorious rumours of the Agyptians, gaue courage to his euill

willers, Ieloiakim renounced his Subjection, and beganneto hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For Nabuchodono or gaue him no leifure to doe much hurt but with part of his Armie marched directly into Iudea; where the amazed 50 King made so little resistance (the Ægyptians having lest him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred Ierusalem, and laied hands on Iehniakim: whom hee first bound and determined to fend to Babylon, but changing counsell, he caused him to bee slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be denoured by beasts and ra- \* uenous birds, according to the former Prophecies leaving in his place, Ichoiakim or

Iera 7.

Icchonius his fonne; whom after three moneths and tenne dayes Nabuchoconofor removed and fent Prisoner to Babylon , with Ezekiel, Mardochaus , and Infedech, the high Priest. The mother of Iechonias, together with his feruants, Eunuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captines. This Iechonias, following the counsell of Ieremie the Prophet, made no refiftance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was beit for himfelfe; though at the prefent it might feemeo. therwife, to such as considered the cuill that befell him, rather then the greater cuill that he thereby anoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it feemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an initigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate; for so we reade in generall wordes, that he did evillin the falt of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his flead Nabuchodonoforeliablished Mathaniahis Vnclein the Kingdome of Juda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to fay, as the Institute of God. For like as Nece, King of Agypt, had formerly displaced telegahaz, after his Father lostias was flaine, and fet vp Ichoiskim the forme of another Mother; fo Nabuchodonofor flew Ichoiakim who depended on the Aexptians, and carrying his fonne Iechonias Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Ichoshaz, whom Accotooke with him into Agypt.. From Zedechias hee required an oath for his faithfull obe-23 dien ce, which Zedechius gaue him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine affured to the Kings of Chaldea.

In the first yeare of Zedechias, Ieremie faw and expounded the Vision of theripe and rotten Grapes the one fignifying those Indeans that were carried away captine, the other those that staird, and were destroied.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Ieremie wrote in a Booke all the cuill that should fall vpon Babylon, which Book or scrole he gaue to Sheraia, when he went with the King Zedechras to Babylon, to visite Nabuchodonosor; willing him first to reade it to the Captine Ieres, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words. Thus fhall Babel be drowned, and fhall not rife from the cuill that I will bring upon to ber. This journie of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Mcssengers to him, inciting him (as it feemes) to those viquiet courses, from which Ieremie dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne necke, others hee fent vnto the flue Kings of Edom, Month, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visite Zedechias: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Inda abode in the obedience

should affuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence. Hee also foretolde them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in Ierusa lem, should also trausile after the rest, and at length they should bee restoreda-

of Babylon, they should then possessed and enjoy their owne Countries; if not, they 40

The same yeare Ananias, the salse Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine which Ieremie ware, in figne of the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore Jechonias, and all the Jewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But Icremie in stead of his wooden Yoke ware a Coller of yron : and in figne that Anamas had 50 giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, hee foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when Zedechian had wavered long enough betweene faith and passion, in the eight yeare of his Raigne he practifed more feriously against Nabuchodonofor, with his Neighbours

the Edomites, Anmonites, Mabites, Tyrians, and others that were promifed great aides of the Agyptians : in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian Yoake. Hereof when Nabuchodonofor had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward Ierufalem, and belieged it. Ieremie perswaded Zedechias to render the Citie and himselfe: but being consident of the helpe from Agypt and being perswaded by his Counseilors, and talse Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of Inda should bee extirpate, vntill the comming of Silo (according to the Prophecie of Iscob) hee despised the wordes of Graggie, Ieremie and imprisoned him. For Ieremie had told the King, that the Citie should be to taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and 10.32.634

brought to the presence of Nabuchodonofor; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to Babel, die his naturall death. Jerufalem being, the following yeare, furrounded by Nabucho denofors Armic; the tenfacion Denig, the conormag years, an observate (teredesia callect him Aprice) Janua.

King of Egypt, Phasa Hophia according to teremie (teredesia callect him Aprice) Janua. entred the border of Inda, with his Armie, to fuccour Zedechias, of whofereuolt he had beene the principall Author. But Ieremie gaue the Iewes faithfuil counfell, willing them not to have anie trust in the succours of Agypt : for hee assured them.

that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Charleans removed from Jerufalem to encounter the Agyp-20 tians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward returned into Egypt, as if they had alreadie done enough; leaving the poore people of Ierufalem to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the Ierres, who, in their first extremitie, had manumised their Hebrew Bondmen (as Gods Law required at the yeare of Iubile) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldean Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former flauerie. But the Chaldees being retur- 10.34. nedto the liege, the Prophet Ieremie, when the State of Ierufalem beganne now to grow to extremitie, counselled Zedechias to render himselfe vinco them; affering 10.39. 20 him of his owne life, and the faferic of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obfinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjurie, had prouided for him.

eighteene; the Babylonian Armie lay before Ierusalem, and held it exceeding streightly belieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Martyr hath it) ex- 2. King 25.1. truxerunt contra cam turrem ligneam per circuitum, they surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, fo as the belieged could neither fally out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. Iosephus reports, that they over-topped the Wals, 10seph. Ant. Ind. with high Towers raifed upon mounts; from which they did fo beat upon the bisecopate 4) Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forfake their stations. Now although it were so that the belieged also raised Counterbuildings, like vnto these, Yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found meanes to overthrow all the Citizens endenours; and to beat downe as fast from without, as they raised from within; the bodie and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Wals of Ierusalem interposed; and theirs within, laied open to their enemies disturbance. Befides, both famine and peffilence (which commonly accompanie men fireightly belieged) grew on fall vpon them, whereby, when the number, firength, and courage of the Iewes failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entric, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. Zedechias beholding this vncomfortable fight, and finding no remedie of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe together

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckonit) or according to to sephus 185,39.

with his Wines, Children, Princes, and principall fernants, out of the Citic, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guidleffe people, to the merciles fwords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when teremie the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God and the force of Nabucho done for: vied now that remedie, which Wo phiss truly termeth : triste, turpe, & infelix, wefull, Shamefull, and vnfortunate.

CHAP.28. 5.6.

By this fecret fubterrane vault, Zedechi, 15 making his flealth, recoursed (by the helpe of the darkenight) the plaines or deferts of Iericho: but by reason of the traine, the t followed him and his, (cueric one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great socuer the companie was that attended on him, yet, as loferbus reports it, they on whole

fidelitie he most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the Chaldeans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Defarts as they to could. For whom God had forfaken, no man followed, but the Minifiers of his vengeance; by whom Zealechius being made Prifoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conneighed to Reblu or Reblath a Citie (as forme thinke) of Achtalim. where Nabucho dono for then laie, as a place indifferent betweene Ierufalen and Tire. with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after Nabuchodonofor had laied before Zedekias the manie graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falleshood and perjurie wherewith he had requited them, he commaunded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be flaine before his face. This being done, to the end that fo lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that cuer hee should be hold in the World, hee caused his eyesto 10 be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a flauish manner to Babel, where hee confumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most marueilous Prophecie of Ezechiel was performed; Adaucem eum in Babr-

Ezech.12.

lonem & splam non videbit. I willbring him into Babylon and he shall not feeit. Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeare of Zedekias which was the eighteenthof Nabuchodonofor, the Chaldens entred the Citie by force, where sparing no lexnor age, they committed all to the fword that they therein found.

In the yeare next following, Nabazaradan, General of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of Ierusalem: and after this fire had insted from the scuenthto the tenth day, he aife burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had flood 30

foure hundred thirtie and one yeares. After this vpon a fecond fearch, 2 abuzeradan (not yet fatiated with bloud)

commanded seauentic and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themfelues from the fielt furie, to wit, the chiefe and the fecond Prieft, two Commanders of Zedechias his men of Warre, fine of his House-should-servants, and othersto that number; carrying away to Babylon the ableft of the people throughout all indas, and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of Nabuchadonofor, to till the ground : ouer whom he left Gouernour, Godolis the Nephew of that Saphan, whom Iofics had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equitic, by lofephus highly commended. This 40 man, a Iew by Nation, left Zedechias, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by Icremies defire to line with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto Zedechias; which was, to submit himselfealtogether to the Bahylonian, who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore reliftlesse. The Prophet Ieremie being lest to his owne choice, either to liue in Chaldea, or elsewhere, he made election of Goe'oliah, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced Ieremie, but gaue comfort to all the other Iewes that were left under his charge, promifing them fauour and libertie, fo long as they remained obedient Subjects to Nabuchodonofor, by whom hee was established 50 Prouincial! Gouernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeare was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the fiege of Ierusalem, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with Baalis King of the Ammonites) being followed by tenne other chosen men, while Godoliah feasted them in Malpha or Minspa, the Citie of his relidence, traiteroully flew him, together with diners Chaldeans and terres that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountring with eightic persons, repairing towards Godoliab with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the siedes during the warre. He also tooke with him a Daughter of Zedechius, committed to the care of Godoliah by Nabuckodonofor. This practife and intent of Ifmael had beene formerly discouered vnto Godolia by Johanan, one of the Leaders of the few remaining Jewes; but Godoliah Index being now left without a Gouernour (for ifmed durft not take it vpon him,

but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the Ammonites) the relidue of the Ieres, fearing the reuenge of the Chaldeans, refolued to flie away into Agypt, and befought Ieremie to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answere, that if they remained in Indea, God would provide for them and shew them mercie, but if they fought to faue themselves in Agypt, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the Iewes held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining teremie: nd Baruch to accompanie them, they travailed into Agypi, and inhabited by the permifsion of Pharao, necre vnto Taphnes: where, when Ieremie often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themfelues, and the Egyptims also, he was by these his own hardharted and vngratefull Countrimen, floned to death; and by the Egyptians, who creatly reueren. ced him , buried note the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

CHAP-28. S. 6.

Finis Libri secundi.



# "THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the destruction of Ierusalem to the time of PHILIP of Macedon.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betweene the destruction of ferusalem, and the fall of the Assirtant Empire.

Of the connexion of facred and prophane Historie.



HE course of Time; which in prophane Histories might rather bee discerned through the greateft part of his way, hitherto paffed in fome out-worne foot-fleps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the Eatlerne Countries by the accompt from Adabans[far, left furer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the warre of Troy, or any other token of former date; beginsal ength in the ruine of *Hierufalem* to discourt the connexion of antiquitie for spent and the original land progresse of things could il bee sought in those that we original land progresse of things could il bee sought in those that were

ignorant of the first creation; as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp are not to be found among those, that have now no state nor A a a a policie

policie remaining of their owne. Having therefore purfued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of fucceeding accidents is with little interruption or tabulous discourse derived vnto vs, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the historie of the Hebrenes. which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conjoyined with the following times, wherein that Image of fundric mettalls, discovered by God vnto 20 alicchadnezzar, did raigne ouer the earth, when I/rael was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

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Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to infift upon those authorities, which give, as it were by heare-fay, a certaine yeare of fome old Afgrian King vnto fome action or 10 euent, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch computations were blotted out; the fuccession of Belochus and his iffue that occupied that Kingdome afterwards, depending upon the uncertaine relations of fuch, as were neither conflant in affigning the yeares of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relievppon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some have found in the yeares of those over-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwife might have beene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kines of that Nation, how focuer it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee only 20 learne in what age each of them lived, but not in what yeare his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of Nabuchadnezzar is more precifely applied to the times of Iehoiakim and Zedekia. Hence have we the first light whereby to discouer the meanes of connecting the facred and prophane histories. For vnder Nabuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captivitie of Iuda, which ended when 70. Tyeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeare of cyrus his raigne in Persia, by generall consent, is is owned with the first yeare of the 55. Olympiad, where, that he raigned three and twentie yeares before his Monarchie, and seuen yeares af- 30 terwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuersie. Giving therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betweene the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus; wee may eafily arrive vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in fundrie parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and in-

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto Alexander, and from him to the battaile of Actium, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to fet downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captiuitie are the 40 markes whereby wee are chiefly directed, in paffing from the first vinto the latest yeares of the world, through any storie, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truly of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, eucn from Nabuchadnezzar vnto Cyrus.

d. I I. 50

A brieferchearfall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivitie: with an answere to the cauills of PORPHYRIE, inueighing against S.MATTHEW. and DANIEL, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde. that the captiuitie then beganne when Jechonias was carried prisoner into Babylon, eleven yeare before the finall destruction of Jerusalem vnder Zedekias. This they proue out of divers places in Ezekiel, espe- exeches. va.

cially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diftin- 6.3.0.11.0-15. ction betweene the beginning of the captiuitie, and vtter destruction of Ierusalem by Nabuzaradan, in these wordes. In the flue and twentieth yeare of our being in captivitie in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth yeare after that the Citie was (mitten. In which wordes hee beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, cleuen yeares before the Citie was destroied. Beroaldus is of opinion that it beganne in the first of Nabuchodonofor, and the fourth of Joakim, which hee ende-20 nours to proue out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of S. Matthew, and Daniel, whose wordes afford matter of long disputation, but serue not to make good fo much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel, have ministred occasion of scotting and railing at the Chrifian religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not understanding how the fonnes of King Iofias were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath thewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the fonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon Daniel also the same Porphyric doth spend the twelfth of his malitious bookes written against the Christians, 20 affirming that these prophecies and visions remembred by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This fond suppolition of his, Eufebius, Apollonius, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the feuentic Interpreters who connected the old Testament about an hundred yeare before Epiphanes, did also turne this booke of Daniel out of Hebrew into Greeke, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound Porphyrie, than that of Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who lived divers yeares Mac, 1, 11. before Intiochus Epiphanes. For Iaddus the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards Ierusalem to have destroied it, this booke of Da- Josep, ant. 11. niel, wherein he beheld his owne gloric foretold, as the fame was plainely expoun-

40 ded vnto him, which not only staied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his affurance and refolution was so confirmed and strengthned thereby, as despiling all future perill and resistance, he conquered Darius, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than Nabuchodonosor had done one Citie, to wit, Tyre in

It is true indeede that the Iewes themselves give lesse authoritie to Daniel, than to Moles, and the Prophets, accompting his booke among those which they call Cetaphim, or Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they fay E/dras and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from Babylon. But first, that the booke of Daniel (I meane fo much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonicall: fecondly, that it 50 was written by Daniel himselfe, and not by Esdras and the Seniors; we may assure our selucs by teitimonic of Councells, and Fathers. For in the Councell of Landican held about the yeare of our Lord 368. after the death of Iouinian the Emperour, and after the Nicene Councell three and fortie yeares, this booke of Daniel was re-

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ceiued, verified, and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the Epitomie of the same Councell it may be seene, and so doth Meliton the most ancient Bishop of Sardis number it, witnesse Eusebius in his Ecclesiasticall historie, the fourth booke, and fine and twentieth chapter, fo doth the fame Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall bookes upon Origen, fo doth Hilarius in his Preface upon the Pfalmes. and Epiphanius in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde S. Hierome, Gregorie Nazianzene, and others. For the Hagiographe bookes or holy Writings the Iewes and Rabbines reckon to be thefe, Daniel, Pfalmes, Prouerbs, Joh Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclefiastes, Hefter, Efra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. And that it was Daniel, and not Efdras, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement vnto him by his Angell, to feale vp the fame to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimonie. Yea that which exceedethall strength of other proofe, our

Math. 24.15. Dan.12.

Sauiour Christ who citeth no Apocriphall Scripture, in Mathew and Marke alleageth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the fift of Iolin, Christ distributeth the rifen from the dead, as in Daniel the twelfth. verse the second. S. Paul describeth Antichrist out of Daniel, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of Daniels visions.

That the 70. yeares of captivitie are to be numbred from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of IECHONIA.



Auing thus farre digreffed, in maintaining that authoritie, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakenesse of that which Enselin 20

and some few namelesse Authors, hauc sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by Beroaldus; but will forth-with enter into confideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of Iuda were carried away captines to Babylon : First, Manasses; then Iehoiakim, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet: thirdly, Jechonias, and with him Ezekiel: lastly, Zedekias, at which time the Citie and Temple were destroied. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I have read; to the fecond by few and with weake proofe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For befides those places of Ezekiel al- 40 readie cited, there is a ftrong argument gathered out of Ieremie, which may feeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with lechonies, vieth these words. Thus faith the Lord : After 70. yeares be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

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But it stands indeede with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecie out of circumstances, when the prophecie is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. Ieremie had alreadie, in the fourth yeare of Iehoiakim, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impositioncie of that obstinate people, in these wordes. Behold, I will fend and take to me all the families of 50 the North, faith the Lord, and Nabuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my feruant, and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing,

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.I. \$.3.

and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridegroome, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the canale, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and thefe Nations shall serve the King of Babel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired, I will visit the King of Babel. Here wee fee prescribed vnto the captivitie the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophecie was vittered; nor when Iehoiakim, who then raigned, was taken by Nebughadnezzar; nor yet in the time of Iechonia; but with the vtter desolation of the Citie, whereof Ieremie did againe giue notice to those that were alreadic in Babylon, at such time 10 ashe sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the peo-

ple vnderstand this prophecie, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appeares in the end of the Historic of Inda, where it is faid thus. They burnt the houle of God, and Icena, 2, v.16. brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the pre- 17. 6 18. tious veffells thereof to defiroy all: And they that were left by the fivord, carried he away to 2. chron. 26, 10.

Babel, and they were feruants to him and to his fonnes, untill the Kingdome of the Perfians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of IEREMIA, untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeares. But in the first yeare of CYRVS King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, 20 Iboken by the mouth of IEREMIA, was finished) the Lord Stirred up the Spirit of CYRVS. Wee seldome find one peece of Scripture so precisely and plainely expounded by another, as in this Prophecie, to have afterwards beene the Subject of altercation. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could have beene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophecie haue beene

more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requisite that we bring more proofe in so euident a case, the ninth chapter of Daniel

yeeldstestimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of Ieremia his prophecie, that Ie-

rulalem was to lie wast 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of Darius the Mede, which was the last of the 70. Daniel obtained of God the deliuerance that had been 30 promised by praier, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired : as he telleth vs in these wordes. In the first yeare of his raigne, I DANIEL UN- Dansa. derstood by bookes the number of the yeares, whereof the Lord bad spoken unto IERE-MIAH the Prophet, that hee would accomplish 70. yeares in the desolation of Ierusalem. So that how socuer the time of Daniel his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of Iehoiakim, and that the people carried away with Iechonia, did accompt, as well they might, the yeares of their owne captinitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Countrie, wherein were few or none of the Ifraelites left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonofor the great captivitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeares. This I

will not further seeke to proue, by the authoritie of Iosephus and others affirming the same; for as much as that which alreadie hath beene produced, is enough to fatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the

contrarie.

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d. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which raigned in Babylon during the 70. yeares.



Hat Kings raigned in Babylon, during these 70. yeares of the captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Lindau. and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their raignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or fuccee. to

xoughba. Cyte ding. The conquests recounted by Xenophon of Syria, Arabia, (or rather some part pad. lib.).

of it) Hyrexnia Raifria and perhams of tone cases. of it) Hyrcania, Bactria, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to case, and to the sumptuous building of his great Babel, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Majettie, where it may feeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the Afgrian Souldiers, in such skirmilhes as afterwards they had with the Medes, doth argue no leffe. For whereas under Nebu. chainezzar, they were fo flout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie peece of worke, of winning the strong Citicof 20 Tree, by joyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole, or peere of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of Alexanders works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approch nearer to the enemie than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions, from the end of Nebuchadnezzars warres, till the ruine of paglib.1.6 1/3. their Empire, were not worthie to bee recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their feuerall Kings, vnworthie of the great labour that hath 30 in vaine beene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captinitie of Iuda, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forbeare to fearch into the particular continuance of two or three flouthfull Kings, as wee are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their children, liuing in the Levotian serviced; resting satisfied in both with the general affured summe.

Yet for as much as many have travailed in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the raignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the Asyrians themselues: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kinges themselues, and in setting downe the yeares of their seuerall raignes. The first (as I take it) the furest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name only three Kinges, Nabuchadnezzar, Euilmerodach, and Bulthafar. Neither have they only the lilence of Daniel, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecie of Ieremie precifely, and in a manner purpofely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, the wing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Countries here named, into the handes of the King of Babel, faith thus: And all Nations 50 Mall ferue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, untill the very time of his Land come alfo; then many Nations and great Kinges shall serve themselves of him. These wordes expressing the continuance of the Chaldean Empire, and number of the Kings, will

hardly be qualified with any diffinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of

qualification to be vsed herein than such as may grow out of mens delire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this defire were not vniust, if the confent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single

on the other fide.

CHAP.I. \$.4.

But contrarywife, the Authors which are cited in this cafe, are fo repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are fo flender and vnfufficient, that the fuccession of these Princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures, but onely fet downe by some Author of equall credite with the rest, might verie well have found and descrued as good beliefe, as anic of those things which they Insertid. to have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following Infephrus, derive 110.10.1.0.1.1.1.

that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through fine generations; beginning with Nabuchodonofor the great, and giving to him 43. yeres, to Enilmerodach 18, to Niglifar the son of Euilmerodach 40, to Labofardach the sonne of Niglifar 9. moneths, and lastly to Balthafar ( whom Infephius intimates to be of the race of Nabuchodonofor, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (faue that he forbeares to reckon the yeares, and plainely calles Balthafar the fonne of Labo-(ardach) Saint Hierome doth follow, alledging Berofus, and Iofephus as a fectator of Berofus for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by Iofephus, report the matter farre otherwise. For he tells vs that Enilmerodach the sonne of Nabuchodono for did 10 contr Ap-20 raigne but 2 yeares, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband pian. Lib. 1. Niziglifforoor, who occupied the kingdome after him 4 yeares, and left it to his

owne some Labolardach, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of moneths flaine by fuch as were about him, and the kingdome given to one Nabonidus, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto Cyrus after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of Iofephus, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured vnto them fome authoritie, fo that the names which they have inferted, are taken as it were vpon truft. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of Euilme-

30 rodach; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeue Xenophon, who faith that the last king of Babylon was immediate successiour Xenoph. Crroped; to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is foun-libr.4. der of this opinion, placeth betweene him that took Ierusalem, and Euilmerodach, another Nabuchodono for : plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historie facred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. Eusebius, Sulpitius, Seucrus, and Theodoret, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that Euilmerodach and Balthafar were brethren and sonnes of the great Nabuchadonofor. This is built on the fift chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthafar (for of Euilmerodach there is none that euer doubted) is often called Nabuchodonofor his fonne. And so common grew 40 this explication, that Saint Hierome called it the vulgaropinion. But the place of Icremy before cited, prooues that Balthafar was not the fonne indeede, but the grandchild of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those Easterne languages, he was called the sonne.

Annius his Metasthenes hits very rightly the 70 yeres of captivity, giving to Nabuchodonofor 45 yeares, to Euilmerodach 30 yeares, and to the three fonnes of Euilmerodach, nephews of Nabuchodonofor 14 yeares; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldeft fonne three yeares, to Lab-Affar Dach the second sonne six yeares, and to Balthafar the third fonne five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of 50 yeares, and in the number of generations, I have fometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of Annius his edition. Yet could I not fatisfie my felfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few fuch of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, have consented with this Metasthenes; and for that in making Balthasar to

fucceede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against Aenophon, whose Historie of the elder Cyrus in his Affyrian warre I can nor flightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while the king was at his drunken feaft.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto Balthafar, by Dan.cha.8. verse Annius his Metafthenes, was farre thort of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70 yeares hee pleased among the rest. For in the third yeare of Balthafar, Daniel saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when hee rose vp he did the kings businesse: from 10 which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and line retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainely, both by the many words which the old Queene vsed to set out his sufficiencie, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were Daniel. Now to thinke that a man of fuch account and place as Daniel had held, could in two yeares have

beene worne out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole Dan,2,49.

storie (thus related) a part of Annius his impostures. Out of these reports of Iosephus, Berofus, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captivitie being 70 20 yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his sonne and grand-child, must have raigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose raignes might fil vp the whole continuance of the captinitie, with which the time allotted by Berofus and others, to Euilmerodach and Balthafar, joyned vnto the yeares following the ninetcene of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Ierufalem was laid defolate) are

Therefore Mercator and others following him, fashion the yeares of Euilmerodach in this fort. They fay, that the 18 yeares given to him by Iofephus in the tenth of his Antiquities, should bee read and numbred 28 yeares, and the two yeares 20 that Berofus hath allowed to Euilmerodach should be written 23:in the first number the figure of (1) is militaken for the figure of (2) and in the later there should have bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that Euilmerodach raigned 28 yeares, whereof fine together with his father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which Nabuchodonosor lived after the destruction of Ierusalem, make 49, then 4 yeares of Niglisar according to Berosus, o moneths of Labaffardach his sonne, and 17 yeares of Labonidus or Balthafar make vp the number of 70 yeares to the first of Cyrus. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken, in all copies extant; you how weake a foundation do they build, who have nothing to helpe them, faue onely the bare 40 names of two vnknowne Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthic, to have that place of Ieremie called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie ?

1 more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and raignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of Mercator, 50 I purposely forbeare to rehearse, as falling under the same answere. That of lofeph Scaliger I may not forget, as descruing to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to Nabuchadnezzar 44 yeres, to Enilmerodach 2, to Belfazer, 5: and to Nabonidus 17. So that from

the 19 of Nabuchadnezzar, in which Ierusalem was destroyed, vnto the time of Cyrus heaccomptethonely 59 yeares; beginning (as many do) the captinitie 11 yeares fooner, from the transportation of Icchonia. But hereof enough hath beene faid already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 19 of Nabuchadnezzar, and the fall of the Chaldaan Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of Nabuchadnezzars raigne, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to Enilmerodach is very thort, and more precisely agreeing with Berofus than with the Scriptures. For wee 10 find in Ieremy, that this Euilmerodach in the first of his raigne, shewing all fauour to Iechonia, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King of Babel, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life terem. 52. verf untillhe died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than 33.034. the authoritie of Berofus, were he perfectly extant) imports a farrelonger time than 2 yeares, wherein Icchonia, vnder this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort fent by God, whose commaundement he had obeyed in yielding himselse to Nebuchadnezzar. Indeed how long techonia did liue it can not be proued; but plaine it is hereby

that all his remaining daies he did not eate bread before this King. Now that he li-20 ued not so short a while after this as 2 yeares, it is more than likely, for he was but 55 yeres old when he was fet at liberty, having been 37 yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat Salathiel, as well by the age of Zorobabel, who is faid to have beene but a yong man, and one of Darius his Pages three score yeares after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the next five yeares naming him also Laborofoardoch, I should wonder why he calles him Nabuchadnezzars daughters sonne, we reitnot that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out Berofus, by shifting in his Ninglissoror, as husband to Nabuchadnezzars daughter, and Protector of his 30 fon foure of these yeares; by which meanes there remaines about one yeare to Bel-(azer alone, agreeing neerely with the o moneths affigned by Berofus to the fonne of Niglifar . But Ieremy hath told vs that it was to Nabuchadnezzar, and to his fon, and to his fonnes fonne (not to his daughters fonne) that the Empire was promifed: which difficultie if Scaliger could not helpe, it was well done of him, to paffe it oper

with filence. Nabonidus the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile Berofus to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with Balthafar, is by Scaliger thought to bee Darius of the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firme Berofian: for Berofus makes him of the same stocke or race a Babylonian. I speake not this to disgrace the travaile of 40 that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the lone of truth) but to shew that he himselfe having in some points disliked those Writers, whomein generall he approueth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in Scaliger, that hee whome Berofus calles Nabonidus, was the same whom Daniel had called Darius of the Medes: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that Darius tooke the kingdome, not saying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of Megasthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Nabonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the Originall, 50 or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes doth only signifie, that Darius tooke or received the kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next king entred by Election : seeing Daniel relateth not the meanes and circumstances of Balthafars death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeede haue properly beene faid (if Da-

nie! had cared to vie the most expressive termes) that Darius of the Medes breaking into the citie, did win the kingdome; feeing this was performed by Cyrus in the abfence of Darius, though by his forces, and to his vie. Now concerning the fragment of Mezasthenes, true it is, that in Eusebius his workes printed at Basile, in the yeare 1559. I finde onely thus much of Megafihenes, cited out of Alpheeus; That Nabuchedone for, was more valiant than Hercules; that hee subdued all Lybia, and the rest of Mags farre as to the Armenians; and that as the Chaldreans report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loude voice. O Babylonians, I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come uppon you, which nevther Bel, nor any of the Gods shall evert : There will come & Persian, halfe an Affe, 10 that shall bring flauery exponsee : and that, this and the like when he had spoken, be vanished. Of all this I belocue little or nothing, fauing that Nabnehodonofor knew before band, that his Empire should be translated, as Daniel had foretold from the golden head, to the filter breaft. But that he wan all Africa or Lybia, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If Sociligers copie of Eufekius were the more perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells vs that Nabuchodonofor wanne both Afrike and Spaine, I believe the fragment fo much the leffe: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calles a Median the pride and confidence of the Affrians, as where it tells of Nabuchadnezzar his owner anithing away. Indeed that fame title of halfe an Affe, by which he calleth Cyrus, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a Mule, because his parentage was more nobleon the mothers fide, than on the fathers; as Mules are begotten by Affes vpon Mares. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it hath within it felfe, I calily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one so indicious, industrious and deepely learned as Iofeph Scaliger, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downerepugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it feemes that Scalinger, well knowing his 30 owne fufficiencie, hath beene little carefull to fatisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecie of Daniel were true, that the kingdome of Balthafar was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians, either wee must thinke that Darius of the Medes was not Nabonidus, or else wee must bethinke our selves what Persian it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that Balthafar loft his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was diviuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians. Neither did the Medes and Persians fall out and fight for it, as by supposing Nabonidus to have beene Darius, they should be thought to have done; but thefe two Nations did compound the body of that 40 Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subject provinces, insomuch that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which Darius, and after him Xerxes, made vpon Greece, The warres of the Medes. Yea to cleare this point, euen Daniel himselfe resembles that King, with whom Alexander fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the Medes and Persians. Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronologers were not to have been condemned by Iofeph Scaliger, for maintaining upon fuch good grounds, that Darius of the Medes, was partner with Cyrus in his victories, and not a Children King by him fubdued. Neither was Iolephus to be the leffe regarded for affirming that Balthafar was destroyed by Darim of the Medes, and his nephew Cyrus, though herein hee varied from Berofus, and 70 others, whose authoritic elsewhere he gladly citeth. For Iosephus had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as Daniels, whom I beleeue that hee understoode as farre as was needefull in this case. Lawfullit was for him to alleage al Authorsthat had any mention, though unperfect of the same

things that were contained in the writings of the Jewes, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the Roman world, where they were strangers, and might feeme fabulous. Euen fo doe Eufebius, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars, yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the felfe same Ethnicke philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as tolephus in this case hath left Berofus. And thus much I thought it meete to fay of Sealigers opinion in this point; holding neuertheleffe in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had bin very great.

### What may be held as probable of the Perfons an ! Times of NABVCHO-DUNOSOR his fucceffors.

T now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeares of captinitie are to be divided among them which raigned in Babylon, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wiseas already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to cannot find how the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be divided among 🗶 the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely fay with Pererius, that

wee ought liberally to pardon those whose feete have failed them in the slipperie wayes of Chronologie, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnefle, or heedeleffe reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the judgement of Lyra and others (holding those onely to have raigned ouer Chaldwans, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearfed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend Lyra his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by Wiglifar and Labofardach to be meant the fame persons which are called in Scriptures Euilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but 30 onely to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of feuenty yeares. First therefore let vs consider the raigne of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose eighteenth yere Ierusalem was taken and fackt, but in his nineteenth layd

Most of Writers have given to him 43. yeares of raigne, following therein Berofur. There are who have added one years more; and some have made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainctic were needelesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall show the certaine truth.

Manifestitis, that the 19. yeare of Nabuchadnezzar, is joyned with the 11. of 2.Kin. 2.5.8. Zedekia; as alfo that his eight yeare, was the first yeare of Iechonia his captinitie; the of icom. 51.12 40 raigne of Zedekia occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeares. This is generally 2.14.12. agreed upon, to that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his fue- 2. Kin. 25.27. cellor Eulmerodach, it was in the feuen and thirtieth yeare of Iechonia his captiuitie; 4 terem,52.31 fo that Nebuchadnezzar after his eight yere (which was the first of Jechonia his bondage) raigned 35, whole yeares, and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, for a smuch as Iechonia was inlarged with so great suour, not untill the end of the yeare. Substracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which Nebuchad-

It is now to be confidered how the remainder of the feuentic yeres were divided betweene the kings ruling in Bibylon vntill the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as I faid before ) than greatly needefull : the whole fumme being certaine, and the diftinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who

nezzars raigne did wel-neare occupie, those eighteene yeares of his which passed a-

way before the captiuitie of Inda, and ruine of the citie, we have remaining fix and

twenty yeares of the fenentie, that were almost wholy spent, when his sonne began



were long after the time of Iolephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe

were flouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeares, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjecturall; feeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate conjectures in dimding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before hand, that who focuer faall discouer my errour, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather with in a case more materiall) of making mee to vinderstand

Of the foure and fortie yeares remaining in accompt at Nabuchadnezzars death. we are to take away the last, which was the first of Darius the Mede, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of prefumption, in giuing vs feuenteene yeares to Balthafar, we finde left in our handes to befrow you Englangrodach fixe and twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging to Darius the Alede I have alreadie spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That Balchafar did raigne feuentcene yeares, we haue the authoritie of tofephus, before cited in expresse wordes; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting Berofus his Nabonidus,

who raigned fo long; and Balthafar to have beene one. But nothing moueth mee fo Banes, 8, v. 1. 6. much to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in Daniel, shewing that 27.00 c.5. .... in the third yeare of Balthafar he followed the Kinges bulineffe, and yet was forgot. 20 ten ere the end of his raigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeares, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that Daniels emploiments tooke end cither that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the confideration of Cyrus his warres against the Asyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deedes in the lower Asia, which fell out in the mid-way: I, haue alreadie shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of Enilmerodach was not short; and that men of great judgment have found it most probable that hee was King three and twentie yeares. More, Ithinke, they would have allowed him, had not the defire of fatis- 30 fying Berofus caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of Berosus, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke paffages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and mall thinges else vinquettionably true, I would not therefore condescend vinto him in fome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much leffe ought I to obay a broken fragment of his, containing only feuen or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they beleeve that follow him in the reft? The Scriptures have told vs that God gave the Empire to Nabuchadnezzar, to his fonne, and to his fonnes fonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expressed; 40 yet would we gladly know it of Berofus, or of any other that would teach vs. prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More wordes are needleffe. It is enough to fay with others, that Berofus or In fephus who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelefnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for sixe and twentic, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more casic. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. fignifying 6. hath a nearer refemblance of & that flands for 2. than hath 2 which is vied for 3. So that the numerall notes \$ 5 expressing 26, were not fafe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mis- 52 chance not vnufuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in 8 2 standing for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the arithmeticall figures now in vie, they

not appertaine to this businesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vulearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a fort wholly given over to the doctrine of Arifotle. If this will ferue to make Berofus our friend, fo let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking Ieremie and Daniel, when they seeme his opposites. VII. Of the victories which NABYCHODONOSOR obtained betweene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of Ith what actions this time of 70. yeares was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue beene fome caufe that the time it f. Ife was, and is yet fought to bee abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witnessethelength of it. But by such an argument wee might as well 20 denie to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slouthfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruaile, if the posteritie of Nabuchodono for, finding all thinges readie to their hand, which their hearts could have defired, betooke themselves to their case and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall fonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wifedome greater. which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the reftleffe trauaile of purchafing. Though indeede the raigne of Nabuchodonofor was fo divided, that his youthfull and stronger yeares having beene exercifed in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to bee spent in e-30 flablishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past.

CHAP.I. \$.7.

The nineteenth yeare of his raigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mightie Citie of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with aboundance of spoile, and terrified all that would offer to relift him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, vntill his three and twentieth years, he laboured in the conquest of those adjoyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Siconians, and Experisins, though some of these were alreadic become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten downe and burnt. But the Tyrians whose Citie was founded on an Iland, fafe enough from any danger of a Land-Armie, and 40 whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to feare any enemie at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mightie Prince, imploying all his power to their fubuersion.

That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleafed than any way discouraged with the fall of terufalem (which had held the fame course that Tyrus did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemic) it appeares by the wordes which Ezechiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus; AHA, the gate exch.26.2. of the people is broken, it is turned onto mee; for feeing shee is defolite, I shall be excellenifbed. Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonofor, that great worke of his whereof wee haue alreadie spoken, beganne to appeare about the wa-50 ters, and threaten them with ineuitable mischiefe.

But those prophecies of Ieremie and of Esay, which appoint vnto this desolation Ier. 24. of Tire the same terme of 70. yeares, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the E/ai.23.154 Chaldeans, doe plainely show, that shee followed lerusalem, the same nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonofor, in the fame, or a very like fortune. The particularities,

which doubtieffe were memorable in the iffue of fo great and laborious a fiege, are in a manner vtterly loft. Thus much wee finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Towns vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus, Neuertheleffe it feemes that this eualion ferued only the principall men, who efcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer fort vnto the enemies furie. For not only fuch people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the fword; but the like execution was done in the tireets. into which with excelline labour the Afgrian made way for his Horses and Cha-Each ca. w.8. rios. Thus NABVCHODONOSOR caused his Armie to serve a great service against

TYRYS, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had be no mages, nor his Armic; but was faine to refl contented with the Honor of hauing destroied that Citie, which in all mens judgements had beene held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, having made the name → of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the cares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonofor vsed the advantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories alreadie gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with leffe paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Countrie to abounding in all riches and pleafures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himfelfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemie to the Crowne of Babylon, that had it beene poorer, yet either it must have beene sub- 10 dued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue beene established. Neuerthelessein was needefull that before hee entred into this bufineffe, the Countries adjacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his denotion, or at least be viable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Aloab, Ammon, Edem, Damafeus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their fins had condemned to fall under the Babylonian fwords, were fuch, as regarding only their owne gaine had some of them, like Rauens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feede vpon the carcaffes that fell by the crueltie thereof, others taking advantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Coun- 20 tries which were by his victories belonging to Nabucho dono for; all of them thinking, that when the Afgrien had fatisfied his furie, he should be faine to for sakethose defolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particu-Exerb. 25, 12, 12 larly the Ecomites and Philipims had shewed much malice to the Ienes when their Citie was taken. What good feruice they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if

E3\*ch.25.3.

they did any it is likely to have been with reference to their owne purpofes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of Ierufalem, but prefently they entred upon the Countrie of Gad, and tooke poffelfion, as if not the Afgrians, but they, had subdued Ifrael. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practife had of Baalis King of the Ammonites, when hee fent 40 Ismael, a Prince of the bloud of Inda, to murther Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Gouernour ouer those that remained in Ifrael, and to carrie captine into the Ammonites Countrie the people that abode in Mizpah, than a delire of embroiling Nabuchodono/or with fo many labours at once, as should make him retire into his Ierem. 40.14. Owne Countrie, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom 41.2.5.10. they lay conveniently. Such or the like policie the Asabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their diffimulation condemned,

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon defarts ; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost 50 cunning of their thecuish wits. But Nabuchadnezzar did cut asunder all their denices by tharpe and fuddaine warre, ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Esay, Ieremie, and Ezekiel, who fore-told, with little difference of wordes, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the mi-

ferie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seemes that Most was the last which felt his hand : for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of Efay, threatning Moab with destruction after three veares, as having reference to the third yeare following the ruine of Ierusalem: the next yeare after it being spent in the Agyptian expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made flaues, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against 2 abuchodono for, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches; vntill the end of the seuentic yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

#### d. VIII.

That Ægypt was conquered, and the King therein raigning flaine by NABVCHODO. NOSOR, contrarie to the opinion of mast Authors: who following HERO-DOTVS and DIODORVS, relate it othermile.

Hen by a long course of victoric Nabucho dono for had brought into subiection all the Nations of Syria, and the bordering Arabians, in such wife that no enemie to himselfe, nor friend of the Agyptian, was left at his back, that might give impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-with take in hand

the conquest of Agypt himselfe, upon which those other Nations had formerly beenedepending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iffue thereof, the three great Prophets Elix, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, haue written so plainely, that I hold it altogether needlefle to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuerthelesse wee finde many and good Au-30 thors, who following Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to straine these prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to 2 abuchodonofor little more than the honour of having done some spoile in £gypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries or Hophra to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and fecond helps conducing to their purpose, that often times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a fentence giving testimonic to one clause, doe careless ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of

40 £3 pt, which raigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they have spoken of Apries, was purposely reserved vnto this place. Herodotus affirmes that he was a very fortunate King , but wherein hee telleth not; Herod. 12. 614 (vnleffe we should understand that he was victorious in the Warre which he is said to have made vpon Tyrus and Sidon) that hee raigned five and twentie yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subjects; who did set vp Amasis, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Agyptians hee imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroied. This calamitie the people of Agypt thought to bee well pleafing to their King, who had fent them on this dangerous

30 expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so hee might with greater fecuritie raigne ouer fuch as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of fuch as were flaine, rebelled against Apries, who fent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amasis became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land confented vnto this new Election; whereby Apries

Bbbb 2

CHAP.I. S.9.

was driven to trust vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whome hee kept in readinesse thirtie thousand good Souldiours that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the Agyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. Apries himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amalis for a while, vntill the Agyptians, exclaiming ypon him as an extreame enemie to the land, got him delinered into their handes, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of Hers-D'ador Sie lib. dotus, with whome Diodorus Siculus neerely agrees, telling vs that Apries did van-

quish the Cyprians and Phanicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished 19 Sidon, wanne the other towns of Phanieia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally perished as is before rehearsed, when he had raigned two and twentic yeares. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of Aprics his historic, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of Agret by the Babylonian, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than have the traditions of Agre-

tian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to per-E(4.20, vo. 4.5). Iwade those that looke only into humane reasons. For E/sy prophecied long before of the shamefull captivitie of the Agyptians, whom the King of Assbur should caror the manuful capations of the cary your state the lener who fled vito them for ry away naked, yong and old, in fuch wife that the lener who fled vito them for deliuerance from the Afgrian, should be assumed of their owne vaine considence in men fo vnable to defend them felues.

But Ezekiel and levemy, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, fo they handled this Argument more precifely. For Ezekiel telleth plainely, that Agypt should be given to NabuchAmezzar, as wages for the service which beehad done at Tyre: Also he resounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Agypt, saying, That these by name should be destroyed and goe into captiuitie; yea, that Eggh 32 v.31. PHARAOH and all his armieshould be saine by the sword. Wherefore it must reedes be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an infurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in £3/pt, than change of the Kings person, wherein Amasia did succeed vn. 30

to Apries, by force indeede, but by the vniforme confent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of Ieremie, wherein he foretelleth how the Iewes in A gypt should see Pharsoh Hophra delivered into the hand of his enemies, as Zedekia had beene, were to beereferred vnto the time of that rebellion whereof Herodotus hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet ( which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeinghe did it by the appointment of God himfelfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hil, those very stones, vpon which the throne of Nabuchodonofor should be set, and his paullion spread. Yeathen was that prophecie no other than falle, which expressed the end of Pharcov thus. Behold, I will wishe the common people of No., and PHARAOH and Ægypt, with their Gods and their Kings, euen P HARAOH, and all that trust in him: and I will deliner them into the hands of those that seeke their lines, and into the hand of Na-

BUCHADNEZZVA King of Babel, and into the hands of his feruants. The clearenes of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in sitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking vpon Junius, who had in an other place taken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophra to be Amasis, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Agyptian Priests had notably deluded Herodotus 50 with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And furely it may well be thought, that the historie of Nabuchadnezzar, was better knowne to the Ieres whom it concerned, than to the Greekes that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not ra-

ther believe Iosephus, reporting that Nabucho donosor in the three & twentieth yeare of his raigne, and the fift yeare of the destruction of Ieru(alem, did conquer Agypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his flead, than Herodotus or Diocore; who being meere strangers to this businesse had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would 6.11. tell them. Now if fetting afide all aduantage of authoritie, we should only confider the relations of Iolephus, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might bee verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets or Agyptian Priests; me thinks the death of Apries can no way be approto ued as having beene wrought by confent of the people, but affords great matter of fuspition; yea though no man had opposed the reports of Herodotus and Diodore, For the great loue and honour which the Agyptians did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimonic of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of Diodore himselfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that Apries having wonne great victories, did for one only loffe fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may ferue to perswade vs, that a King of £gypt would feeke, or so demeane himselfe, that he might be thought to seeke the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that armie of thirtie thousand souldiours Carians and Ionians, which the King of Agypt whom Amalis tooke prisoner. 20 is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forrainer, and onethat armed himselfe against the Egyptians, wishing them few and weake; rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the Country, as affuredlytheir owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than anie way needefull, to vse all Arguments that might be alleadged in this case. The very death of this supposed Apries, which the clamours of the people obtained of Amalis, who fought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forcen Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have defired to fauchis life, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had 20 flood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voyce of Trueth it selfe

δ. I X.

lowing shall present them.

How Ægypt was subdewed and held by NABVCHADNEZZAR.

cries out against it; but leave the circumstances proving the Conquest of Agypt

by Nabuchodonofor to be observed, where due occasion in course of the storie fol-

T is a great losse, that the generall Historie of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memorie of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mightie Prince Nabuchodonofor; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vn-Certaine. That his victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-

Provinces, were fuch as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may casily be gathered out of Ezekiel: who reckons up in his thirtieth chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to haue reached out into Mauritania, as people subdewed by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these warres are in a maner vererly lost, 50 but that the victory was case and swift, any man shall find, who wil take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular observation; that Pharoah, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe safe in Agypt by the well defenced fituation of his Countrey, did very vnwifely in fuffering his enemies ВЬЬЬ 2

ion in Ierem. £.44.verfe 30.

CHAP.I. S.10.

to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adhærents in Syria. For as the labour of this bufineffe did more harden than wearie the Chaldean army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the Agyptians, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make through the Arabian defarts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford vinto themselues, did litle auaile them in prouition for the warre, and much aftonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being viually feene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the kingdome of Agypt had flourished vnder the rule of the Phiraohs, about a thousand flue hundred and soure score yeares; but from this time forward it remained fortie yeares without a King, under the subjection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recour by litle and litle the former greatnes, yet fo, that it was never dreadful vnto others, God having faid of that people, I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the Nations. For wher-Exch. 19.13,14, as it hath been faid of Pharaoh: I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the auncient Kings; and whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it; the Princes of Agypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was

taken and flaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguilhed. This came to paffe in the first yeare after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth tosophani Ind. of Nabuchadnezzar, at which time (saith Iosephus) Hee slew the King then raigning, 10 placed an other in his roome, and carried captines thence to Babylon, the Iewes whome hee found in that Countrie. Now concerning the time which Josephus gives vnto this bufinesse, and the businesse it selfe, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which infinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusa lem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three and twentieth years of NEBVCHADNEZZAR, is not vnprobably thought by good authors to have been at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas Iosephus tells vs that there was another King put in the roome of Apries by Nabuchadnezzar, we must viderstand, that he was onely a Vierroy, and not (as some have mistaken it) thinke that this was Amasis. For to place the beginning of Amasis his raigne in the three and twentieth of Nebuchadne-2 zar, were as well repugnant vnto the Prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronologie and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconvenience imagine that there were two fuccessively bearing the name of Amalis, others that there were two Apries, the one flaine by Nabuchadnezzar, the other by Amasis: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life and kingdome by the Asfiriums. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the deputie of Nebuchadnezzar, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of Pharao Necho, and made warre (as they report) vpon the Phanisi-40 ans, who were, before the Egyptians, become subject vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde perhappes, that he whom Nabuchadnezzar left as Gouernour of Agypt, was more likely to have had some Chaldsan or Asyrian, than Agyptian name; vnleffe wee should thinke that hee had beene a traitor to his natural! Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenant ship of the Country: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that Nabuchodonofor made an absolute Conquest of Agypt; that he was not so foolishas to giue it away, any man may gueffe, that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is confequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of Iofephus; that this Gouernour (or some successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by Amasis, I see pro- 50 babilitie enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vse their libertie, and beleeue what they lift. As for the armie which this £gyptian King Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians and Carians; I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenarie souldiours which were left by the Asyrian

for the guard of his Viceroy, and custodie of the new subdewed Province : as likewise the company returning from Cyrene and Barce, who togither with the friends of fuch as were flaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greeke Historians, deposed and slew Apries, I take them to have beene the Agyptian fugitives which then recouered their owne Countrie. Sure it is that this Prophecie of Ezewhich then reconstruction of fortie yeares will I gather the Ægyptians from the people kel was verified, At the end of fortie yeares will I gather the Ægyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I willbring agains the captivitie of Ægypt, and will cause & 14. them to returne into the land of Pathrosinto the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome. If the Egyptian Prichts alluded hecreunto in the tale which 10 they made of Amalis his obtaining the kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they denifed matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the Greekes from knowledge of their Countries difgrace; then are they little to be regarded, fince we know the truth with them.

of the fundry accompts drawne from fundry acts of NEBVCHADNEZZAR and of the destruction of Niniuie, by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.

Hele victories brought the greatnes of the Assrian Empire to the sull and from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzars raigne in fundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of Nebuchadnezzar his times, might eeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument : Yet thus much I Dancet & 2. will note; that whereas Daniel was carried captine in the third yeare of Iehoiakims raigne (which ranne along with some part of Nebuchadnezzars first yeare) and was kept in diet three yeares more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of Nabuchadnezzari kingdome, wherein he interpreted the 30 forgotten dreame of the great image, forelhewing the succession of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which referre fundry matters vnto their fet yeares; as that of Ezekiel before-cited, where hee fore-tells that Aegypt should be given in reward for the service done before Tyrus, dating his prophecie in the feuen and twentieth yeare; and that of Daniel, placing the crection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeares held no dependance vpon either the beginning of Nabuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captilities, but had reference to some memorable action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine fearch.

Of any warre made by Nabuchadnez zar after such time as hee returned from the Conquest of Aegypt I doe not reade: excepting that against Niniuie, the destruction > whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet Naum. Niniuie had long before beene taken by Merodach (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Afiyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldwan, as Iehoiakim & Zedekias tributary Kings of Iuda had done. tafted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Niniuie followed the Conquest of Aegypt, it appeareth by the comparison which Nahum the Prophet made betweene this Citie that was to fall, and the Citie of Are in Accept that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinkes) vnpossible Nabum 3.0.

to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronologie, that it was in the first of Nabuchadnezzars raigne; the place of Nahumlast cited is enough to disproue it, Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchie, which beganne at the end of the Aegyptian warres; the whole Prophecie of Nahum which went betweene the one and the order, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time inter-

current. So that to enquire into the very years of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether menaged by Wabuchodonofor in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiofitie of Tyberius Cafar, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecuba; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would feeke to learne what woman that Huzzab Queen of Niniuie was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet Naum likewise did fore-tell.

#### δ. X I. Of the later time of NEBUCHADNEZZAR; his buildings, madnesse, and death.



F the time which this great Monarch Spent in quiet, I thinke there are no monuments extant; faue those which wee finde among the prophecies of Daniel. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well that he brake out into these glorious wordes. Is not this great Babel that I have built for the

house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my maiestie? Surely if those thinges be true that are by Infephus rehearsed of him out of Berofus and Measthenes, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such 20 goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is faid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that belides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Afgrian, and all the Persian Empire, is faid to have beene reared, and finished in fifteene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not undeseruedly fell these judgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinesse in his ownelise, 39 but with a discouerie of thinges to come after him, yea and had approved the certaintie of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the Prophet: hee neuerthelesse became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Image to be fet vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof S. Hierome hath well noted; velox obliuio veritatis, vi qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statuam sibi sieri tubeat, vt ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur : A hastie forget- 40 fulneffe of the truth, that hee who fo lately had worshipped (DANIEL) the seruant of God, as if hee had beene God himfelfe, fibuld now command a Statua to bee creeted unto himselfe, wherein himselse might bee worshipped as God. From this impicticit pleased God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those bleffed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refuling to commit Idolatrie, were affifted by an Angell; preferued from all harme of the fire; loofened from their bands; and finally called out with gratious wordes, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amased at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his image he had violated. Yet this denotion of Nabuchadnezzar was not forooted in him, that it could 50 bring forth fruit answerable to his hastic zeale. Therefore was hee forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging ouer his head, which Daniel expounding, aduited him to breake off his finne by righteousness, and his iniquitie by mercie towards the poore, that there might bee an healing of his error. Hereby it seemes

that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned, but this threatning sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch thould be driuen from among men (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) vea compelled to dwell with the beafts of the field, and made to cate graffe as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans judgement, that casily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leifure to repent was given to this haughtic Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulnesse of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the roiall Palace of Babel, hee was so ouer-ioyed 10 and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heavie judgement pronounced against him, heevitered those loftic wordes before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiesticall workes which he hadreared, as well befeeming his maiesticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearfed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, which was fulfilled voon him the very fame houre.

That Salomon and many other Princes and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haueread of any, that were punished for rejoyeing in workes of this kinde (though 20 it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde to keepe a just measure) excepting only

this Nabuchainezzar.

10

CHAP-I-S.II.

The like may be faid of Dauid: for other (and some very godly) Kings have mufired all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been knowne to have been punished as David was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in those good things, wher with God hath bleffed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulneffe to entertaine them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that bleffed light, which clarifies the foule of man, and ? predifposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternall selicitie; so that insolent ioy, which 20 man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his owne worth, doth aboue all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightening, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our feeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these mala mentis gandia; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than forrowes, cares, and feares; not farre from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no vnlikely token of vengcance neare at hand, when these vnreasonable slushes of proud and vame toy, doe rage in a minde, that should have beene humbled with a just repentance and acknowledgement of ill descruing.

This was verified upon Nabuchadnezzar, whose punishment was fingular and vnexampled. For he ranne among beafts in the fields and woods, where for feuen yeares hee liued, not only as a faluage man, but as a faluage beaft, for a beaft hee thought himselfe fecundum suam imaginationem, as Thomas noteth, and therefore L. a. de Reg. fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that pri. he was changed in figure externall according to Mediana, in formuch as he appeared Mediana, derea beaft to other mens cies, as S. Hierome in the life of Hilarius (how true God knowes) Ha in Deum fide speakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens fight a Cow, but to Hilarins 129.7. only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon was faid to be into a Hinde, nor made a Monster as Dorotheus and Epiphanius drea- Dorin Symps.

50 med: but according to S. Hieromes exposition of these wordes. At the same time was Epia vit. Dan. my understanding restored unto me, erc. Quando dicit (saith S.H I ER OME) sensum sibi redditum, oftendit non formam for amilife (ed mentem: When he faith that his fenfe wasreflored wato him, he shewe: hthat hee had not lost his humane shape, but his understanding. Seuen years expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodonosor, both to his vnderstan-

of the Historie of the World. 

ding, and his estate, for which hee acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power and euerlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and D.M.4.1.32.c. carth, and wrought without reliftance what he pleafed in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his faluation; namely S. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthu famise, and others. And for that place of Efay the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to Balthasar, because Isay both in the thirteenth and sourteenth Chapter speaketh of the King, and the destruction of Babylon iountly.

è. XII.
of Evilmerodach.

Auing alreadic spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of Nabuchadnezzars posteritie; the most that may bee said of him, is faid of Euilmerodach, which I will not here againe rehearfe.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warrethat confumed it to alhes. He lost A-

gypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, which was for- 20 tie yeares after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of Herodotus, who allowes to Amelis foure and fortic yeares of raigne; nor with that of Diodorss, who gives him five and fiftie, faying that he died in the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, when Camby les did conquer Agypt. There were indeed but seuen and thirtie yeares, which passed betweene the second yeare of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of Euilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fift of Cambyses his raigne, wherein hee wanne Agypt; of which seuen and thirtie yeares it is credibly held, that P samennitus, the fonne of Amasis, raigned three : so that Amasis could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeares. But feeing that thefe two Greeke Historians haue beene abused 30 by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no marualle though they were also deceived in the length of his raigne. This is the plaine answere to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie fet downe in flead of foure and thirtie, or that Amalis did temporife a white with the Asyrians, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of Egypt, vntill the nineteenth of Euilmerodach (at which time, and not before, it hath beene proued out of Ezekiel, that Agypt became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a fuperfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptish troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with Enilmer odach, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the 40 decaied valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) fome foile received by the Afgrian invading Media, emboldened the Agyptians to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seeke to define. Xenophon tells that the first service of yong Cyrus in warre was under Astrages King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Asyrian Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time Cyrus was fifteen or fixteen yeares old. If therefore Cyrus lived threefcore and three yeares (as he is faid to have died well ftricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinarie terms of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of Euilmerodach his raigne. Yet by the fame reckoning it should follow, that the warre beganne more early betweene these Nations, for as much as the manner 50 of their fight in former times, with other circumstances infinuating as much, are found in the same place of Xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonofor gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the Asyrians, than in his flourishing

citate they durft haue vsed. How societ the quarrell beganne, weefinde that it ended not before the last ruine of the Afgrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proude to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Alies the Perjans, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the leffer Alia, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouer-whelme his Enemies with a strong inualion, whome in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingring

This happened after the death of Aftrages, who left the World in the nineteenth veare of Eudmerodach, at which time Analis tooke possession of Egypt. So that the Affirian having his handes alreadie full of bufineffe, which more carneftly did affect him, seemes thereby to have given the better meanes unto the Agiptians, of new creeting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did fundric times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and fet vp a King within it felte, against the

The iffue of these great preparations made by Euilmerodach against the Medes, was fuch as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeares before vttered against Babel by E/ay and Ieremic.

For the Asyrians, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the Atedes, and Perstans, under their thicke shewers of arrowes and 20 darts, were encountred with an armie of flout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battaile, wherein Eutimerodath was flaine. So that great frame of Empire which Nabuchodonofor had raifed and vp. held, being shaken and grieuously crackt under his unfortunate Sonne, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

#### A. XIII.

A private coniecture of the Author; scruing to make good those thinges, which are cited out of BEROSVS, concerning the Successors of EVILMERO-DACH, without wrong to the truth: the qualitie, and death of BALTHASAR.

Hough I have alreadic (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently proved that Balthafar was the Sonne, and immediate Successour to Euilmerodach, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following Berofus, insert Niglisar or Niriglissor, and his sonne Labas-[ardach betweene them : as also that which I finde in Herodotus of Nitoris a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what meanes it was possible that some errour might have crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needleffe trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle light, in the vicertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day light, had weadhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obscrue, that the time which Berofus divides betwixt Euilmerodach, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which Nabuchadnezzar lived wild among brute 50 bealts in the open field : Secondly, that the suddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtleffe the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitic pittied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of Daniel finding reputation in that

Herod J.1.

clause which promised his recoucrie, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for fetling the government, whileft the King was thus diffracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the roiall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesses. In this his rule Enilmerodach being to supplie the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the vnripenesse of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sifter Nitocris (if Nitocris were his fifter) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which Herodotus reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than Semaramis, as appeared in her magnificent and viefull workes about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Bal ylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Afgrians, and amongst them Amue, Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers mifgouernment, yfed practifes to get the rule into her owne handes, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leaue it vnto her vngratious fonne. Other time than this, wherein Nitoeris could have raigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in Berofus (as Isfephus hath cited him) that Wiglifar, who got the Kingdom from Euilmerodach, was his fifters hulband; which argues this to have been the

fame woman. As for Labaffardach the fonne of Niglifar, if at the end of nine Monoths raigne he were for his leud conditions flaine by the Nobilitie, as the same Be-

rafus reporteth, it feemes that God prepared hereby the way for Nabuchadnezzars

reflitution (whose terms of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the People. I will

not here vie many wordes to confute that which Berefus hath further fet downe of

Enthmerodach, telling vs that he was flaine by his fifters hufband: for the plaine words of Scripture naming the yeare wherein he gaue libertie to Iechonia, doe plainely te-

fline that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, 20

which was the last of his life. This may fuffice to fliew, that they who are faid to have fucceeded Enilmerodach in the Kingdome, might indeede have so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of Balihafar who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had fuch conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his yong yeares of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should have married his lifter, only for spight and envieto fee him kill two wild beafts in hunting, at which himfelfe having throwne his Jaueline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautic, faid it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous vilanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gratious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as foone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee loft all; fitting fill, and not once daring to give battaile to them that daily tooke somewhat from him; Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on enery fide, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miscrable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with adreadfull vision, which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, 50 euen whilest he was drinking in that wine, which the swordes of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to fay of him, That after a dishonourable raigne of seuenteene yeares he pe-

rished like a beast, and was slaine as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath beene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of Cyrus, to whose storie that of Balthasar is but an ap-

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatnesse of the Persians.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.

HE Line of Belochus being now extinguished in Balthasar, the Empire of Babylon, and of Allyria, wasioyned first to that of Media, which then was governed by Cyaxares or Darius Medus, after whom Cyrus became Lord and Monarch, both of Asyria and of

Of the race of Phul Belochus there were ten Kings belides himfelfe, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metasthenes. These two Prouinciall Gouernours having cut downe the last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, divided betweene them the Easterne Empire.

Cyaxares ( whom the Scriptures call Darius Mediu ) the last of the race of Arbaces dying about two yeares after that the Line of Belochus was ended in Balthafar: the Dominions as well of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achamenes, the Princes of which bloud raigning in Perfia; had formerly beene dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Familie of Achamenes, and Line of the Perfan Kings, wee shall hereafter finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from Madai the third some of Liphet; that they had Kings soone after the floud, Lactantius and Diodorus have found record; For Lactantius remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodor speaketh of Pharnus with his seuen Sonnes, slaine by the Asyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the first, that freed his Nation from the Asyrians. I take the list and number from Ensebius, adding Darius Mediu: of whome I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are 50 thefe. 

Cocc Constant Melacos

30

1.ib.16.

Arbaces. r28. yeares. Sofarmus. yeares. Medidus. yeares. Cardiceas. yeares. 13. Who raigned 4 53. Diocles. yeares. Phraortes. yeares. Cyaxares. yeares. Astyages. yeares. Darius Medus.

And though the Greekes afcribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that Darius was not only King of Media, and had the Persians his followers, but that the Armie victorious ouer Balthafar was his; as the Allrian and Babylonian Empire also was during his ownelife. For wee finde in Daniel that Darius of the Medes tooke the Kingdome being threescore and two yearesold, And further what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was Cap.13.0.17.51. it prophecied by Ifay long before: Behold I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c.

And by IEREMIE; The Lord hathraifed up the Spirit of the King of the Medes, for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Mations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes 20 thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. Thele Scriptures Iulius Affricanus doth well open, who taking authoritic from Diodor, Castor, Thallus, and others, deliuereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with Strabo, where he faith, That as the Medes were fubiugated by the Persians, fo before that, both the Babylonians and Asyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of Instine, and Herodotus, are not to be received, who attribute

ò. II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.



the taking of Eabylon to Cyrus alone.

Ow the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the handes of Cyrus, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians ; but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who denie that Asyages had any other Successour than

Cyrus his Grand-child by Mandane. Whereas Ctefias on the contraric fide affir- 40 meth that Cyrus was no way descended from Aflyages (whom hee calleth Astigas or Apama) but only that having vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to Baceria, he married his Daughter Amytis. But I finde the relations of Ctelias often cited and feldome followed, and himfelfe fometimes very justly reproued of willfull vntruth.

Viginier a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Astyages had no such sonne as Cyaxares, or Darius Medus; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Justine, Strabo, Plato, Ariflotle, Isocrates, and before them Castor, Thallus, and Phlegon, who doe not finde any such Successiour. Neither doe Tatianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Iulius Affricanus, 59 Clemens Alexandrinus, Iustine Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, S. Hierome, or S. Augufline, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hathgiven other Sonne or Succession to Astrages than Cyrus.

Yet feeing that this manner of argument ab authoritatenegatine, doth neuer in-

CHAP.2. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

27

force confent; we may bee the bolder (all this great lift of Noble Writers by him alleaged not withstanding) to affirme that either Afrages himselfe must have beene Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to give him some other Successour, according to losephus, and Aenophon, the zond Leage fame whom Daniel calleth Darius. For it is manifelt, and without dispute, that the locantitio c 13 King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Con- Kind, e. P. ad. quelt, Cyrus during his life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subject to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassalls of Darius, being soyned together to com-10 pound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe, not only for this action, but for the deliuerie of his Church; a greater worke in the eies of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how

And it may well bee thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that feruice did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon Gras by fuccession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Historians ouer-grew altogether the honour due to Cyaxares, both because hee was old, and did nothing in person; as also because hee soone after quitted the world, and left all to Cyrus, who was posselt of what focuer belonged to Darius, before the fame of any fuch King or Conquerour was carried farre off.

And for the Greeke Historians, they tooke all thinges from the relations of the Persians. who gaue to Cyrus all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only Daniel in the first, fift, and fixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine that himselfe not only lived a great Officer under King Darius, but that hee continued in that effate to the first of cyrus, which being the yeare 30 of Daniels death, could not have beene distinguished from the raigne of Darius. if they had begunne together and raigned ioyntly; Neither can it bee imagined that Darius held the Kingdome by Cyrus permission, considering that Cyrus beganne after him.

X ENOPHONS relation of the Warre which the Medes and Persians made with loynt forces upon the Asyrians and others.

Hele Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which Xenophon hath written of these warres: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Asyrian had inlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all Syria, and many other Countries, hee beganne to hope that if the Medes could bee brought under his subjection, there should not then bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of 50 the Medes was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foote, and aboue ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joyned made an exceeding strong Armie.

The Afgrian confidering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited Crassus King of Lydia, a Prince very mightic both in men and treasure, and with him other Cccc 2

Lords of Alia the leffe to his affiftance, alleaging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conjoyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be calle, no not possible, for any one Nation to result them. With these incitements firengthned with great prefents, he drew to himfelfe fo many adherents a he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foote, and threescore thoufand horse, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by Crafu, who had great cause of enmitte with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father Alyattes; But this great Armie was by Craxares King of the One es, and by Cyrus generall of the Persian forces, vtterly broken; Vp. pon which defeat the Afgrian King being also flaine, so many of the Afgrians re- 10 uolted, as Babylon it felfe could not longer be affured without the fuccours of Mercinaries, waged with great fummes of money out of Afathe leffe, Egypt, and elfewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by cyrus, who following his advantage, possest himselfe of a great part of the lesser Afia, at which time it was, as I take it, that Crafus himfelfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following foone after, the Armielying before it being paid by Darius, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, and led by Cyrus his fifters sonne, prevailed against Balthafar, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and by him leuied, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the 20 common fort were Archers, or fuch as vsed the Dart and the Sling. So faire xenophon. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the patterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot bee denied, but that the bulke and groffe of his Narration was founded upon meere Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like writer, that in enery speech and circumftance he hath precifely tied himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne invention, appropriating the fame to the times and persons of whom hee treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historic of thinges 30 done, it will easily appeare that Xenophon hath handled his under-taken subject in fech fort, that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any fort corrupted the bodie.

#### ð. IIII.

The eftate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great Warre.

Or it is commonly agreed upon, that Achamenes, the sonne of Perses 40 commanded in Media in that rebellion against Sur damapalus, and that being Gouernour of Persia, did affociate himselfe with Arbaces, who each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfethe Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the Asyri-

ans; as also that they conveyed over the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, until fuch time as Deioces tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of Sardanapalus to the raigne of Deioces, are viually accompted about an hundred and fortie yeares, in the last fixtie whereof there raigned in Asyria mightic Princes, namely Salmanassar and his Successours, whose great atchiuements in Syria 50 and else where witnesse, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their aduantage to vnder-take any offensine warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successours of Belochus, and Arbaces, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of Deioces to the first of Astrages, there past about ninetic yeares, in which if Herodotus haue written truely, that Phraortes conquered Perfu, and how he and other the Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commaunded many parts of Afia, it had beene but an vnaduised enterprise of the Assyrians and Babytonians, to have wasted themselves against the Syrians and Ægyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the Aledes had done nothing vpon the South parts of Perlia, and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susians in Nabuchodonofors time, it is manifest in Daniel, who was then Gouernour for the Babylonian in Susa or Susan, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the Mediums, either vnder Cyanares or Africages, or both, had quarrell with Halyattes the father of Crafus, which after some fix yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It feemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then posfest, with the confederacie which they continued with the Medes, gaue them more securitie than same: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of Achemenes, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulnesse thereof. But as we find all Xenophons reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very conso-20 nant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares,

that the race of Achemenes held the Principalitie of Persia from father to some for many descents. And therefore we may better gue credit to Xenophon, who affirmeth, That Camby/es the father of Cyrus was King of Persia: than to those that make him a meane man, and fay, that Aftiages gaue him his daughter Mandane in marriage, to the end that her sonne (whose nativitie he seared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to Astrages, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asia? No; it was more likely, that vpon

fuch a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should have encreased, and his care 30 beene the greater to have married her to fome Prince of strength and eminent

CHAP.2. S.4.

Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deniser of the mischiefe intended against Cyrus by his grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the Achamenida was so renowned, that the great King Xerxes in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselse, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they been ignoble, nor had they been the vaiffals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this fort Xerxes in the feuenth of Herodotus deriveth himfelfe.

Achemenes Camby ses. Cyrus. Teifbeus. Ariaramnes. Ar (amnes. Hyftafbes. Darius.

Xerxes.

Of the Achamenida there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the great, whose issue male fayled in his two sonnes, Cambyses and Smerdis. This royall familie is thus fet downe by the learned Reineccius.

Cccc 3

Achamenes.

Achamenes, the sonne of Perses, first King of Persia. Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambyses and Atossa, who, mar-

ried to Pharnaces, King of Cappadocia, had Artyftona and other Cambyles had Cyrus the Great, Cyrus had Cambyfes who succeeded him, and Smerdis slaine by his brother

Of the second were those seuen great Princes of Persia, who having overthrowne the vsurped royaltie of the Magi, chose from among themselues Darius the sonne of Hyftajles King.

This Kingdome of Persia was first knowne by the name of Elam, so called after Elam the sonne of Sem, and the people therein inhabiting Elamita; by Elianus, Ely-

Suidas derines this Nation sometimes from Affur, sometime from Magog, of sulb.1.6.c.8.d. whom they were called Magisfai; which Magisfai, according to Eusebius, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the 20 Magior Wife men. So doe the Greekes, among many other their fayings of them, affirme. That the Persians were aunciently written Artai, and that they called themfelues Cephenes. But that they were Elamita, Moses and the Prophets, Esay, Ieremie, Ela 11.21.22. Ezechiel, Daniel, and Eldras in many places confirme: Which also S. Hierome vpon Ieremie the fine and twentieth, vpon Daniel the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew questions approucth, saying: Elam à que Elamita Principes Persidis; ELAM, of

whom were the Elamites Princes of Perlia. And that Citie which the Author of the second booke of the Macshabees calleth Perfepolis, is by the Author of the first called Elimais, but is now called Siras, being the same which Antiochiu, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in 30 vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called Siras, was not the old Persepolis; for Alexander, at the request of Thais the Harlot, burnt it. The first King of Persia to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Au-

thors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of Genesis, was Chedorlaomer, who lived with Amraphel or Winias, and iovned with him in the warre against those Arabians, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of Abraham.

G:#.10,

Gen.10.

Din.8.

€/d. 4.

2.Mac.9.

1.Mac.6.

Icre. 21. 3 29.

CHAP.

CHAP. III. Of CYRVS.

of CYRVS his name and first actions.



touching the name of Cyrus, Strabo fayth, That the same was taken from a River which watereth Persia; this great Prince having Agradatus for his proper name. But the great Cyrus was not the first of that name; Herodotus otherwife; and that Cyrus Strablis. fignifieth a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of Cyrus had any fuch fignification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That Cyrus is as much to fay as the Plutarch wit. Sunne, in the same Language. Howsocuer it be, yet the Prophet E/ay, almost two drian. hundred yeares before Cyrus was borne, giues him that name, Thus faith the Lord unto CYRV's his annointed &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, and other Prouinces thereto subicet, together with the taking of Crassus himselfe, are not recounted by Eusebius, 30 Orofius, and others, but placed among his later archicuements, whose opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that last warre against Crassis: and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victorie which Cyrus had ouer Babylon, to the fine and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might have beene vsed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honour of hauing woon B. bylon it selfe, which in due place I have answered. The later seemes to have reference to the second Warre which Cyrus made vpon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he fo established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to reuolt. 40 Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with Herodotus, whome the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of Sardis to præcede that of Babylon.

ð. 11.

Of CROESUS the King of Lydia, who made warre upon CYRVS.



Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of Crassiss, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned Lydia in more auncient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was Lydus, the sonne of Atys: Which familie extinguished, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon Argon, descended from Her-

cules, whereof there were two and twentic generations, Caundales being the laft, ho by shewing his faire wife naked to Gyges his fauorite, he was by the same Gyges

40

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day flaine. Which done, Gyges enjoyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of Lyana, and left the fame to Atys his fonne, who was father to Sadyattes, the father of Halyattes Hered, Lt. p.3, (who thrust the Cimerians out of Asia) and Halyattes begat Crufus: Which fine 4,05. Kings, of athird race, enjoyed that Kingdome an hundred and seuentic yeares. Halyattes the father of Crassus was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against Cyanares the Median, a Prince verie powerfull, and maintained it lix yeares, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions betweene them.

Allyages, the fonne of Cyanares, and grandfather to Cyrus, thought himfelfe greatly honoured by obtaining Argenic, Crafus fifter, whom he married.

But Crafus fo fare enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Agyptian, and the Lydian: onely Nabuchodonofor, after he had joyned Phanicia, Paleflina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But Crafiss, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babylonians, he yet mastred Lolis, Loris, and Ionia, Proninces possest by the Greekes in Affathe leffe, adjoyning to Lydia; gaue law to the Phrygians, Bithinians, Carians, Mylians, Paphlagonians, and other Nations. And that he also infort the Ephelians to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with Dianaes gir-Abe. 1.14 c. 17. dle, Herodotus witneffeth. Moreover, Athenaus out of Berofus (which also Strabo confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which Crafus obtained against the Sacrans, a Nation of the Serihians, in memorie whereof the Babylonians his allies did yearely celebrate a Feaft, which they called Sacaa: All which hee performed in

> And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of Cyrus fame, doubting alfo, that his profectous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to him felfe he confulted with the Oracle of Apollo, whom hee prefented with maruellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against Cyrus, if 39 he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; CROESUS passing over the River Halys, shall diffolue a great dominion. For the divell being doubtfull of the fuccesse, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruine of Perfic, or of his owne Lydia.

### CROESUS his Expedition against CYRVS.



Ereupon Crafus being refolued to stop the course of Cyrus fortunes, 40 if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by Sandanes to the contrarie, who defired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the foft filke of wormes, but with the hard skinnes of beafts;

not fed with fuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he alreadie excelled : and if by them beaten , and fubiected, fo great would his loffe appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solide Councell, Crassus having prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pterium, a Citie of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he fought by all meanes to surprife or to force, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians encamped before it . That

each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, Crassiss as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilities so was hee not under any in territoric and fame that then liued.

But as Cratippus of Mitylene answered Pompey when he complained against the Gods, because they favoured a disturber and viurper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of Crafus prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune readie to fall; and that of Cyrus but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not 10 Admetis Herdman, Apollo, had given date to the one, and a beginning of glorie to

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diuerse skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians beganne to joyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduauncement of either Nation: and as the Perssans had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, Crassis doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and with all speede possible retyred, and taking the next way into Lydia, recoursed Sardis his first Citie and Regall Scat, without any pursuite made by Cyrus to retard 30 him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting Cyrns approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiors, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of fine moneths, acquainting his Commaunders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

### d. IIII. The Conquest of Lydia by CYRVS.



CHAP.3. S.4.

YRVs in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be difcouered. But having good intelligence of Crassus his proceeding, he so measured his Marches, as he presented not himselfe before Sadis, till such time as Crassus had disposed his armie to their

Wintring garrisons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, he surrounded Sardis with his Armie: Wherein Crafus having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinarie Gards, after foureteene dayes siege the same was entred by affault, and all executed that refifted. Crafus having now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, Sardis being on all parts frongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into in command 40 the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common calamitate

fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene hebet sold fortune of the little of th dumbe all his life (by extremitie of passion and seare enabled) cried out to the soul- Com. diors to spare Crafus. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoyled of Membrian meall things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and fet on a permittithe top of a great and high heape of wood, to be confumed to ashes thereon. To citamentum. had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cryed out on his name, Solon, Solon, Solon: and being demanded what he meant by that innocation, he first vsed silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true which Solon had long 50 fince told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discerne himselfe for happie indeede,

till his end. Of which answere Cyrus being speedily informed, remembring the changes of bomine calami of which aniwere c.yras being speedby mounted, remembring the change fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commanded his ministers of Justice to with the minist fat, the minister fat ministers of m

CHAP. 2. \$.5. of the Historie of the World.

draw the fire with all diligence to faue Crafus, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, Cyrus demaunded of him, Who it was that had perfuaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the Gracian God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inverters and conductors of Crafus warre against Cyrus.

- Cyrus being pierst with Crassus answere, and bewayling his cstate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercie indeed, Qua non causam sed fortunam (bectat.

And herein is the reall difference discerned betweene that behauior which wee call Beneficium latronis, & gratiam Principis: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniuftly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by Xenophon is, That Cyrus did friendly entertaine Crafus at the first fight, not mentioning that which Herodotus deliuers, and is here alreadie set downe, that hee should have beene burnt aliue. It may well bee, that Xenophon pourtraying (in Cyrus) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent fo cruell fitter to be for otten than rehearfed, as too much misbefeeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that necreneffe of alliance might with-hold Cyrus (had he beene other- 20 wife v tious) from fo cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Morall part of the Storic hath given credit and reputation to thereport of Herodotus (as to many the like it often doth) and made it paffe for currant, though the trust reposed in Crassus afterwards may seeme to argue, that Cyrus did not vie him inhumanely at the first.

For as Herodotus himselfe telleth vs, when Cyrus past with his armic ouer Araxes into Seythia, he left Crasus to accompanie and aduise his sonne Cambyses, Gouernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of Cyrus, and didafterward follow Cimby/es into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world 30 tooke end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lycians; in Balthafar, Cyaxares, and Crafus.

### How CYRVS woon Babylon.



Fter this Lydian warre enfued the great Conquest of Babylon, which 40 gaue vnto Cyrus an Empire so large and mightie, that he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch then living vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it feemes, that tenne whole yeares did paffe betweene his ta-

king those two Cities of Sardes and Babylon, which neuerthelesse I doe not thinke to haue beene wholly occupied in prouision for the Affirian warre, but rather to haue beene spent in setling the Estate which he had alreadie purchased. And hercunto perhaps may be referred that which Ctesias hath in his fragments of a war made by Cyrus vpon the Serthians, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained against Crafus. He telleth vs, That Cyrus invaded Scythia, and being victorious over that 50 Nation, tooke Amorges their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile ouerthrowne by the wife of Amerges, Sparetha, and therein taken, the one King was delinered for the other.

Likewife it may be thought, that no fmall part of those troubles which arose in

the lower Asia, grew soone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by Grafus, and now by Cyrus, revolted from him; against whom he imploved Pactias, and then Harpagus, who first reduced the Phocians under their former obedience: and then the rest of the Greekes inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, Abdians, and Lycians, who refoluedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselues. But in the attempt vpon Babylon it selfe it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that noto thing should be able to divert him, or to rayle that siege, and make frustrate the workevpon which he did fet all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bendall his care and ftrength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beside the same and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was fo frongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters vnfoordable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their chate, but despised and derided all purpoles and power of their beliegers.

The onely hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a Citie so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and o-20 ther necessaries; whereof though the Towne was faid to be flored sufficiently for more than twentie yeares, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of peopleas dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would sooner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much trauaile, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe itraight watch and strong gards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those wals which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently affured vnto their Commaunder: The confideration whereof ministred vnto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and o- Xemph. Ore-

30 thers, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who having beene their Ped. lb.7. auncient friends and allies, were more likely to joyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vie much diligence on the behalfe of Cyrus, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of seruitude. Whilest the belieged were plealing themselues in this deceitfull gladnesse, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of fuddaine calamitie; Cyrus, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inventive, denised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to draw the same from the wals of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and affured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee stayed the time 40 of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vncut, betweene the maine river which furrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now Bulthafar, finding neither any want or weakeneffe within, nor any possibilitic of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding fumptuous feaft, publike Playes, and other Passimes, and thereto inuited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, belides his wines, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did cither to let the beliegers know, that his prouisions were sufficient, not onely for all needful! vles but euen for iolitic and excesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of 50 Bel his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (ving Daniels words) helisted himselfe up against the Lord of Heanen: For he and his Princes, wives and concubines, made carowling cuppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he prayled his owne puppets,

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(fayth S. HIEROME) drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone. While Balthafar was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he understood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement feized him, as the joynes of his loynes were loofed, and his knees fmote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his Chaldeans, Aftrologians, and Southfayers, promiting them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the 10 writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and assonishment the Queene bearing what had past, and of the Kings amasement, after reverence done yied this specell: There is a man in thy Kingdome in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and understanding and wisdome, like the wisdome of the Gods. was found in him, whom the King NABYCHODONOSOR thy father, the King (1fay) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit and knowledge and understanding &c. were found in him, even in DANIEL &c. Now let DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation,

made of Siluer and Gold, of Braffe, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, Quanta fuit stultuta

in vasibus aureis bibentes ligneos & lapideos Deos laudore; How great a fooisshnesse was it

Orie. o Theod.

This Oucene, Io/ephus takes for the grandmother; Origen and Theodoret for the mother of Balthafar; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that shee was 30 not any of the Kings wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, the came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction : and whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of Nabuchodonofor, grandfather to this Balthafar, and kept in mind both his religion and diume gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promifes of reward and honour, to reade and interprete those wordes miraculously written, to whom Daniel made answere in a farre different style from that he yied 30 towards his grandfather: for the cuill which he foretold Nabuchodono for, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these wordes, Keepe thy rewards to thy felse, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing onto the King, and shew him the interpretation: Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wifemen were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in Daziel hath Dan.5. 2.18, this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared 19,20. and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprined him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite 40 power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vies, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayled and worthipped the dead Idols of Gold Siluer, Braffe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) Mene Tekel, Vyhraisin, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That

Empire was divided and given to the Medes and Persians. The very euening or night of this day, wherein Balthafar feafted and perished, Cyrus either by his espiall, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himselfe, 50 whose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no leffe filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut

he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his

downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of Euphrates drie for the present, by whose emptie channell, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet fayth) in fleepe and wine: fuch as came in the Persians way were put to the sword, valesle they faued themselues by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streetes with an vncertaine tumult.

Such Affirian Lords as had revolted from Balthafar, and betaken themselves to the partie of Cyrus, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Pallace; which having eafily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, flew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vaine to keepe those lines which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecie of teremie fulfilled, and that of Esay two hundred yeres 70,627. before this subucrition, who in his three & fortieth Chapter and elsewhere write h Efa. 6.47. this deliruction to feelingly and linely, as if he had beene prefent both at the terrible flaughter committed, and had feene the great and vnfcared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the forrowes and bewaylings of euerie suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophecie of this place he beginneth in these words: Come downe and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c. And againe, Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daugh-20 ter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes. For though it cannot be doubted, that God vled Nabuchodonofor and the Chaldeans, to punish the idolatric of the Indaans, yet Efay teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (fayth E/ay) in the person of God, I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine in- cap. 47. heritance, and given them into thine hand: thou diddest shew them no mercie, but thou diddelt lay thy very heavie yoake upon the ancient . I will rife up against them, fayth the Isaina, Lord of Hoftes, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the fonne and To wit Enil. the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found shall be stricken through: and meredach and wholoener toyneth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in Ealthafar. 20 peeces before their eyes, their houses spoyled, and their wines ranished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victoric of Cyrus, or that received the re-

were written two hundred yeares before any thing attempted. The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by divers grave Authors fet downe, might feeme altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of Saint Hierome, Solinus, and Orofius, Ariftotle in the third of his Politikes, the fecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the Citic knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonic of

port from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the same to posteritie af-

ter it happened, than Esay hath done in manie places of his prophecies, which

40 Diodorus Siculus may be taken; who findes the compaffe thereof at three hundred Diad La. and threefcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fine and fortie miles; the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to Ctesias and Clitracus, three hundred threescore and fine foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. Strabe in the beginning of his fixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fiue and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and fine furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which Diodor reports : And so doth Curtius measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hun-50 dred cubites; which is also very much: cuerie cubite containing a foot and halfe

of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the same with Siculus, and eight furlongs more. Herodotus findes a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, foure hundred and fourescore furlongs in circle; the thick-

Her.l.t. c.13.

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neffe of the wall he measures at fiftie cubites, and the height at two hundred of the fame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braffe, with pofts and hookes to hang them on of the same mettall: and therefore did the Prophet E/ay rightly intitle Babylon The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

But when Cyrus had woon her, he stript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a flane, dividing not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his fouldiors: but beflowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves upon those that had taken possession of

their goods.

Touching the raigne of Cyrus, and the time which he enioyed in rest and plea- to fure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted onely seuen yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wife Kings, that are defirous to establish a royall power in themselves and their posteritie.

### V I. The end of CYRVS.



He last warre, and the end of this great King Cyrus, is diversly written, Herodotus and Instine deliuer, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse Cyrus inuaded the Maffagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, gouerned by Tompris their Queene: and that in an incounter betweene the Persians and these Northerne Nomades, Tompris lost her

Armie, and her Sonne Spargarifes, that commaunded it: In revenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of warre, and following the warre against cyrus, in a fecond battaile beat the Persian armie, and taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from his bodie, and cast the same into a bole of bloud, vsing these wordes; Thou that haft all thy life time thir fled for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and fati- 20 ate thy felfe.

It should hereby seeme, that Cyrus knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perfuaded to abate their furie by some forcible inuation and depopulation, because in the time of Crawares, father to Allyages, those Serthians inuaded Media and Asia the leffe, and held the same in a seruile subjection eight and twentic yeares.

This warre which Metasthenes calleth Tomprique, lasted (fayth he) fixe yeares, and tooke end at the death of Cyrus.

But in this particular I beleeue with Viginer, that this Scythian warre was rather the same which Cyrus made against the Sacians, before the Conquest of Lydia, ac- 40 cording to Ciestas before cited, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, though he deliuer the V: prim. part. fuccesse of that warre otherwise than Herodotus doth: The rather (fayth Viginer) because Strabo in his eleventh booke reciteth, That Cyrus surprised the Sacians by the same stratageme by which Instine sayth he defeated the sonne of Tompris. And the same Cteffas also reporteth, That the last warre which Cyrus made was against Amorrhaus, King of the Derbicians, a Nation (as the rest) of Scythia; whome though he ouercame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he fuffered three dayes after.

Strab. L.15.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of Pafagardes, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to bee read in his time; which is 53 faid to have beene this: O vir quicunque es & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoraui: Ezo fum Cyavs qui Persisimperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, who soeuer thou art, or whence societ

thou commest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am CYRVS that founded the Perlian Empire, doe not enuie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is couered.

This Tombe was opened by Alexander, as Qu. Curtius reporteth, either vpon o.curt. L. hope of treasure, supposed to have beene buried with him, or vpon defire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two Scythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie > lay, Alexander caused to be coursed with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be fet youn it. Thefethings well confidered, as they give credit to the reports of to Kenophon and Zonaras, so they derogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his bodic Xim pad 8. in the hands of Tomyris.

And furely, had Cyrus loft the Armie of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his some would so some have transported all his remaining forces into Agypt, fo farre off from that quarter: the Seythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had Camby/es beene able in fuch haft to have undertaken and performed fo great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleeue xenophon, saying, That Cyrus died aged and in peace : and that finding in himselfe, that hee could not long enjoy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two fonnes, Cambyfes and Smerdis; or after Xenophon, Tanaoxares: and after a long Oration, wherein he affured himfelfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule. and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deferuing of enerie man in this life; he exhorted his fonnes by the strongest arguments he had to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, > when he gouerned Sufa in Persia; and that Cyrus himselfe had read the prophecie of Elar, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the deliverie of his people) praordained. Which act of deliuering the Iewes from their Captinitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that ever Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an 30 instrument of Gods power, vsed for the chastising of many Nations, and the establiffing of a Gouernment in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heaven and earth shall perish.

### d. VII.

Of CYRYS his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.



Auing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by fundry Historians, the glorie of all which was as a reward of this his fernice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that euer hee made, after his

possession of the Balylonian Empire: That the captine Jewes should return againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, having now endured and finished the threescore and tenne yeares captinitie, by the Pro-50 phets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. He also restored vnto them fine thousand foure hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Siluer, whereof Nabuchodonofor, the grandfather of Balthafar, had formerly robbed the Temple.

Dddd 2

1.8/d.2. 2.5/d.7. Phil.in bre.

The number of the Ienes, which returned out of Chaldes under their leader Zorobabel, the sonne of Salathiel, and nephew to King Jeconius, and Jefus or Josus the fonne of Iofadak, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and factificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselues how to prepare materials for the rebuil-

of Lantain ding of the Temple.

But no fooner did the Iewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritanes and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Provinces vnder Cyrus altogether countenance the diffurbers, and in no fort fauoured the Iewes, nor the labours and purpofes they had in 10

Efd. 16.2. v.16. hand. And not onely those which were but Provinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but Cambyses himselfe; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while Cyrus was bushed otherwise, countermaunded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that what soeuer Camby ses did when himfelse had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Cyrus there was no such impediment or prohibition : They may herein refolue themselues out of Esdras, That

Efd.1.4.5.0.53. by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the Effice 41.5 time of King Cyrus life &c. And therefore it is true, that the Jewes themselves affirme, as it is written in the second of John, That the Temple was fixe and fortie yeares in fetting vp, hauing received fo many hinderances from the first foundation 10 to the second of Darius.

And if wee fecke the naturall and politique causes which moued Cambyses to withfiend his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned under him, as when himselse became sole and sourraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembred by Esdras, written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the rest, Presidents and Councellors in Phanicia, wherein they complaine, that the Iewes were enermore rebeilious and troublers of Kings, that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

E [d, 1.c, 2.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that 20 Camby[es, having it in his refolution to invade Agyps, and that it was a common opinion, That the Iewes were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence under Asoles, when they conquered Indea; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to Cambyfes Conquest, which they did to Senacherib, Wabuchodonofor, and other Kings of Babylon. For as it is written in Ezekie', Egypt was the confidence of the house of Is-

Ezek. c.29.

But it is to be understood, as Codoman and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, to whom the Councellors & Gouernors of Phonicia complained against the Ieves, did not præcede, but fucceed Darius Hystaspes, as in the fixt and seventh chapters of 40 Esdras it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclofing of the Citic, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings anfwere, it is euident.

Also in the fixt of Ezra, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and Artaxerxes written after Darius; as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Ifrach, and by the commandement of CYRVS and DARIVS, and ARTAHSHASTE King of Persia. Lastly, in the seuenteenth of Ezra it is written; Now after these things, in the raigne of ARTAH-SHASTE King of Persa: which was as much to say as after the finishing of the 50 Temple in Darius time. And therefore Artaxerxes in the second of Eldras is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of Hirrufalem. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued

by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrm. The other ordinances of Cyrus, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in Xenophon. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne Cambyses, appointing Smerdis or Tanaoxares his younger sonne to be Satrapa or Lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadufia, and then died, after he had raigned (fayth Herodotus) one and thirtie yeares, or (according to Iustine) but thirtie.

of CYRVS his issue: and whether ATOSSA were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the Same with Queene HESTER,



CHAP.3. S.8.

Y R v s had iffue two fonnes, Camby fes and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atolfa, Meroe, and Artyftons: Ctefius addeth to these, Amytis. Atofa and Meroe their brother Camby fes married; Artyftona, Darius Hystaspes obtained; so did he Atossa, Cambyses being dead: who (as

forme Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husband Dariu, and Nerves after him, to inuade Greece, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell 20 intent that Aman (whom the old translation calleth a Macadonian) had against the lewes, though the opinion of Iosephus be more probable, who findes Aman to be an Amalekite . But it is hard to be vnderstood, how Alosa, the daughter of Cyrus, should have beene Efther; whose Historic seemes rather to appertaine to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes, or of Xerxes. The defire of Atoffa to have Greece brought under the yoake of Perfit, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, Corynthians, Athenia ans, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women: Wherefore I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codoman, who vpon the necre found of the two names, 30 Atoffa and Hadaffa (by the later of which Efther was also called) makes them to haue beene one person. For though it be true, that Efther concealing her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet Codomans inference is nothing probable, that the should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certaine it is, that Esther did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Histories could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must needs have vnderstood the truth: who neverthelesse did so well know the parentage of Atoffa, that for her fake, as being daughter of

Cyrus, her sonne Xerxes was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a verie weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place,

Dddd 3

CHAP.

The estate of things from the death of Cyrvs to the Raigne of Darivs.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

the successors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of Metasthenes, who hath numbred the Persian Kings and their times as followeth.



Darius Medus, and Cyrus iointly	2	l <sup>. ,</sup>
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artanernes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	yeares.
Artanernes Mnemon.	55	ľ
s Ochus.	26	i
1. C		i

Arfes, or Arfames. Darius the last, conquered by Alexander.

To which Philo agreeth; which number of yeares added make in all an hundred ninetic and one. But in this Catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Cambyses and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Affuerus for the immediate fuccessor of Cyrus; in place (fayth Melansthon) of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes: for Metasthenes, as Melanethon conicetureth, doth not account Camby fes in the Catalogue, because his 20 raigne was confounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a fecond opinion, though ridiculous, of Seder Olam, who finds but foure Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus have also a differing account from the Greekes; whom nevertheleffe Eufebius and most of the Latines follow. And so doth Krentzheim, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this fort doe the Greekes marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their raignes.

Melansthon	Cyrus in all.	30)	40
giues C) 144 but 24.	Cambyfes, with the Magi.	<sup>*</sup> 8]	•
•	Daritus Hystaspes.	36	
Melanet.but 20	Xerxes.	21	
	Artanornes Longimanus.	40 veares.	
	Darius Nothus.	19 (	
Melanif.but 40	Artanernes Mnemon.	43	
Mielan A. 16.	Artaxernes Oshus.	23	
	Arsames.	3 1	
Melanif.4.	Darius the last.	زة	
	Which numbers put together make in all t	wo hundred and thirtie.	10

This account (as I have faid) the most Chronologers and the best learned approue. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as Pencer in his historicall Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding

of the Historie of the World. CHAP-4-5-1.

first Cyrus in the second of Chronicles, chap. 36. verf. 22, 23. Efra 1. chap. 1. verf. 1. and

Secondly, Camby ses in the 11th of Daniel who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginall Commentor you the Geneua vnderstands that place; but, under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he faith in the fame note, that Darius Hiftafpes was an enemie to the people of God, and stood against them : his great fauour and liberalitie to the tenes being elsewhere proued.

Thirdly, is Darius Histaspes found in Ezra the first, c. 4.v. 5. who in the fixth verse to is also named Ahaffuerus.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of Daniel verse the second, Xerxes is plainely foretold and described, and the great warre which hee should make against the Greekes by

Fiftly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezrathe fourth, verse seuen, who is also called Arthafafla, c. 4. I. lib. Ezrav. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. verf. 24. & cap. 5. verf. 6. Nehem. cap. 12.

Scuenthly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nehe. c. 2. v. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes ochus, and Ar/ames: for Darius the last he was of another Familie, the Line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Xerxes the sonne of Atossa, Cyrus his Daughter; and the iffue male of Cyrus failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. Eulebius with the Latines, following the Greekes, apply the beginnings and ends of euery Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad: As the war of Altyages (Cyrus his maternall Grand-father) and Alyattes (Cracfus his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus raigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The invalion of Agypt by Camby les to the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement betweene feuerall formes of computation adde the more cre-

Againe, this historicall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomicall com- protion Almag. putation of Ptolomie, who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the 12. lib.3. cap.8. of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure

hundred and foure and twentith yeare after Nabonassar. And the Era of Nabonassar beganne on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie; which conferred with the Olvmpiad, was in the nint. Moneth of the first yeare of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accompt of the Olympiads, as doe the Greeke Historians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolomie, we shall finde every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

40 For Ptolomiereckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twentie Iulian yeares, and an hundred and fortie daies from Nabonassar, to the sixteenth of Islie in the feuenth yeare of Cambyfes.

The Greekes, and namely Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Agypt by Cambyles in the second or third yeare of the threescore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyfes feuenth years in the first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of Nabonassar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of Cyrus.

Likewise the twentieth of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses, is according to Ptolo-50 mie the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of Nahonassar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassars Araand the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greekes. In this Iofephas agrees with the Greekes throughout, fauing that he joyneth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyavares, with Cyrus, in the destruction 10

\*Neither did

the Romanes

their dead ro aftes, till the

time of Sylla

Dictator, who

devoured by

that element,

Her. 13. 7 lm.1.7. 6.54

caused his owners be of Babylon, which is true, and not contrarie to the Greeke computation, but may very well fland with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearled, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordethalso with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

#### II.

# Of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of Agypt by him.



E will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persia to Cambyles, the sonne of Cyrus, though degenerate in all thinges, saving the delire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof hee was possest in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the North, Ctehis with others give him a longer raigne than agreeth with the Gre-

cian accompt before received.

In the fifth yeare of his fole raigne, and in the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, according to Diodor and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having 20 ouerthrowne the King thereof, Pfammenitus, he not only caused him to bee slaine. Heads, pages, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his

Herodotus and Ctestus give for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of Camby/es) that when he sent to Amasis King of Agypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessour, which Camby fes disdained.

Howfocuer it were; true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for fuch an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Egypt, Amasis died and lett Pfammenitus, whom Ctefius calleth Amyrtaus, his fucceffour; who in- 30 ioyed Agypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeares.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is faid that Camby fes following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernement of euer confume Egypt, and that vpon some reuolt, or the suspition thereof, hee caused him to bee flaughtered. But the race of this King was not fo extirpated, if wee may beleeve Herodoius and Thucydides, but that he left a Sonne called Inarus, who caused the Agyptian to reuolt both from Xerxes and Artaxarxes.

That Pfammenitus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Atrasis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrivall, that hee caused his body to bee drawne out of the graue, and after divers indignities vsed, commanded the same to Law called
Taisans, or like bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the for like, be-cause himselfe Egyptians vsed to powder their dead bodies with falt, and other drugges, to the had vincombed end the wormes might not deuoure them. The \*Persians durst not consume the carkaffe of them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore seared to seedeit after his death with Carrion.

53

ą. III.

#### CHAP-4. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

#### δ. III.

### The rest of CAMBYSES his acts.



Fter this victorie obtained in Agypt, Camby fes fent an Armie into Cyprus, and constrained Euelthon King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the Agyptians.

While Cambyfes yet bufied himfelfe in Egypt, he fo much detefted the Idolatrie of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with

to the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to bee torne downe and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into Lybia, to ouer-turne the Temple of Impiter Ammon; but the Deuill in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempest of Streb, or In Japiter Ammon; but the Deunt in defence of in Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Countrey is couered, as the Persians were 1.1.

Pag 37,88.

Notwithstanding which misaducnture, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disday- Har.13. Sen.1.3 ning to be refifted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-fent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements doe not obay them, according to 20 that old English prouerbe, Goe faith the King, flay faith the Tide.

After his returne from the attempt of Athiopia, hee caused Apis the Agyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be flaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in seruice of him that only is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that Smerdis did fit in the royall Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite Praxaspes, to murther Smerdis his brother. And having married his owne fifters, contrarie to the Perlian Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder upon the one of them, called Merce, then by himselfe with child, because shee bewailed the death

30 ofher brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Cambyfes, That because his Prede- Her. psg. 89.90. ceffors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he affembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marrie his owne fifter : it being his owne intent fo to doc. The Judges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answere, that there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and fo, as Nauclerus termes it, inuenerunt occasionem: That is as much to fay, as the Judges found a thift to pleafe the King, and to fecure themselues. And yet, where it con-40 cerned not the Kings private latisfaction, he caused Sisamnus one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to bee flaied a-live for an vniust judgement given, and the same his hide to bee hung vp ouer the judgement feate. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, he willed him to remember, that the same partialitie descrued the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the some of his beloued Praxalbes was very strange and vngratefull. For when he defired to bee truely informed by him what the Perlians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many observed that hee tooke more than vsuall delight in the tast of Wine. With 50 which taxation inflamed, hee yied this replication: And are the Perstans double tongued, who also rell me that I have in all thinges excelled inv Father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they have done meeright : for if at the first shot I pierce thy somes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath beene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted

true, and my subjects beleeved. This being spoken, he directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke, Camby fes commanded his bodie to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reloycing, thewed it to the Father with this faying, in stead of an Epitaph: Now PRAXASPES thou maiest resolve thy selfethat I have not lost my wits with Wine. but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous crucities hee exercifed, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became felon de foy. For when he was informed that Patizites, and Smerdis the Magi, (Cedrensis writeth them Sphendanes and Cimerdias) Ministers of his domesticall affaires, taking advantage of the great refemblance betweene to Smerdis the Kings brother, and Smerdis the Magus, possest them selves of the Empire, hee made all hast towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horse-backe, his fword dif-theathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedileffe repentance of the flaughter which hee had executed voon his owne brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when hee had raigned eight yeares, accounting therein those seuen Moneths in which the Mist goulened, while he was abfent.

In Carriby fes the Maie line of Cyrus failed. For he had no iffue either by Atolla or Zonaras com.3. Citeroe : yet Conaras Gut of Hierome gives him a Daughter called Pantaptes, and a fonne called Grenies, who being drowned in the River ophites by Antioch, the fame 10 was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called Orontes.

He built the Citic of B. bylen in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly feated, and that of Merce in the Hand of Nilw, calling it by the name of his fifter Meroe.

#### ð. 1111.

Of the inter-regnum betweene CAMBYSES and DARIVS.



Y Rvs and his two fonnes being now dead, and the Kinedomein the possession of one of the Magi, the counterfait of Smerdis, the Princes, or Satrapes, or Provinciall Governours of the Empire (to wit, Otanes, Intaphernes, Gobrias, Megabyfus, Asphatines, Hidarnes, and Darius, who were all descended from Achamenes the first Persian King,

having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprifed and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and affistants. In which action (facth Listine) Interphernes and Afphalines were flaine; but Herodotus otherwile, that they were only wounded, for he auoweth, that all the feuen Princes were 40 present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, these Princes grew into confultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. Otanes one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their libertie in equalitie, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of Camby ses; As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertic and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants do commonly vie the services of wicked men, and fauour 50 them most, they vsurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wines by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Magazinzus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all thinges

#### of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.I.

without judgment runne into bulinesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing flouds.

He therefore thought it fafelt to make election of a few, and those of the best, wifelt, and most vertuous; because it is ouer found that excellent Counsailes are ouer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third judgement, who perfuaded the creation of a King, because euen among few diuturnitie of concord is feldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforst the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, faith Darins, farre fafer to observe the Lawes of our Countrie, by which Kingly gouernement hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to Darius, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernement by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sunne-riling should first ney or bray. In the euening after this appoint- Herds. P. 100, ment was made, it is faid that Darins confulted with the Mafter of his horse Ocharas, 101. who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was refolued of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning Darius was mounted, to coucr a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the o-20 ther fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged Darius for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the feuen Princes, whereof Darius himselfe was one, that delivered the Empire from the vsurpation of the Magi, hee divided the whole into seven governments; Herodotus faith into twentie Satrapies.

## CHAP. V.

Of DARIVS the Sonne of HYSTASPES.

ò. I.

of DARIVS his Linage.



ARIVS was descended of the ancient Persian Kings, to wit, of the Achamenida, of which, Cyrusthe Great was the lineal! Successour. For in this fort Herodorus deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had Teispius, who begat Ariaramnes, who was father of Ar famnes, the father of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, furnamed Celes, the father of

Hystaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great in the warres against the Seythians, at which time Cyrus being made jelous of Darius by a dreame of his owne, caused him

CHAP.5. \$.4.

of the Historie of the World.

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He. J.1.6 3.

Pag 180 190.

Par 214 2542 De Reg. I erfar.

to be fent into Persia, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was deliuered, and made Gouernour of the Persian Magi. He afterward followed Camby fes into Agypt; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the Magi, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he \* Her pag 237. Obtained the Empire, which he the more affured to himselfe by taking two of Cyrus

Dau, hters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

Hyftalpes, according to \* Herodotus, had belides Darius these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which Darius made in Alia the leffe, Thrace, Macedon, and Greece . Atarnes, Artaphernes; and Artabanus, who difwaded Kernes from the fecond Gracian warre. Hyfa pes had also a Daughter married to Gobry as the Fa- 10 ther of Marcenius, who commanded the Armie of Darius in Macedon, and married 286, the Daughter of Darius, Artozostre his Colen germaine.

Reineccius giues to Hystaspes fine sonnes, Darius who succeeded Cambyses, Artabanus, Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two daughters.

Of DARIVS his government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.



ARIVS deuised equall lawes whereby all his subjects might beegouerned, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gaue accesse to all his fubicets, and behaued him felfe fo mildly to all men that many Nations desired and offered themselues to become his Vasfalls: Only hee laied divers paiments and taxes on the people, which had

not been accustomed in Cyrus time, to the valew of foureteene thousand fine hundred and threefcore talents, faith Herodotus.

The warre which Cambyles made a farre off in Leypt, and the contention betweene the Magi, and the Princes of Persia, for the Empire, gaue heart to the Bibylomians to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the Persian yoke, whereof Darius be- 10 ing aduertifed, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult works, he yied the service of Zopirus, who for the louche bare Darius, did cut off his owne Eares and Nofe, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flie to the Babylonians for succour, to whom he accused the crueltie of Darius: who, for having given him advice to give over the fiege of their - Citie, had in this fort difmembred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gaue him that credit as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces; which when Zopirus had obtained, after some small colourable ouer-throwes given to the Persians vpon sallies, hee delivered the Citic into Darius his handes, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

Her.l.3.

ð. III.

Of DARIVS his favour to the Iewes in building the Temple.



M the second yeare of Darius, hee gave order that the building of the Temple at Hierufalem should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuennues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernours of those Provinces which are 50 situate betweene Euphrates, and the Phanician, and midland Sea,

(whom Exra calleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindred the worke in Cambyfes his time, Darius gaue commandement that they should not thence-forth come neare vnto Ierusalem, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old Latine it is written, procul recedite ab illis; With-draw your selucs farre from them; In our English, Be yee farre from thence, to wit, from the Citic, and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subjects, That who socuer Est. 6.11. should thence forth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put to their hands to alter. and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, Go. In foure yeares after which decree (the Jewes being really furnished with money and all thinges necessarie from Darius) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the fixth yeare of Darins Hystaspes, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne. Ex. 6.

Of DARIVS his Scythian Warre.



Fter the recouerie of Babylon hee inuaded the Soythians, whose King Holla. Iustine calleth Lauthinus; and faith, that Darius vnder-tooke this warre 14st. 12. against him, because heerefused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into Scythia, hee built a Bridge of small

Vessells ouer the River Ister or Danubius, and gave the custodie of the fame in charge (among others of Asia the leffe) to the Ionians and Aolians, among whom was Miltiades, who perswaded the Asian Gracians to breake downe the bridge, to the end Darius might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was relisted by Hiftieus Prince of Milet, . a Citie of Ionia, which Nation being a Colonie of the Greekes, Diodorus calleth Traitors to their Countrie, because they in yned themselves to Darius. But the Seythians Died.l.t.

30 more elegantly termed them good flaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could have beene defired. For the great Armie of Darius entring the defart Countrie called Beffarabia, found in it neither people to refift them, nor any fustenance to relieue them. For the Soythians were then, as are the Chrim Tartars, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grasiers, driving their Heards from one place to another as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wines and children. These Wag-40 gons they place at enery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great Chrim, any other Citie than such an Agora, -(as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore Darius had wearied himselfe, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victualls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might gricue his enemies; he beganne to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a badde game, he fent braue messages to the Scythian, bidding him to cease his flight, and ei-50 ther to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire meanes, and become his Subject giuing him Earth and Water, which the Persians vsed to demand as a signe that all

was veelded vnto them. To this challenge the Scrthian returned an Hieroglyphicall answere; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and fine Arrowes: which dumb shew

Ezra.c.6.

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Dariss interpreting by his owne wish, thought that hee did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures liue, and his weapons withall into his handes. But Gobryas one of the feuen Princes who had flaine the Magi, construed their meaning a-right, which was thus; O yee Persians, get yee wings like Birds, or dine under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for elle yee Shall not escape our arrowes. And this interpretation was soone verified by the Seythians themselves, who assauled the Persian camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continual Alarums day and night, were so fearclesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and euen in his fight, they did not for beare the pastime of courling a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnessed to theirs Darius was so discouraged that he for sooke his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ficke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the River 1ster. Hee was pursued hardly by the Seythians, who mist him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the lonians to depart, affuring them that the Persian King should never more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which wordes had certainely beene proued true, had not Hyflians the Milesian prevailed with his per ple, to attend the comming of Darins, whom the Scythians did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from Isterto fecke him out.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian



ARIVS having thus escaped out of Scythia, determined the invasion of Thrace and Macedon, in which Warre hee imployed Megabajus, who mastered the Paronians, and transplanted them, and possess Perinthus, Chalcedon, Bizantium, and other places, being also soone after

thus, Chalteelon, Bicantium, and other piaces, company the fonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30 fubiceled, and 30 fubiceled Sysamnes whom Cambyses had excoriated for falle judgement. So were the Cities of Selybria and a Cardia likewise taken in for the Persian, who having now reduced Circuit imase vnder his obeyfance the bell part of Thrace, did fend his Embassadours to Aminia. to the South of Continuous of Macedon adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the South a Ca daga crie raignetic ouer that Kingdome. Amintas doubting his ownestrength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle wordes, and afterward inuiting them to a solemne and magnificent feast, the Persians greatly defired that the Macedonian Ladies might bee present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lascinious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as A'exan- 49 der the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to Alexander the Great, difdaining the Persians barbarous presumption, befought his father to with-draw himselfe from the affembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadours, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promifing their speedie returne. This being obtained, Alexander caused the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselues in the same garments, and to vie the same attires which the Ladies had worne at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the Persians offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after given by D4-50 rius for a seucre reuenge of this murder. But Alexander somewhat before the death of Amintas, gaue his lifter Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principall Commander of Tarius forces on that fide, who perswading her hulband how helpfull the Alliance of Macedon would proue for the invalion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexan-

Her 1.5. Theare, afterword taliman

CHAP.5. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

der escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very suddenly; the warre of Afathe leffe, called tonick, falling out at the fame time.

8. VI.

The first occasion of the Warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with a rehear (all of the government in Athens, whence the anarrell grew.

Ow the better to understand the reason and motiues of that great Warre, which followed foone after, betweene the Persians and Gr.ecians, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which Citie indured the hardest and worst brunt of Darius invasion on that fide the Sea with admirable fuccesse. Neither doe I hold it

any impertinencie, to be large in vnfolding enery circumstance of so great a busineffe, as gaue fire to those warres, which neuer could be throughly quenched, untill in the ruine of this great Persian Monarchie, Persepolis the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an Athenian Harlot confumed with a slame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the Persians had raised in Athens.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how Albens, and other parts of Greece, were anciently gouerned, the same being alreadie set downe, though scatteringly, and in severall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrents of the Eailerne Emperors, and the Kings of Judea; fo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember agains the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the Lacedamonians they maintained still their ancient policie under Kings, though these also after some fifteene descents bridled by the Ephori.

Codrus King of the Athenians in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the fafetie of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthie to fucceede him) they changed their former gouernement from Mo-30 narchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which Medon the sonne of Coarus was the first, after whom they were called Medontida; and of these there were twelve Generations belides Meden, to wit.

Archippus, in whose times the Greekes transported themselves into Ionia, after Troy an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to Eusebius: which migration all other Chronologers (fuch as follow Eufebius herein excepted) find in the yeare after Troy fallen one hundred and fortic.

Ther lippus. Phorbies.

Mezades.

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Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gaue lawes to the Spartans.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the Asyrian Empire was ouer-throwne by Belochus, and Arbaces.

Agamnestor.

Æschylus, in whose time the Ephori (according to Eusebius) were ere-

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the Athenians ele-&cd Decennall Gouernours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and fixteene yeares. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeares, or the first Archon, was

Charops, then Æsymedes.

Eccc 2

Elydicus.

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Pauf.pag.159.

Elydicus. Hippomenes. Leocrates.

Absander. Erixias, was the last Archon of the decennal Gouernors, which forme con-

tinuing threefcore and ten yeares, was then changed into annuall Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which Theleus was the first. according to Paufanias : others finde Leoftratus; and then Anthosthenes.

Dionif.l.3. Archimedes. Paul.p.169. Miltiades. Paufan 170. Damasias. Pag.531.

Drace. Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the leffe to bee regarded, by reason of the

This Solon being a man of excellent wisedome, gaue lawes to the Athenians, which were published according to Gellius, in the three and thirtieth yeare of Tarquinius Priscus, and were in after-ages derined vito the Romanes, and by the Desem-viri (Magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into twelve Ta- 10 bles, which were the ground of the Romane lawes. But these goodly ordinances of Solon, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practife and maintenance of a popular gouernement; the estate of Athens was very soone changed into a Monarchie by Pisse fratus the sonne of Euppocrates: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions whereof Alegacles and Lyeurgus two Citizens of noble Families were becomethe heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plaufible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to have 30 beene flaine for his loue to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of Athens, hee made himselse Lord of the Towne; Hegessstratus being then Gouernour. Butthe Citizens who in enery change of gouernement had fought to remoue themselues further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of Pifffratus, that he was driven for lack of helpe to fliethe Towne, as soone as Megacles and Lycargus joyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyrannie founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; fo was it foone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when Megales found the power of Lyargus to grow 40 greater than his owne, he did (as is the viuall practife of the weaker fide) call in the common enemie Fisitratus, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Familie of the Alemaonida, whereof Megales was chiefe, became very powerfull, vet fo that Pifffratus by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the Alemsonids, and especially Megasles being incenfed against Pifistratus for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their Wintercore they practice with the confidence of the 1 owner, proceeding their intent, perceined no other remedie for his affaires than to with-draw himfelfe to Eretria, where hee remained eleuen yeares. Which time being expired, having hired 50 Souldiers out of many parts of Greece, hee againe recoursed the principalitie of Athens: after which third obtaining his effate, hee gouerned Athens seuentcene Heracula apid veares, according to Ariffolle, and raigned in all thirtie and three yeares, faith Elianus, but as Instine hath it foure and thirtie, accounting the time belike as well

Her.l 13! Atclane, by Stephanus Erotria. Pol.5. Heraelid. apud

40 vrgent.

before as after his feuerall expulsions. Herodotus gives the Fatherand the Sonne Ho. 16. like and thirtie yeares; Ariflot e fine and thirtie. But Thursdides affirmeth, that Thurid 1.6.10 hee died very old, leaving for his Successiours his two Sonnes Hippins and Hippar.

CHAP.5. S.7.

of the Historie of the World.

chus, who gouerned the Athenians with fuch moderation, as they rather feemed the Lineall successours of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and fome three yeares before Hippias was expelled out of Athens, his brother Hipparchus was murdered by Harmodius and Ariftogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thueidides hath written at large. And though Hipparchus were charged with vnnaturall luft after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled 10 Hopparchus, doth greatly magnific him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as

many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that fcandall. Hippias fearing that this enterprise vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of Harmodius and Aristogiton; by a Harlot of theirs called Lemnia: who because shee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her ownetongue. Then did Hippias, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a firait amitie with Antides, Tyrant of the Citic Lamplacus, whom hee knew to bee Lamplacus acie

greatly fauoured by Darius, to whose Sonne Hipochus hee gaue one of his Daugh- woof safety ters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting pen the Helle 20 I know not what strong practise against himselfe, hee beganne to viethe Citizens Harks, with great seucritic, which neither Pififrains the Father, nor Hippins himselfe had Thuidis. euer exercifed during their vsurpations till this time. And therefore the Ashenians fearing least that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in Hippist, they flirred vp Clistines one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuerie: who calling to his affiftance the banished Alemenida, together with an Armic of the Lacedemonians, ledde by Cleomenes their King, fo affrighted Hippias, as by composition bee gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of Aibens, and from thence imbarking himselfe tooke land at \* Sigeum, whence hee went to Lampfacus \* Citema pro-

in Mysia gouerned by £antides, who presented him to Darius. Hee was deprimented on 20 ued of his chate, as Herodotus and Thusidides agree, twentie yeares before place to the life of tendos, the battle of Marathon : all which time he continued, partly with Lantides, at which drift is other times with Actaphernes Lieutenant for Darius in Sardis, the Metropolis of Animal, calls Lydia; perswading and practising the enterprise vpon Athens, which Darius in the premontethe end to his great dilhonour vnder-tooke, twentie yeares after Hippias had religned his estate.

Thus farre I have digressed from Darius, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that Hippias had to bee restored to Athens by the helpe of Darius, which made him solicite and perswade the Persians to conquer Greece, was one; but not the most

d. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betweene Greece and Perfu.

Nother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the Ionick warre, breaking out in Asia about the same time. The Colonies transported out of Greece in Asia, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their libertie about fine hundred yeares, even from

the Ionick migration, to the time of Crass, were by this Lydian King made Tributaries, and afterwards, as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

Cyrus, and left as hereditarie Scruants to the Crowne of Perlia. But as it is the custome of all Nations halfe conquered (witnesse Ireland) to rebellagaine vpon euery aduantage and opportunitie: fo did the Ionians, and other Gracians, both in Cyrus his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free

At this time they found such men readie to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the Persian beene given vnto them for bridles, to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the Perlian, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, Darius being in great extremitie, they vsed all meanes to deliver him and his Armie (that otherwise had beene loft) out of the Soythians hand. Of this great peece of service Hisliam the Tyrant of Myletm expected the chiefe thankes, as having beene chiefe Author of their expecting Darius, when the rest, either perswaded by the Seythians, or carried away with their owne desires, were readie to have abandoned him. But it came so to passe that Darius being more fearefull of the harme that Hiftieus (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had alreadie received at his hand, found meanes to carrie him a-long to Sufa, where hee detayned him with all kinde viage of a friend, yet kept fuch good espiall vpon him, as an enemie, 20 hee could not flart away. Hiftiam had fubtiltie enough to discouer the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territorie, than to fit and feast at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was menaged; being himfelfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pacifie which if he might be fent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either 30 fatisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resoluing upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to Aristagoras his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at Miletus, aduifing him to ftirre vp fome Rebellion. These directions came feafonably to Ariflagoras, who having failed in an enterprife vpon the Isle of Navos, through the faile dealing of a Persian his Associate, stood in feare of difgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the

Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counfaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrie of Ionia into the same course, which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannie, and did fet Miletus at libertie. This plaufible beginning wanne 40 vnto him the hearts of the Milesians: and his proceeding with other Ionian Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and fold as flaues to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to bee at his command. The Persian fleet, whereof hee lately had beene Admirall in the enterprise of Maxos, hee had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines; fo that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asia would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his affistants to peeces, valesse that he were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the Ionians alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a journey to Sparta, where having affaied in vaine 50 with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie talents, to win to his partie Cleomenes King of the Lacedamonians: hee went from thence to Athens, and with better succoffe befought the people to lend him their affistance. The Athenian Embassadors which had beene fent to the Persian Kings Lieutenants in the lower Asia, defiring

them not to give countenance to Hippins, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answeres, having found verie churlish entertainement. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelyhood from the Persian, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their confanguinitie with the Ionians, and the persuasions of Aristagoras, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie thippes the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the Erstrians added fine more, in regard of ancient kindnesse that had passed betweene the lonians and them. With these and their owne forces joyned, the Ionians entred the River Caiffrus, which falleth into to the Sea by Ephefus: by which advantage they surprised Sardis when no enemie was heard of or suspected; infomuch, as Artaphernes, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of fafetie, than by retreating himfelfe into the Castle, which the Gracians could not force: from whence he beheld the flaughter of the Citizens. and the Citie flaming.

The Persians at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recouered the Market place, strengthened by the River Pactolus, which ranne through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well aduiting themselves, made all the hast they could toward the Sea side . But Artaphernes having gathered all the 20 strength he could, pursued the Gracians, and found them neere Ephelius; where set-

ting resolucedly vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest sauing themselves in Ephesus. In this fight Engleides, Captaine of the Eratrians, perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet Simonides preserved. After this ouerthrow, the Athenians, which were fent to Ariftagoras and to the Ismians, could by no arguments of theirs, no, not by their teares, be perfuaded to make

any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

CHAP.5. \$.7.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noyfe in the world, than the good fucceffe which the Persians had in one or two skirmilhes, could rayle. Wherefore the Ionians brauely proceeding, woon a great part of Caria; and fending their Fleet into go the Hellespont, got Bizantium and other Townes into their hands . Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the Ionians, who were able to give them aid by fea, rebelled against the Persians.

These newes comming to the care of Darius, filled him with great indignation. and with an extreame hatred of the Athenians, upon whome hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the infligation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had affoorded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the 40 Warre commenced by Darius, and purfued by Xerxes against Athens: To which, the folicitation of Hipping, before remembred, gaue onely fome forme and affiftance: the bufineffe, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like youngh to have proceeded, though he had perished ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of Darius against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the Greekes; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour : the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furnish out a Nauie of three hundred and sixtic sayle against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any seare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at Sardis, was but

50 by surprise In cuerie fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all their auncient Captaines. In one fea-fight by the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the upper hand; but they were Phanicians, Agyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquilhed: neither was that victorie of any vie to them; the Cyprians, in whose aid they came,

being vtterly beaten by the Perfian Armie at Land, and reduced into their old fub-

jection. So had the Perfians likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne

the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered

the Townes upon Hellefont, with some Eolian and Ionian Cities: when Ariflagoras

with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, defirous to feat himselfe in Amphi-

pois, a Colonie of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territorie belike hee landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troupes in pieces.

About the same time, Hiftieus the first mouer of this insurrection came downeinto those quarters; who having vndertaken the performance of great matters to

Darius, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double-dealing was 10

But this cuasion preserved him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, least the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would have done, by the buriall which he commaunded to be given to his dead bodie that was crucified, and by his heavie taking of his death.

Histian had fought to put himselfe into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselues, without his helpe. The firength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withflood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet which promifed vnto them the libertie of 20 an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Navie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forfaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse slight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being affaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens flaine, their wives and children made flaves, and their goods a bootie to the Persians, whome for fixe yeares space they had put to so much trouble.

#### d. VIII.

The Warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON, and DARIVS his death.

Herod.lib 6. Whether this Cittie or People were derers, & next the enemie. likely to comcound than the reft faire

His warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe fide with variable fuccesse: Darius obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the Athenians and Eritreans, who jointly make the warre but against time. Attenuars and with auto, now by 40 affisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia, did now by 40 affisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia, did now by 40 affisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia, and in Lydia his embassadours demaund an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, some of them not so well resolued as the rest, submitted themselves; as the Eginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed (by the affishance of the Laced emonians ) after divers encounters forft them to give pledges, and to relinquish and Marrow; the partie of the Persians. Cleomenes led the Lacedamonians in this warre, and caused but those bor his companion-King Demantus to be deposed: who thereupon fled to Darius, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civile warres among the Greekes. He therefore gaue order to Hippagoras to prepare a Fleet of thippes fit to transport his Armie over the Hellesport: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Ar- 50 mie he committed to Datis, accompanied and affisted by Hippias, the sonne of Pisse firatus, expelled out of Athens twentie yeares before, and by Ataphernes his brother, um, not farre Gouernour of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the lesse. These Commaunders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side, imbarked themselues in six

CHAP.5. S. 8. of the Historie of the World.

hundred Gailies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called Cjelades, which lay in the mid-way betweene Afathe leffe, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the Agean Sea; but on the contrarie they might alwayes both relieue themselues in their pallage, and shrowd themselues from all studdaine tempests and

To this end they first possess themselves of Samos, secondly they attempted Naxos: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which Apollo was natine: Which Island Dariss did not 10 onely forbeare to facke, but recalling the inhabitants, begaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to Ajollo creeted. And having recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubera: for that Citic 10 Horad. (asalreadie hath beene shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Persians tooke ground, and besieged Eretria verie straitly, and after fixe dayes affault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus and Philagius, they tooke it, fackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Eubers the Persians past their Armie into Actice, conducted and guided by Hippias, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea, where 20 they landed towards Athens.

The Athenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to cast lots for their libertie, for their wines, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make reliflance, and withall fent away with speed to the Lacedamonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one Phidippides; who passing through Arcadia, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be Pan, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victorie, promising that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to affift them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. Phidippides at his returne seeing he could not bring with him any present succours 30 from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promife of affistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue beene more stirred vp with tond Prophecies and other like superiti-

tious fooleries, than by any just cause or solide reason. The Athenians being now left to themselues, with one thousand onely of the Plat.cans (who having beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremitie witnesse their thankefulnesse and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the wals of Athens, or to put themselues into the field with fuch forces as they had, the fame confifting of tenne thousand Athenians, 40 and one thousand of the Plateans. In the end, and after great diversitie of opinions, Militades, who perfuaded the triall by battaile, preuailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into

three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the bodie of a battaile. The Perstans, when they perceived so small a Troope advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposses of their understanding, than posses with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and resistlesse the Perstans effected their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victorie being doubtfully ballanced for a while, fometime the vertue of the Greei-

50 ans, and sometimes the number of the Persians prevailing, the Gracians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of Darius were disordered and put in ront; the Athenians following their victorie euen to the Sca-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, faued themselues in their shippes.

The

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The Persian Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse, of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of

the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called Panci terrores, or by some o-

ther affright, it seemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemie, and loft that number, by Herodotus let downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for Infines report, That two hundred thousand of the Persian Armic were slaine, the fame hath no apparance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight Hippins the persuader of the enterptile was flaine, fayth Iustine and Cicero; but Suidas tels vs, That he efca- 10

The greatest honor of this victorie was cast upon Militades, who both persuaded

the triall by battaile, and behaued him felfetherein answerably to the counsell which

he gaue. Themistocles had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of

the first beard. Those of the Gracians, of marke and commaundement, that fell in

CHAP. VI. Of XERXES.

The preparation of XERXES against Greece.

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RXES received from his father, as hereditarie, double Warre; one to be made against the Agrptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Grecians; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the fucceffe ridiculous. In the confultation for the profecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly commaunded in Thrace and Mace lan,

under Darius, and had also Hyfraspes for his grandfather, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes his fifter A tozostres, persuaded by many arguments the Europeus warre. But Artabanus, brother to the late Darius, and vncle to Xerxes, maintained the contrarie counsell, laying before Xerxes the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late invalions, which Darius had made contrarie to his counfell: The one in person vpon the Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the Greekes; in each of which Darius left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

He therefore befought Xerxes to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselse in this businesse. For what socuer undertaking hath deliberate and found counfell for conductor, though the fuccesse doe not alwayes answere the probabilitie, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of her owne nature, which only the druine Prouidence and not any humane power, can constraine.

But so obstinate was the resolution of Aerxes in prosecution of his former intent, that Artabanus, whether terrified by Vilions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) affisted the Gracian Expedition with all the An power he had.

After the Warre of Agypt was ended, foure yeares were confumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inualion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the Persian Empire, consisted of seventeene hundred thousand foot, Mar. 17. and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for -Carriage, if we may believe Herodotus: for of this multitude, Trogus findes the number leffe by feuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commaunders of the feuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of Persia, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commaundements of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of 50 their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on Mardonius, the sonne of Gobryasby a lifter of Darius, to whom were joyned some others of Aernes his neerest kindred, as Generals ouer all; fauing that the charge of tenne thousand select Perfians, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

Ad Att.

the first encounter, were Callimachus and Steileus. It is also said, That Cynegyrus following the Persians to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprised, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threescore and 20 twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by Coriolanus against his

ped and died most miserably in Lemnos.

fellow-Romanes: Alexander the sonne of Amintus being then King of Macedon, and Phenippus then Gouernour of Athens, according to Plutarch; or Hybilides, after

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the leffer Asia, Militades sought and obtained an imployment against the Ilanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and paffing ouer his Companies in threescore and tenne Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes affault he brake his thigh, in feeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forget- 30 ting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perfuation of Xuntippus, the father of Pericles (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weake and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his cleate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better fort to each other, with their private Factions, affilted by the vnthankfull and witleffe people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation to base subjection and slauerie. Militades left behind him one some called Cymon, begotten on Hegisipila, daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who (fayth Platareh) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to 40 Themistoc'es in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good go-

Now Darres taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than forrow for the losse received in Greess, gaue order for new leuies of men, and all other warlike prouisions. But the Azyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinualion of Greece. The differtion also among his sonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as Aiossa, disdained to give place to his elder brother, borne before Darius obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations 50 and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his auncestors, about a yeare after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had raigned fixe and thirtie yeres. He left behind him fiue sonnes, namely Artabasanes, born before he obtained the kingdome, Xerxes who succeeded him, Achemenes gouernor of Agypt, Masistes and Anabignes.

or well flaine, there was another prefently chosen in his stead) was given to Hydries; the eightic thousand horsemen were led by the some sof Datis, who commanded the late Armic of Datis in Greece.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, surnished by the Phamistuss, who had Commaunders of their owne Nation, and by the Cypriotic, Chitains, Paphilians, Lyzians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Æbians, and Hellespoinins; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commaunded by the Princes of Payin, as by Ariabigues the sone of Davius, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transfortation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies surnished by Artemisa, the daughter of Lygdames, Princesse of Halycarasssum, and the slands adioyning, which her selfe commaunded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which Xexes himselse was imbarked.

#### ð. I I.

XERNES Armic entertained by PYTHIVS: His cutting off Mount Atho; from the Continent: his bridge of Bostes oner the Helespont: and the discourse between him and ARTABANYS upon the view of his Armic.



Hen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded to make their Rendez-vous and repaire at Surdii in Lydis. And when hee had assembled to the number of seuenteene hundred thousand soot, as he entred the bodie of Celanus, he was by one Pythius the Lydian entertained, who out

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of his Flockes and Heards of Cattell gaue food to Xerxes and his whole Armie. The Feathended, he allo prefented him with two thousand Talents of Siluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the Persian Daries, which make so many of our markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberalitie of Pythius, did not only refule his treasure offered, but commaunded that seven thousand Duris should be given him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, to many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when Pythius belought him to spare one of his sine sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselse was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) Nerves most barbarously caused the young man, for whome his father sought exemption, to be fundered into two parts, commaunding, that the one halfe of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea fide. The one was a paffage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount Athos, making the fame (with the halfe filland or Headland, whereon it flood) to be an entire Illand, fundring thereby from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, befides the Mountaine and the Charfone-(wwo reckeef Land it felfe: a worke of more oftentation than of v(x, and yet an enterprife of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to paffe in from. The Cities fo feuered from the maine, were Dion, Olephysus, Assothoon, Thyfius, and Clovas.

He alfogane order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the Hellssport 50 between Abidus and Seslas, the Sea there having a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the shifthing, was by a Tempest torne assunder and disserted; wherewith Xerxes being more enraged than discouraged, commaunded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred threefcore and

foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and indufric of the Phaneams was fo weil anchored to relift both windes blowing into and from the Easiam Sea, as the fame being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armic of feuenteene hundred thou fand foot, and four efcore thou fand Horfe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, palt were it into Europe in feuen daies and feuen nights, without intermiffion. This transfortation of Armies did Cafar afterward vie. And Caligula that mad Emperour, in imitation of Arexes his Bridge, did hall the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea side, Xerxes tooke 10 a view of all his Troupes affembled in the Plaines of Abians, being carried up and feated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happineffe, to behold and commaund so many Nations, and fo powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he fuddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one furnine of that maruellous multitude: the cause of which fudden change of passion when he vttered to Artabanus his vncle, Artabanus spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes given vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that cuer found himfelfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death than of living the incident calamities, discases, and sorrowes whereto mankind is subject, being so many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest but in desired death

With this melancholie discourse Xerxes being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus not to ouer-cast those joyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that Artabanus vtterly condemned the 30 inuation of Greece, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good fucceffe? Artabanus notwithstanding that he affured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yethe told the King, That there were two things which maruelloufly affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduerse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: infomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all 40 the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Hauens thereof affoord them any fafetie: and therefore when fuch thelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremitie men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemie, by how much the vnfatiate defire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward : for were there no man found to give relitance, yet the want of meanes to feed fuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be preuented, will without any other violence offered disinable and confume it. By these Arguments Artabanus hoped to have diverted Aernes, not during perchance 50 to veter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Caurions were exceeding weightie, if Aerxes his obstinacie had not misprised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince prefuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnLib. 3.

derfianding. Such was the enterprise of Philip the second vpon England in the yeare 1588, who had belike neuer heard of this Counfell of Artabanus to Nerves.

The third Booke of the first part CHAP. 6. 8.2.

Now concerning the fecond point, it was very likely, that Xernes his Armie, which could not have leffe in it than two millions of Soules, belides his beafts for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing Machianels words, Mourne lans confice; die without a knife. For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, frait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (belides what ferued themselves) for twentic hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall 10 what soener they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleeve Herodotus, the Armie of Aerxes, being reviewed at Thermopyla, confifted of five millions. \* two hundred eightic three thousand two hundred twentie men, besides Laundresfes, Harlots, and Horfes, and was therefore likely to endure a speedie famine.

The effect of Aernes his answere was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that who focuer should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, hee should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation; which if his predecesfors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatnesse, or posfest so many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did, and therefore concluded, 20 That great enterprises were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which resolution of Xerxes was not to be condemned, if any necessitie had enforst him to that warre. But feeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commaunded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperitie of the Persians endured, and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the reft of Nerves Dominions (of whose resolution his father Darius had made a deere experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation, and the fuccesse and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owner judgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of Thrace 30 and Atseedon) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the Greekes by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and refolution, whome he conducted. For it is wifely faid of those vncountable multitudes: T Non vires habent sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in force, and rather a luggage than an aid.

Belides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Armie, so the divers Nations, speaking divers Languages, bred the same confusion among the Perfian Commaunders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if Xerxes had of his fiue millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiors in each, and sent them yearely into 40 Greece well victualled and furnished, he had either preuailed by the sword, or forst them to for fake their territoric, or brought them in obedience by necessitic and famine, which cannot be refifted. But while Xerves refolued to cut downe the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceined both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the Greekes, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into Alia. A great part of his Armie was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintred in Theffalie, and led by Mardonius, who perfuaded the Enterprise, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himfelfe flaine.

# ð. III.

#### d. III.

#### Of the fights at Thermopyla and Artemisium.



Fter fuch time as Xernes had transported his Armie ouer the Hellefont, and landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage alongst that Coast, and how the River of Liffus was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to Piffyrus by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) I will speake of the encoun-

to ters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received : As first at Thermopyla, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which divide The false from Greece, where fometime the Phocians had rayled a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance Leonidas, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedemonians, affifted with one thousand Tegenta and Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponnessans, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seven hundred Thelbians, and all the forces (fuch as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the paffage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the Persians. The valour of the 30 Greekes appeared to excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight Xerxes is faid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had vtterly despifed; and when the fecond dayes attempt upon the Greekes had proued vaine, hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might have continued. had not a run-agate Grecian taught him a fecret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of Mountaines, and set vpon the backes of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greekes, then did Leonidas, King of the Lacedamonians, with his three hundred, and seuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, 20 refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely relift that world of men which charged them on all fides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that X they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. Xerxes having loft in this laft fight, together with twentie thousand other Souldiors and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of fuch as had not beene prefent at thefe battailes, with whome he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he flood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which canfed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring 40 into the field. It is reported of Dieneces the Spartan, That when one thought to haue terrified him by faying, That the flight of the Persian Arrowes was so thicke x as would hide the Sunne; he answered thus: It is very good newes, for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely beene expressed in deedes, as it was vttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of Sparta could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other Laced emonians, though inferiour to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counfell of Demaratus, a banished King of the Spartans, who had alwayes well aduised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course 50 were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, That all the Land-forces would affemble together to defend the *Ifihmus*, that ftraight necke of ground which joyneth Peloponne fus to the Continent. For which cause he aduised. That three hundred shippes well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of Laconia, to spoyle the Countrey, and to hold the Lacedamonians and their

neighbours builed at home, whileft Acres at his leafure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining deflitute of fuecour would be too weak alone to make relistance. To this purpose also the same Lemuratus further aduifed, that the faid fleet of three hundred thips should feife upon the Iland then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying necre to the Coast of Laconia, might serue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions either of their owne defence or endamaging the enemie: whereby that auncient speech of Chilon the Lacedemonian should be verified, that it were better for his Countrie-men to haue that lledrowned in the Scathan stand so inconveniently as for themit did. What esteet this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not calle to guesse. Euta 10 contrarie opinion of Achemenes brother to King Nerves was preferred as the lafer. For the Persian fleet had bin forely vexed with a grieuous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were loft upon the coast of Magnesia four chundred thips of warre, belides other vestels innumerable, accordingly as artakanus had foreseene, that if any such calamitic should ouertake them, there would not be sound any Fiarbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore Achamenes perswaded his brother not to disperse his sleete; for if (said he) after the losse of sourch undred shippes wee shall send away other three hundred to seeke aduentures, then will the Greeke be strong enough by Scato encounter the rest of the Nauic, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counfell xerxes yeelded, hoping that his Land-armic 20 and fleete should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the fame time that his armie had felt the valour of the Greekes by Land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The Grecian fleete lay at that time at Artemifium in the straits of Eubara, where the Persians thinking to incompasse them, sent two hundred faile about the sland to fall upon them behinde, vling a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against Leonidas in a case not vnlike, but with farredifferent successe. For that narrow channell of the Sea which divideth Eubas from the maine was in the same fort held by a Navie of two hundred three score and eleuen faile against the huge Persian Armsda, as the straits of 30 Thermopy is had formerly beene maintained by Leonidas, till he was so circumuented as this Nauie might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred shippes that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voiage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleete, and soone enough disclosed to the Greeker, who setting faile by night met them with a counter-furprife, taking and finking thirtie veffels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather they were driven vpon the rocks and all calt away. Contrariewife the Nauie of the Greeks was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three Athenian thips, and one Lemnian which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces incouraged the one side: so the feare of Aerxes his displeasure stirred up the other to redeeme their losse with 40 some notable exploit. Wherefore setting alide their unfortunate pollicie, they refolured in plaine light to repaire their honour, and cashing themselues into the forme of a Crefcent, thought so to inclose the Greekes, who readily did present them battell

The fight indured from noone till night, and ended with equall loffe to both parts. For though more of the Persians shippes were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether as heauic vpon the Greeks fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein onely the Barbarians may feeme to haue had the worfe, that they forfooke the place of fight, leauing the wracke and spoiles to the enemie, who neuerthelesse were faine to abandon presently even the passage which they had vn-50 derraken to defend, both for that many of their ships were forely crusht in the battille, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of Leoni-Les at Thermopyle. Before they waied anchors, Themistocles generall of the Albenians engraned upon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either

they should revolt vnto the Greekes or stand neutrall; which perswation the hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the

#### d. IIII.

Theattempt of XERXES upon APOLLO's temple: and his taking of Athens.

CHAP. 6. S.4.

Hen Xerxes had paffed the straites of Thermopyla he wasted the Country of the Phocians and the regions adjoining: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flie, and reserve themselves to a day of battaile, than to aduenture their lines into his hands, upon hope of fauing their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their feruice. Part of his ar-

mie he sent to spoile the Temple of Delphi; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there been made by divers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better Inventorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great altonishment that fell vpon the companies which arised at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two 20 Rockes that breaking from the mount Parnassus overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peraduenture somewhat superstitious. Yet Herodotus, who lived not long after, faith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of Minerua, whither they rowled in their fall. And furely this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for feeing he beleeued that Apollo was a God, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of inriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chaflishis impictie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holicone, who faith, Will a man spoile his Gods? and elsewhere; Hath any nation chan-Malas ed. w.s.

ged their Gods, which yet are no Gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and fend to Ke- tereme, 2009. 30 dar and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things. Now this impictic of & 10. Xerxes was the more inexculable, for that the Perssans alleadged the burning of Cybeles Temple by the Athenians, when they fet fire on the Citie of Sardis in Afia, to be the ground and cause of the wast which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in Greece. Whereas indeed, in the enterpife against Delphos, this Vizzor of holie and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousnesse so much the more ouglie, by how much the more themselues had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kind by meere mischance.

The remainder of that which Xerxes did may be expressed briefly thus. He came to Athens, which finding for faken he tooke, & burnt the Cittadel and temple which was there-40 in. The Cittadell indeed was defended a while by fome of more courage than wifedome, who literally interpreting Apollo's Oracle; that Athens should bee fafe in woodden walls, had fortified that place with boords and Paliffadoes: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yeelded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophecie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of Themistocles, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the wordes to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to wordes.

Ffff 3

). V.

How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

He Athenians had, before the comming of Xerxes, removed their wives and children into Trazene, Agina, and Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses, and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuertheleffe this great zeale, which the Athenians did 10 thew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to flay for them at S4lamis, whilest they remoued the wines and children out of their Citie. But when the Citie of Athens was taken, it was prefently resolved upon, that they should forfake the He of Salamis, and with-draw the fleet to Isthmus: which neck of land they did purpose to fortific against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnesus by Land. and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemie. So should the Hands of Salamis and Leina have been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have beene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution Themistocles, Admirall 20 of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the Peloponnesians were so possessed with feare of looking their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtain of them, to regard the estate of their distreffed friends, and Allies. Many remonstrances Themistocles made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at Salamis; As first in private vnto Eurybiades the Lacedamonian, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the felfe same feare which made them for fake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to diffcuer the fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himfelfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate; Then to the Councell of Warre which Eurybiades vpon this motion 30 did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at Isihmus would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straights; and that, besides the safeguard of Egina, Megara, and Salamis, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend Isthmus, which the Barbarians should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victoric by Sea: which they could not fo well hope for elfe-where, as in that prefent place which gauethem to good advantage. All this would not ferue to retaine the Pe-Ispennelians, of whom one, vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided Themiflocles with the loffe of Athens, blaming Eurybiades for fuffering one to speake in the Councell, that 40 had no Countrie of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull objection it was, to lav as a reproch that loffe, which being voluntarily fustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate Themissocles, and put into his mouth a reply fo sharpe, as availed more than all his former perswasions. Hee told them all plainely, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; having well-neare two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the Gracian fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselues in a more secure babitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie to had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italie belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he faid an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our felnes, leauing vnto you a forrowfull remembrance of my words,

and of your owne vnthankfulneffe. The Peloponnefians hearing thus much, beganne to enter into better confideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceived, you so weake termes, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condessed ucen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessitie should inforce them so farre, for the preservation of their libertie; did imploy the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauic. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no fuch calamitie should befall them by land. as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sca : Knowing well, that a firong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a fecure paffage to any other Countrie. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their Nauie. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they beene vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either prefent death, or perpetual flauerie; neither could they hope to be victorious without the ashiltance of the Atherians, whose forces by Sea did equal all their stogether; the whole confifting of no more than three hundred and fourescore bostomes. Wherefore these Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their owne condition, which 20 would have flood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had for saken them; were soone perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad cuent, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the Persians: and laying a-fide their infolent brauerie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis.

#### V I.

How the Persians consulted about giving battaile: and how Themistocles by policie held the Greekes to their resolution; with the vidoric at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

N the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were conucnient to offer battaile to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captaines giving such aduise as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soone agreed upon the fight: but Artemisia Queene of Halicarnaffus, who followed Xerxes to this warre in person. was of contrarie opinion. Her counfaile was, that the King himfelfe directly should march toward Peloponne sus, whereby it would come to passe that the Greeke Nauie, (vnable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of prouision) should pre-40 fently be diffeuered, and enery one feeking to preferue his owne Citie and goods, they should, being divided, prove vnable to relist him, who had wonne so farre your them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battaile; so on the other side the danger will bee more (said shee) which wee shall under-goe, than any neede requireth vs to aduenture upon; and the losse, in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victorie which we defire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is no more than they would have done, wee fitting still: but if they, as better Sca-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the journey to Peloponnefus is vtterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs, will soone revolt vnto the Greekes. Mardonius, whom xerxes had fent for that purpose to the fleet, related vn-50 to his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of Artemisia. The King well pleased with her aduise; yet resolued vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse have beene the same which Artemisia gaue, had not seare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that as out of their owne indgement, which

CHAP.6. S.7.8. of the Historie of the World.

• VII.

Of thinges following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight

of XERNES.

Fter this victorie, the Greekes intending, by way of scrutinie, to deter-nine which of the Captaines had belt merited of them, in all this great feruice; enery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place, as

best descruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery Suffrage did concurre 10 vpon Themislocles. Thus private affection yeelded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was ferued. The Persian King, as not amazed with this calamitic, beganne to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might casily discerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Especially Mardonius, Author of the warre, began to cast a warie eie vpon his Master, fearing least his counsaile should bee rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purpoling rather to aducature his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by under going his Princes indignation; he adused the King to leave vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all Greece under the subjection of the Persian Scopter. Here-20 withall he forgot not to footh Xerxes with many faire wordes; telling him, that the cowardife of those Agyptians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, with others of the like mettall, nothing better than flaues, who had so ill behaued themselues in the late Seafernice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies beene victorious, and had alreadic subdued the better part of Greece, yea taken Athens it selfe, against which the Warrewas principally intended. These wordes found very good acceptance in the Kings care, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more half, for that he vinderstood, how the Greekes had a purpose to saile to Hedesport, and there to breakedowne his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the Greekes had no fuch intent, but rather wished his hastic departure, 30 knowing that he would leaue his Armie not fo ftrong, as it should have beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did Eurybiades give counsaile that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, least necessitie should inforce the Persians to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beafts. Wherefore Themistocles did, under pretence of friendship, fend a false advertisement to this timorous Prince, advising him to convay himselfe into Mia with all speede, before his bridge were dissoluted : which counsaile .Kernes tooke very kindly, and halfilly followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or whether it were torne in sun-

der by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, 42 it is not greatly materiall; though the Greeker did most willingly imbrace the later of these reports. How so euer it were, this flight of his did well ease the Countrie; that was thereby difburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouer-whelmed it.

The negotiations betweene MARDONIVS and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and Lacedamonians; after the flight of XERXES.



Ardonivs with his three hundred thousand had with-drawne himfelfe into Theffalie, whence he lent Attander; the fonne of Amyntas King of Macedon, as Embassadour to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their losses received, and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that Acres had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the flore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the Sea-lide, pitching his owne Tent on the mount & galeus which is opposite vinto the He of Salamis, whence at cale hee might fafely viewall which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behausour of cuery Captaine. The neare approch of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen shewed in fortifying the Ijihmus, and of a Perfian Armie marching a-pace thither, did now againe to cerrific and amaze the Peloponneflans, that no intreatie, nor contestation to would fuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madneffe to fight for a Countrie alreadie loft, when they rather should endeauour to faue that which remained viconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if looking the victorie, they should be driven into Salamis, there to bee first vp, and belieged round in a poore defolate Hand.

Hercupon they resolved forth-with to set faile for Isthmus: which had presently beene done, if the wisedome of Themistocles had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had stopt vp their cares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to find him busie in wrangling 20 altercation. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the Persian Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to fend part of their Nauie about the lland, which incompasfing the Greekes might preuent their escape; giving them withall a false hope of his affiftance. The Persians no sooner heard than beleeved these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne affured, if the Athenian fleet joyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the Greekes very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they 30 found themselues inclosed round with Persians, who had laboured hard all night, fending many of their ships about the Ile of Salamis, to charge the enemie in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of Psyttalea, which lieth ouer against Salamis, to faue fuch of their owne, and kill fuch of the Gracian partie, as by any miffortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the Grecians to undertake the battaile in the Straights of Salamis, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the formost of their enemies, and chaling the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is that the Scribes of Xerxes had a wearifome taske of writing downe many difa- 40 sters that befell the Persian fleet, which ill acquited it selfe that day, doing no one peece of service worthie the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the Greekes, they might well feeme to have wrought out that victorie with e-

quall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of Azina, and to the Athenians, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did flie towards Phalerus, where the Land-Armie of Xerxes lay, the ships of Agina having possessed the straights did sinke or take them, whilest the Athenians

did valiantly give charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance

). VII.

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with xerxes, and affift him in that Warre.

The Athenians had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought back their wines and children: for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be fecure, till the Armie of Alardonius were broken and defeated. Wherefore the Lacedemonians, understanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, leaft hee should finde good and readic acceptance. Hereupon they likewife very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for Athens, who arriving, before the Macedonian had audience, vsed the best of their perswation to retaine the Athenians firme. They alleaged that neither Nernes 10 nor Darius had any pretence of Warre against the rest of Greece, but had only threatned the subversion of Athens, till they and all their Confederates arming themselues in desence of that Citic, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the thenians without much crueltic of injustice could not leave them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue induced great calamities, looling the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to for fake the Towne, the houses whereof beer uined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wines and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who have alwaies procured libertic to others, will not now goe about to bringall Greece into flaueric and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promises are large, 22 but their wordes and oathes are of no affurance. It was needlesse to vie many arguments to the Athenians, who gave answere to Alexander in presence of the Spartan Embassadours; That whilest the Sunne continued his course they would be Enemies to Merkes, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might feeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wines and children, it was a burden which they promifed to fuftaine themselues, only desiring the Lacedamonians, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that Mardonius would long fit fill in Theffalie, having once received fuch a peremptorie answere. In this their opinion of Mardonius his readinesse to inuade Attica, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as 30 foone as Alexander had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they having now the fecond time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their Confederates.

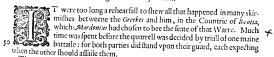
From Athens he fent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with for laking their houses so often, would bee desirous to present them from fire, and to have those which were alreadie laid wast, reedified at the Kings charges, Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needes they 40 would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to his purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of Athens would be a good meane to please his Master King Nerves, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the ftrongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expestation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one Lycidas, or (as Demosthenes calls him) Cyrsilus, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Counfaile-house heard what he had said, immediately fet vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea the women of A thens in the Ile of Salamis, hearing of his bad counfaile, and bad end, affembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution.

All this brauerie notwithflanding, when they perceiued the flackneffe of the Pelononnesians in gining them aide, they were faine to betake themselues to Salamis againe, the old place of their fecuritie. Remaining there, and feeing little forwardneffe in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they fent very senere messages to Sparta, complaining of their flackneffe, and threatning with all, to take fuch courfe as might fland best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was folittle regarded. These messens were at the first entertained with dilatorie anfweres, which every day grew colder, when as the Pelaponnefian Wall, builded athwart the Ifthmue, was almost finished. But as the Lacedemonians waxed carelese and dull, fo the Athenians hotly prefled them to a quicke resolution, giuing them plainely to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citic of Athens tooke a new course, that should little please them. All this while the Persian fleet lay vpon the coast of Asia, not daring to draw nearer vnto Greece, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewise the Greekills Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon Europe side; both to doe service where neede should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had adventuredouer farre. So mutuall feare preferred in quiet the Hands lying in the middest of the Agen Scas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counsailor of 20 Sparta, that the wall vpon Isthmus would serve to little purpose for the desence of Pelaponnefus, if once the Athenians gave care to Murdonius : confidering that many dores would be opened into that Demic-Hand, as soone as the Enemie should by winning the friendship of Athens, become the Master of the Seas about it. The Lacedemonians vpon this admonition, making better perviall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to give satisfaction to the Athenian Embassadours, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it feemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away fine thousand Spartans in the enening, vnder conduct of Paulanias; they gave audience the next day to the Embassadors, whole complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; 20 deeply swearing that the Armie of Sparta was alreadie farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand Licedemonians, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The Athenius, though distalting such want of gravitie, in a matter so important, were neverthelesse contented with the finall conclusion; and leaving the number appointed of Lieckamonius Souldiers, made what hast they could to incamp in Attest. The other Greeius were nothing slack in sending forth Companies, whose neare approch caused Mardonius to forsake Attea as a rough Countrie, and therefore of much disduantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citic of Athen, beating downer the walls of it, and ruitoning all that had formerly scaped the surious Varre.

IX.

The great battaile of Platese.



The Armie of Mardonius contained about three hundred thou fand, which were by him chosen out of Xerxes his Armie; to whom were adjoyned the forces of Theles, Masedonie, The state, and other parts of Greece, that now siding with the Persian,

furnished

furnilhed his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the Lacedamonians, at themans, and their Confederates, had leaused an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightily at med, the rest were only affisiants to these fortie thousand, being armed more flightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to fullatine any strong charges.

Thefe two Armies having cleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable peece of feruice 3 (Mardonius, whose victualls beganne to faile, resoluted to beginne the fray. The Greeks were promised victorie by an Orace, if they fought in the Land of the Athenium, and in the plaine of Ceres and Proforma, making praires who certaine Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs, But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Grade deligned. For the plaine of Ceres was indeeded in the Territoric of Athens; but there was also an old Temple of Ceres and Proforpius, neare who the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorialls of those Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the same place, you Mount Cathonous, and the ground served will for soot-men against horse; only the Land belonged who the Plateans, and not wrothe Atheniuss.

Whileft the Greekes were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull or rade; the Planens, to make all cleare, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Towne vpon the Athenians.

This magnificence of the Ploteons caused Alexander the Great, many ages after, 13 to recdiffee their Citie, which was ruined in the Peloponnessan warres.

All thinges being readie for battaile; the Lacedemonian Generall thought it most meete, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartan, should entertaine the Thebans and other Greekes which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the Athenians changed place with the Lacedamonians; which Mardonius understanding (whether fearing the Athenians, of whose valour the Medes and Perfams had felt heavie proofe, or defiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the brauch Souldiers of Greece) hee did also change the order of his 30 battaile, and oppose himselfe to Pausanias. All the Greekes might well perceive how the Enemie did shift his wings, and Pausamas thereupon returned to his former Station; which Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spentin changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the Greekes at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into confultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemie, lie neare to that Fountaine which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being fent away before day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which 49 to him seemed to proceede out of meere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the Laced emonians being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victoric were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and flaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successeappeared

But as Sone as Paulanias had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superfittion of that Age and Countrienceounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of bat-taile; and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did lit vpon the ground, as was yet their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barkanias, that came througing vpon them without any stare of such notable resistance. Therest of the Greeke Armie that was in march, being retoked by Paufanias, came in a-pace to succour the Lacedamonians only that part of the Armie

which was led by the Athemans, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the Thebans, and other Greekes confiderated with the Persians; gaue them check by the way. Neuerthelesse, the Spartans with other their Assistants, did so well acquite themselues, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest sledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden walls, and there delended themselues with such courage as desperate necessitie insorced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the Lacdemonians were not acquainted with the manner of affaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane season the Athenians, to having found strong opposition of the Thebans and Thessalians, did with much labour and courage obtaine victorie, which having not long purfued, they came to helpe the Lacedamorians, whom they found wearily bulied in affaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves under-tooke it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all fides, the Greekes entred, with fuch furie, and inft defire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alives excepting those who fled away with Artabazus, when the Persian Armie first fell

If the execution were fo great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was 20 the foolish retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were to, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselues into it, greater than of the Assailants; yet they being of seuerall Nations and Languages, and having loft their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was unpossible that they in such a terrour and assonishment should make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, against an Armie of men, farre more valiant than themselues, and inflamed with present victorie. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their lives, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leave them to the flaughtering furie of vnpittifull Victors. Artabasis 30 fled into Thrace, telling the people of Theffalie, and other Countries in his way, That hee was fent by Merdonius vpon some peece of service : For hee well knew, that had they vinderstood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have beene hostile vnto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, hee came to Byzantium; whence hee shipped his men ouer into Asa. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by Xerxes against the Greekes, vpon hope of honour, and great Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had fore-scene, and rather worse, for as much as it beganne the quarrell, which 40 neuer ended, before the ruine of the Persian Empire was effected, by that Nation of the Greekes despised and sought to have beene brought into slauerie, Hereby it may sceme, that the vision appearing to Xerxes, was from God himfelfe, who had formerly disposed of those thinges, ordaining the subuerfion of the Persian Monarchie by the Greekes, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater confideration of their owne strength, and the weakenesse of their Enemies.

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The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the likes.

He fame day on which the battaile was fought at Plate, there was an other battaile fought at Afficile, a Promontorie, or Head-land in Afficial Where the Perlian fleet rode.

Leutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus the Athenian, Admirall s of 10 the Greeke Nauie, at the request of some Ilanders and Ionians did faile into those parts, to deliner the Samians, and procure the Ionians to renolt from the Persian. Xerxes himselfe at this time lay at Sardis, a Citie in Lydia, not farre from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand vnder the command of Tigranes, for defence of Ionia and the Sea-coast. Therefore when Artayntes and Ithramitres, Admiralls of the Persian fleet, understood that the Greekes bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with Palissadoes and otherwife as much ground as did feeme needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sca-forces. Leutychides at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keepe within their strength, and resoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie 20 close aboard the shore, and called vpon the Ionians ( who more for feare than good will were encamped among the Perfians) exhorting them in the Greeke tongue to remember libertie, and vse the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it, Herein he did imitate Themistocles, who had done the like at Eubaa; trusting that either these perswasions would prevaile, or if the Persians did happen to understand them. that it would breede some jelousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed Themistocles, did now very happily succeede. For Xernes being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of A/is to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gave a willing 30 eare to the fiveet found of libertie. The Persians likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and leffe feared any treafon, to be contriued by their Subjects, were now fo warie, that from the Samians, which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the Milesians, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of Micale; pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the Samians perceiving that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon fuch weapons as came to hand, affailed the Persians manfully within the Camp; which example the Ionians prefently followed, being very glad to haue found fome that 40 durit beginne. It is said that while the Greekes were yet in march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour fuddenly ranne in the Armie that Mardonius was ouerthrowne in Greece, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of Platee was fought in the morning, and this of Mycale in the evening of the same day.

The like report, of that great battaile, wherein Paulus Amylius ouerthrew Parfeus the last King of Macedon, was brought to Rome in four edgies, as Liuie with others do record. And Palutach hast many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River Sagra in Italia, which was heard of the same day in Paloponness. That of the battaile against the Tanguniums and the Latines, presently 50 noised at Rome: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against Lucius Antonius, who was Rebell to Domitism the Emperour. This Lucius Antonius being Lieutenant of the higher Germanie, had corrupted his Armic with gifts and

promifes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himfelfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of Rome, with care of a dangerous Warre; it was fuddainely reported that Antonius was flaine, and his Armic defeated.

Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the Gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in fuch cases was accustomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour Domition betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee receiued aduertisement by Poste, of the Victorie obtayned, 10 and the death of Antonius: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in Rome, of the selfe same victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day, though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about > fine and twentie hundred miles) a-funder. It is truly faid of Pintarch, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among fo many rumours, begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and friuolous) a few precifely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himfelfe doth fometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises; as hee raised 20 the fiege of Samaria, by cauling a found of Horses and Chariots to assight the Aramites; and as hee threatned Senacherib, faying : Behold, I will fend a blast Efay 1,71.3. wpon him, and hee shall heare a noise, and returne to his owne Land. Wherefore it may well have beene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the Greekes; who (as Herodotus notes) went towards the Enemies with heavie hearts, being in great feare, least their owne adventure should by no meanes fall out well; confidering in what danger they had left their Countrie of Greece, which was readie to bee subdued by Merdonius, whilest they went wandring to feeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coast of Asia. But the same of the battaile fought at Platee being noised among them; every man desired that his owne 30 valour in the present fight, might bee some helpe to worke out the full deliuerance of Greece. In this alacritic of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battaillions, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the Lacedsmonians conducted the other, by the Mountaines and ftraight paffages, to winne the higher ground. The Athenians did first set vpon the Campe (ere the Lacedemonians could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly affaultit, that they brake way through the Palissadoes and Gabions, and made themselues Masters of the place, flaying all that could not faue themselves by flight. In this fight the Samians did good feruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the Miessians, who vponthe like jelousse, were placed by the Persians on the tops of Mysale, to defend the passages; did now (as if they had beene set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as sell into their hands, letting none cleape, except a very lew, that shed through by-pathes. The Lacedemonium that day did little struice, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retyred in whole troupes; making them slied dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the Abilesians were enabled to doe the greater execution ypon them. This was the last sight of that buge Armie leavied against Greece, which was now viterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensiue Warre.

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Exxes lay at Sardis, not farre from the place of this battaile; but

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Of the barbarous qualitie of X R R X ES: with a transition from the Persian assames, to matters of Greece, which from this time, green more worthin of regard.

little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great loffes, 16 being wholly given ouer to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom when hee could not prevaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his defire by force, because hee respected much his Brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match betweene his owne Sonne Darius, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie, as might worke out his delire. But whether it were fo, that the chafittie of the Mother did ftill reject him, or the beautie of her Daughter allure him: hee foone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vitious Prince, and as ill able to goucene himfelfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie having once defired the King to give her the Garment which hee 20 then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceine her hulbands connerfation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon thee conceiued extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant enery request, shee craued that the Wife of Masistes, her husbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother. might bee given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatning her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer shee should inflict upon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for 30 his brother perswaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her flead. Hereby it seemes, that hee viderstood how vilainously that poore Ladic should bee intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. Mussiles refused to put her away; alleaging his owne ioue, her deferuing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner Xerxes reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whome hee had promifed vnto him. Massites was much grieued with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most but- 40 cherly mangled by the Queene Imestris, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to bee cut off, and her Breafts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. Massless enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards Bactria, of which Province hee was Gouernour, intending to rebell and auenge himselfe. But Xerxes understanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leaused, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the fword. Such was the tyrannicall condition of the Persian Gouernement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie,

Yet of xerses it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore 50 alexander the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying youn the ground, faid, 7 hat hee doubted, whether, in regard of his vertue, hee flould againe erect it, or, for the mischiefe done by him to orace., flould let it lie.

when it is joyned with absolute power.

But furely what focuer his other good qualities were the was foolish, and was a coward, and confequently mercilesse.

ward, and concequently mercielle.

Therefore wee may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of Cyrus was very great, vpon which the foundation of the Perfian Empire was so furely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of Xerxes, and other work Princes, could not onerthrow it, wntill it was broken by a vertue almost equal to that which did establish it. In warres against the Legystians, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at the first it had beene, very good; but against the generall estate of Greece. In either hee, nor any of his potteritie, did euer make offensite warre, but receiued many to loss in Asia, to which the last at Mysale served but as an introduction; teaching the Greeks, and especially the Asthenians, that the Persian was no better Southier at his owne dores, than in a forraine Countrie: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of Ashens were quietly settled and affured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historic of Greece, taking in the matters of  $Per/\beta a$ , as also the chare of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the  $Per/\beta a$  chare continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Majeslie of a great Empire.

But this greatnessee the second only upon the riches and power that had formerly beene acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excession Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that eure were, haue beene encruated, made unweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie swords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that Xrxxx and his Successions were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base Policies; very seldome or neuer (valessee in the title Nation of Greece, which would some haue ruined the status with that little Nation of Greece, which would some haue ruined the foundations laid by Crow, had not private malice and jelouse typed euery

Citie to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the fwords of the Greekes into their owne bowells, which after the departure of Xrews beganne very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of conquest on the side of

Asia.

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CHAP.

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CHAP.7. S.2.

## CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

# How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



78

TER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were vtterly beaten at Mycale: Leotychides, who then commaunded the Gracian Armie, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians. affifted by the revolted lones, returned with the Lacedamonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta, and o- 20 ther places, out of which they had been leuied. The Athenians in the meane while befieged Seflos, 2 Citie on the strait of the Hellefont, betweene which and Abydus, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not

long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the Hellesport. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, fince the invafion of Aftica, and the abandoning of Athens, in divers Islands, and at Troezen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common desence, and to fortific their Citie, before they cared to couer themselues, their wines and children, with any private buildings: Whereof the Lacedemonians being aducrtised, and misliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne Citie of Sparta was vinwalled, as also because the Athenians were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched mellengers to the Athenians to diffuade them; not acknowledging any privat millike or jealoutic, but pretending, that if the Persians should returne to inuade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than 40 heretofore, the same would serue to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the Warre; as Thebes had lately beene. To this the Athenians promifed to give them fatisfaction by their owne Embaffadors very speedily. But being resolued to goe on with their workes by the aduise of Themistocles, they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the contrarie, till they had rayled their wals to that height, as they cared not for their millikes, nor doubted their difturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched Themislocles towards Lacedemon, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the Athenians resolutions, till the arrivall of his sellow-Commillioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedemonians expectation being converted into jealousie (for by the arrivall of divers persons out 50 of Atrica, they were told for certaine, That the wals of Athens were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) Themisteeles prayed them not to belieue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolue themselues, and deter-

mine accordingly. Which request being graunted, and Commissioners sent, Themillocles dispatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduised the Athenians, first to entertaine the Laced emonians with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other Athenian Embassadors, then at Sparta, had their libertie also to returne. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and Aristides, that Athens was alreadic defensible on all parts, Themistocles demaunding audience, made the Lacedemonians know. That it was true that the wals of Athens were now rayled to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the Lacedamonians to 10 beleeue, That whenfoeuer it pleafed them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for fuch, as right well understood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne safetie, without direction and adulse from any other: That they had in the warre of Xerxes abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the woodden wals of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perfuaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the Greekes; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their owne affaires, and thought it good 20 reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece should be left open, or else that the wals of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedemonians finding the time vnfit for quarrell, diffembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the division, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embaffadors.

The wals of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselues vpon all occasions.

### ð. I I.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State wpon the Perlian.

He Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedamonians added other twentie; and with this Fleet. strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set fayle for Cypres, under the conduct of Paufanias the Lacedamonian;

where after their landing having possess themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in Thrace, recouring from the Persians 40 by force the Citie Bizantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behaving himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Nerves, was called backe by the Councell of Lacedamon, and not onely accused of many infolent behauiors, but of intelligence with the Medes, and Treafon against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed Docres, who either gaue the fame cause of offence; or else the Achenians, who affected the first commaundement in that warre, practifed the fouldiors to complaine; though indeed the wife and vertuous behauior of Ariffides, Generall of the Albenian forces, a man of rare and incomparable finceritie, had beene able to make a good Commaunder feeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therefore was much more availeable in rendring those 50 detelted, whose vices affoorded little matter of excuse. Howsoener it were, the Lacedemonians being no leffe wearie of the warre, than the Athenians were eagre to purfue it, the one obtained their ease and the other the execution and honor which they defired: for all the Greekes (those of Peloponnes excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the Athenians, which was both the beginning

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to leuie money, according to their diferetion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on Europe fide, in Alia the leffe, and the Islands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever payed by the Greekes) amounted to foure hundred and threefcore Talents; which was rayled easily by the honest care of that just man Arifiides, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of Ariftides, and other worthie Citizens, brought vnto the Athenians great commoditie; so the defire which they conceived of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treafure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred and threescore Talents were rayled to fix hundred, nor long, after that, ere their couctous Tyrannie had connerted their followers into flaues, and extorted from them yearely thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of Lelos was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall assemblie, the Captaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme lake called to confultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger 29 by sea than all Greece besides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, under their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commaunder in this Warre was Cimon, the sonne of Militades, who first tooke Eiona, upon the River Strimon; then the Isle of Sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they mattered the Cariffi, and brought into feruitude the 2 (4xi), contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commaundements; taking vpon them and vfurping a kind of foueraigneauthoriticouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become 30 Lords of the Sea, and could not be relifted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and given vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in thippes; leauing the prouition of both to the Athenians. Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable Seruices, at the coit of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good be- 40 ginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the Admirall scouring the Afiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of Phaselis; which having formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way affift the Greekes, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the Athenians, paying yearely contribution.

From thence he fet fayle for the River Eurymedon in Pamphylis, where the Persim Fleer rode, being of like hundred sayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and having a great Land. Armie, encamped vponthe sheare, as which forces having beene provided for advanting the Kings 50 affaires in Greece, were exterly defeated in one day, and two hundred shippes taken by the Athenians, the rell being broken to pieces, or sinke, ere ever they had swomme in the Greekish Seas. Cimen having in one day obtained two great vistories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a

third. For fourescore sayle of Phamicians (who were the best of all Sea-men, vnder the Persian commaund) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived yoon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach Cimon weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did so amaze them, that they only sought to runne themselves on ground; by which meane preserving sew of their men, they lost all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the Persian, that, omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condifcended to what souer Articles is pleaded the Athenians to propound, graunting life their work of the Martice with the State of the State of

This was the most honourable peace that euer the Greekes made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glorie of the whole Nation, till since time as, vnder Alexander, they ouer threw the Empire of Persta; in which Warre sew, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great commaund, but served altogether under the Macedonians.

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## The death of XERXES by the treason of ARTABANVS.

Efides these losses, which could not easily have beene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue just cause to the Perssan of seeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether into leable. For Atabams, the vucle of Xexxs, perceiving, that the King his maister did easily take small occasions to shed the bloud of

3 flich, as in kindred or place were nere vitto him, began to repose lesse hope of fastice in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetie, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his crueltie, and despided for his cowardise and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by Midwidstes an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselse had been einnocent) he accused Darian the sonne of Arraes, and caused him to suffer death as a Paricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse begin the Kingdome, and held it seuen moneths, or whether intending the like cuill to Artaeraes the sonne of Arraes, he was by him preuented and surprised, it were hard to affirme any occariancie. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie part to death by extreame torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more auncient than the Verse.

Raro antecedentem scelestum Deseruit pede pæna claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much half he make, Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

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ò. IIII.

#### d. IIII.

The banishment of THEMISTOCLES: His slight to ARTAXERXES newly raigning in Persia; and his death.



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RTAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the Athenians, as the present necessitie of his affaires required, began to conceine new hopes of better fortune against the Greekes, than he or his predecessions had euer hitherto found. For 10 the people of Athens, when the Persians were chassed out of Greece,

did so highly value their owne merites in that service, that they not onely thought it fit for themselues to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Islands of the Greekes, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely Democraticall. Herein they were fo infolent, that no integritie nor good defert was able to preserue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rafcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet 20 now prefuming vpon his good feruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearling the benefits which they had received from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of Ostracisme, whereby he was banished for tenne yeares, as a man ouer-burthenfome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the Laced errordans, who charged him of consulting with Pausanias, about betraying the whole Countrey of Greece vnto Xerxes. Hereupon Themifinding no place of fecuritie against the malice of two fuch mightie Cities, 20 was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himselse into Persia; where he found Artaxerxes newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artanernes had conceiued of advancing his affaires by the counfell and affiftance of Themiffedes, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the Athenians, in fauour of Inarus the Lybian, (who intested Agypt, causing it to rebell against the Persian ) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in Egypt, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with Xerxes; then did the King fend his Letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make 40 good the hopes which he had given, of affuring the Persian estate against the

But whether Themistocles perceived much vnlikelinesse of good successe, in leading a great Armic of dastardly Persians against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fauor of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to feeke honour by the ruine of it: fure it is, that being appointed by Artaxerxes to vidertake the conduct of great forces against the Athenians, he decided the great conflict betweene thankfulnesse to his well-deserving Prince, and naturall affection to his owne ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poylon.

**≱. . V.** 

# CHAP. 7. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Agypt.



Hen was Artaxernes driven to vse the service of his owne Captaines in the £ epptian watre, wherein it appeared well, T hat a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemic. An Athenian Fleet of two hundred sayle strong was sent torth under Cimon, to take in the life of Cyprus: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, and the second strong the large strong to the second series and the second series are series as the second series and the second series are series as the second series are series are series as the second series are series as the second series are series are series as the second series are series are series are series are series are series are se the Persian being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were fo, that a peace had beene concluded, which was likely to haue beene kept fincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proofe of the Gracian valour, that he was nothing defirous to build any shippes of Warre (without which the Greekes could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found fayling towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole effate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemie too farre ouer-matching him. Yet whether the Athenians were 20 in doubt, lest the league which in his owne worser fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore fought to get fuch affurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting aught against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues and power, by adding that rich and great Iland to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profite; they thought it the wifest way, to take whilest they might, what socuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The sle of Cypres lying in the bottome of the straights betweene Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mightie at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countries, or to insest one or 30 more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the Athenians, their Ambition which had already denoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to snatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, which they might eafily have swallowed and digested. For Ingrus King of the Lybians confining Egypt, having found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very slender Persian garrisons, conceined rightly, that if such small forces as the Satrapa or Viceroy could make on the sodaine of his owne Gardes, or leuie out of the ordinarie Garrisons, were by him defeated ; the naturalls of the Countrey, not long fince oppreffed by Cambyses, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soone breake faith with 40 him who had no other title to that kingdome than agood fword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the Persian without his affiltance; would eafily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly flaine Achemenes the Viceroy; divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclayming him king, thewed the most of their endeuour for prosecution of the warre. But hee confidering his owne weakenesse, and that the meanes of the Exprians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived wel, that to relift the power of Artiserses, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price focuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the 30 great Athenian fleete, and knowing well the vertue of the fouldiers therein embarqued; he inuited the Commaunders to share with him the kingdome of Agypt as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of Cyprus could be to their effate. Whether hee or they (if things had wholy forted according to their expectation) would have beene contented with an equall share, and

not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination vnnecessarie. Hee was possessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to Memphis, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it feife they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd fuch hard fiege, that neither those forces of the Persians, which then were in £gypt, were strong enough to remoue them; neither could Artanernes well deuise what meanes to vie for the recoucie of that which was loft, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by to fetting the Lacedamonians upon Athens, to enforce the Athenians to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the Persian sought to procure affiftance of the Greekes one against the other, by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainement of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemie. To this purpose he sent Alegabizas to Sparta with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the Lacedemonians were nothing forward in imploying their whole force against the Athenians, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in Egypt; he thought it his wifest way to imploy the rest of his money and means to their reliefe, who had now the space of fixe yeares defended his mailters right to in Agypt. Therefore he hashily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of Zepyrus, who arriving in £gypt, was first encountred by the revolted people; out whome he obtained a victoric, which made him mailter of the Countrey, whileh the Athenians lay builed about Memphis the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supplie, had much enfecbled the Athenians: fure it is, that when Mogahazus, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the Persians, or want of necessaries made the Athenians inferior to themselves, he chased them out of Memphis, and pursued them so neere, as they were forst to fortifie themselues in the lile of Prosopites, where Megabazus, after eighteene 30 the liners of moneths fiege, turning away one part of the Riner by diners Trenches, affaulted the Athenian without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the of the out-lets sword, sauc a few that saucd themselves by slight into Lybia; the same entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they fent to the fuccour of the first two hundred. For those Athenians having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was confumed, entred by the branch of Nilus, called Mendefum, and fell vnawares among the Phanician Gallies and the Persian Armie; so as the Persians recoursed all Egypt, but that part held by Amyrteus, and Inarus the King of Lybia, being by them All taken and hanged. This was the end of the Athenians fixe yeares warre in Egypt, and the reward of their vanitie and indifcretion to vidertake many enterpiles at 40

Mendefins is and Dioless. tut the branch Once. of Wilus, called Mend fium, runneth into the Sca by the Citic Pane-

Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

Otwithstanding these ouerthrowes in Agypt, yet the Athenians in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the Lacedemonians, Corinthians, and 50 others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto Halia by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, fo they ob-

tained two great victories soone after; the one over the Peloponnessans, neere vnto Cecryphalia; the other ouer the Eginets, necre vnto Egina; where they funke and

carried away threefcore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the Juddaine, and belieged Egina, from whence they could not be moued, not with handing that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara; where, after a great fight, with equall loffe, the Corinthians, when they returned againe to fet vp their Trophie, as Victors in the former battaile, were vtterly broken and flaughtered by the Ashenian Garrisons, and Megarians, to their great losse

Againe, as the Athenians were discomsitted neare to Tanagra by the Lacedamonians, who returned from the succour of the Dorians against the Phocians, ( at which 10 time the Thesalian horse-men turned from their Allies the Athenians, and sought against them) so about threescore daies after, the Athenians entred Baotia under the conduct of Asyronides, where beating that Nation, they wanne Phocis on the gulfe Octeus, and cuened the walls of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they inforced &einatorender vpon most base conditions; as to beate downe the walls of their Citie. and to give them hostages for Tribute; the tiege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victoriesthey fackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Peloponnes belonging to the Lacedemonisms; wanne vpon the Corinthians, and ouerthrew the Siegonians that came to their succour. These were the vndertakings of the Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of those fixe yeares that a part of their forces made warrein Egypt. In the end whereof they attempted Theffalie, perswaded thereunto by Orestes, but were relisted by the King Pharfalus, who had chased Orestes out of his Dominions. They also landed in Sicyonia, and had victoric ouer those that resifled, after which they made truce with the Peloponnesians for five yeares, and sent Cimoninto Cyprus with two hundred ships, but they were againe allured by Amyrteus one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of Azypt from the Persians, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious Leader Comon dying there, as they coasted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the Pho-30 nicians and Cilicians, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece: as also thosereturned safe which were sent into Egypt.

#### 8. VII.

Of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANVS, that he was AHASHVEROSH the husband of Queene HESTES.



Hese Agyptian troubles being ended, the raigne of Artaxerxes continued peaceable, whereof the length is by some reftrained into twen-tie yeares, but the more and better Authors give him fortie, some al-low vnto him foure and fortie. Hewas a Prince of much humanitie, low vnto him four and rotus. The wall I have and noted for many examples of gentleneffe. His fauour was exceed and orderwise which ding great to, the Ierres, as appeareth by the Histories of Esdras and Nehemias, which

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse trauaile; considering that all the late Diuines have taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licenced by him, and succoured in that building, in such fort as apjo peares in their writings.

This was likewise that King Abashuerosh who maried Hester. Wherof if it be needfull to give proofe, it may fuffice; That Ahashwerosh lived in Susa, raigning from India to Atliopis, and therefore must have been a Persian; That hee lived in peace, as appeares by the circumstances of the Historie, and vsed the counsaile of the seuen

The continual Warres which exercised King Darius the sonne of Hystastes, together with the certainctic of his marriages with fundrie wines, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife Atoffa, the daughter of Cyrus, alive in great honour, thee being mother to Xerxes the fucceeding King; doe manifeltly proue that tiefer was not his. Whereunto is added by Philothe Iem, That at the perswafion of Mardochess, Ioiachim the high Priest the sonne of Iefua, caused the feast of Purim to bee instituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of Ioiachim was in the raigne of Artaxerxes, at the comming of Efdr.us, and Nehemias: Iefua his 10 father dying about the end of Darius.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragical loues, wherewith Xernes did confume fuch little time as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of Hester pertained not vnto the time of Xerxes, who lived but one and twentie yeares, wheras the two & thirtieth of zikafverus or zirtafaltha is expressed by Nehemias. Againe it is well knowne, that Xerxes in the seuenth yeare of his raigne ( wherein this marriage must have beene celebrated ) came not neare to Sula. Of the Princes that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, to proue that none of them could be Ahafbuerofh, it is enough to fay, that Mardocheus having been carried from Hierusalem captine, with Iechonia, by Nebuchadnezzar, was valikely to 20 have lived vnto their times.

But of this Artaxernes it is true, that he lived in Sula, raigned from India to A. thiopia, lived in peace, was contemporarie with loiskim the high Priest; and further hee had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious Agyptians in that seuenth yeare of his raigne; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Roiall feast, as is described in the beginning of the booke of Hester. This is the fumme of the arguments, brought to proue the age of Hefters storic by the learned and diligent Krentzhemius, who addes the authorities of Infephus, affirming the fame and of Philo, giving to Mardochaus eighteene yeares more than I/au the Patriarch lived, namely one hundred fourescore and eighteene yeares in all, which ex- 20 pire in the fine and thirtieth yeare of this Artanernes, if wee suppose him to have beene carried away captine, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

### d. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.



Vt it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the Greekes, who from this time forward, more vehemently profecuting their civill warres, fuffered the Persians for many ages to rest in peace: this £gyptian ex- 40 pedition being come to nought. Soone after this the Lacedemonians vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, recourred the Temple and Ile of

Delphos, and deliuered both to the Inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the fame, and gaue it in charge to the Phoeians. In the meane while the banished Baotians reentred their owne Land, and mastred two of their owne Townes possest by the Athenians, which they foone recoursed against from them: but in their returns towards Athens the Ba otians, Eubwans, and Locreans, (Nations oppress by the Athenians) fet vpon them with fuch resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all flaine or taken, whereby the Baotians recovered their former libertie, restoring to the A berians their prisoners. The Handers of Eubau tooke such courage vponthis, 50 that they repolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when Pericles intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the Megarians ( who first left the Laced amonians, and submitted themselves to Athens) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the Athenian Garrisons, and joyned themselves with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and

# CHAP. S. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Epidaurians. These newes hastened Pericles homeward with all possible speeds, but ere he could recouer Attica, the Peloponnesians, led by Plistoanax, the sonne of Paulanias, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne Perioles went on with his first intent and recoursed Enbasa. Finally, the Athenians beganne to treate of peace with the Peloponnefians, and yeelded to deliuer up all the places which they held in the Countrie of Peloponne fus: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares. After fixe of these yeares were expired, the Athenians (fauouring the Milelyans against the Samians) inuaded Sames by Pericles, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forct to yeeld themto felues vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their owne walls, to pay the charge of the watre, and to restore whatfoeuer had beene taken by themselves, or by their practise, from the athenians. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell Peloponnesian Warre; whereof I. haue gathered this Briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of Nerxes out of Greece. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell : I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly theeltate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, Athens and Sparta, vpon which all the reft had most dependance.

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# CHAP. VIII.

# Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, flood, at the beginning of the Peloponnelian Warre.



ERCE was neuer united under the government of any one Prince or Estate; vntill Philip of Macedon, and after him Alexander, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the Persian, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subjection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gonerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates. notwithstanding the power of the Mucedonians, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to fuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the Perfi-

an warre(deemed the General quarrell of Greece) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards raigned in Macedonia, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all Greece was by them brought under fuch obedience, as differed little from fertitude; very 30 few excepted, who could hardly, fometimes with armes, and fometimes with gifts, preserue their libertie; of whom the Lacedamonians and Athenians were chiefe: which two people deserved best the plague of tyrannie, having first given occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For untill these two Cities of Athens and Sparta distracted

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all Greece, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other fide, and fo gaue beginning to the Peloponnejian war (the effects whereof in true citimation ccafed not before the time that Philip had ouer-mastred all, for a fmuch as every conclufion of one warre afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrie) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of Greece and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuerfies were foone decided, either by the authoritie of the Amphictiones, who were the generall Councell of Greece; or by the power of the Lacedamonians, whose aide was commonly held as good as the affurance of victorie.

These Lacedamonians had lived about foure hundred yeares under one forme of 10 Gouernement, when the Pelaponnefian warre beganne. Their education was only to practife feates of Armes; wherein they to excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which fufficed to maintaine him in fuch manner of life as they wied. For braueric they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vied money of yron, whereof they could not be couctous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived Veopian-like, faue that they yied no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glorie of 20 their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the Athenians were in all points contrarie to this. For they fought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they yied mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part llanders, compelled to obey them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

As in forme of policie, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The Athenians were cager and violent, fuddaine in their conclusions, and as hastie in the execution; The Laceda- 30 monians very flow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very refolute, and fuch as would in cold bloud performe what the Atherians did viually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe that the Lacedemonians had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and affured, that fought honour and not riches, whereas the Athenians were followed by fuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ftraight subjection. But the Signorie of the Athenians was nothing large, vntill such time as the Persian Xernes had inuaded Greece, pretending only a quarrell to Athens. For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of Athens could not bee defended against his great Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Nauie, and (affifted by the other Grecians) overthrew the fleet 49 of Xerxes, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfitted by them, and the Greekes, who all ferued under conduct of the Spartans. After these victories, the Athenians being now very mightie in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the Greekiff Scas vinder their obedience; impoling upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the Persian; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conqueft of fuch Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as flood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the Lacedemonians, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to bee made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the Athenians to grow great, they held them in much jelousie, and were very apt to quarrell with 50 them; but much more willing to breede contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the Thebans would have oppressed the Plateans, when they of Platea repaired to Sparta for fuccour, they found there no other aide, than this aduife, That they should seeke helpe at Athens. Hereby it was

was thought, that the Athenians should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their Neighbours of Thebes. But it proued otherwise; for their force was now fo great, that all fuch occasions did only serue to encrease their honour and puissance.

#### d. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

CHAP. S. S. 2.

Euerthelesse many Estates of Greece were very ill affected to Athens, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperities and maintayning the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroched apec upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the Cerinthian; were muchintaged, because

the people of the Iland Corcyra, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the Athenians (who defired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of Coreyra vnto it) taken into protection, and the Counthians thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would have to taken. Now howfocuer it were fo, that these dealings of the Athenians were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the Greekes, yet were the complaints made at Sparsa so vehement, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redresse by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the Athenians to expiate certaine offences committed against the Gods; whereto having for answere, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in Sparta; they beganne to deale plainely, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the Estate of Athens, should be set at libertie; and that a decree made against those of Megara, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the 30 A:hensans, should be ereversed. This last point they so carnestly pressed, that if they might obtaine it they promifed to ablift from their purpose of making

This they defired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by feeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the Athenians would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole defire that all Greece should take notice, how farre they were from seare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both fides very ftrongly, all that was needfull to the 40 Warre; wherein the Lacedamonians were Superiour, both in number and qualitie, being affifted by most of the Cities in Greece; and having the generall favour, as menthat pretended to fet at libertie fuch as were oppressed; but the Athenians did as farre exceede them in all prouisions, of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow wearie, and are not cafily affembled.

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d. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

He first and second yeares expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of thens. For the Fields were waited, the I rees cut downe; the Countrie people driven to flie, with their Wives, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a mod furious pestilence grew in the Citie, fuch as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the renolt of the Myttlemians, in the Ile of Lesbos, and the fiege of Plates to their confederated Citie, which they durit not aductture to raife, belides fome fmall ouerthrowes received. The Lace themonians affembling as great forces as they could raife out of Feloponne five, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of A:1161, and therein abide, vntill victualls beganne to faile, wasting and destroying all thinges round about : The Gouernours of the Athenians would not fuffer the people to iffue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vied to fend a fleet into Peloponnefus, which wasted as fait all the Seacoast of their Enemies, whilest they were making warre in Attica. So the Peloponneflans being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of Platea, which wanted refeue; the Athenians likewife being more mightie by Sea, did fubdue Atytilen 20 which had rebelled, but could not be fuccoured from Sparta. By these proceedings in that Warre, the Lacedemonians beganne to perceive how vnfit they were to deale with fuch enemies. For after that Attica was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to fuch harme as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates beganne to let forward very flowly in their expeditions into Attica; perceiuing well that Athens was plentifully relieued with all necessaries, which came by Sea from the Hands that were subject vnto that estate; and therefore these inuaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citic, or in walting a forfaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilest afflicted. 30

#### ò. IIII.

Wherefore they beganne to fet their care to build a firong Nauie, wherein they

had little good fuccesse, being easily vanquished by the Atherians, who both had

more and better thips, and were fo skillfull in Sea-fights, that a few Veffells of theirs

durst vindertake a great number of the Peloponnesians.

Of the great loffe which the Spartans received at Pylus.



Mong other losses which the Spartums had self by Sea, they received 40 at Pflus a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of Athenium ships bound for Coreyrs, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of Leconia, and all the halfe lile of Peleponness, was by contrarie windes detained at Prilw, which is a rag-

ged Promontorie, Joyning to the maine, by a straight necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Hand offeste than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good barbour for ships, the force of weather being borneost by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the Athenians fortified, as well as in hast they might; and what was wanting in their artificial sortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this peece of ground, and hauen, they reasonably expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adiopying was inhabited by the Assignment, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with Spata; and though quite subdued they were held in straight subsection, yet was not the old hatted so extinguished, that

by the neare neighbourhood and affiltance of the Athenians, it might not bee reur ued, Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the Lacedamonians, and as many of their bond-flaues as could escape from them, would repaire to Pylus, and from thence make daily excursions into Laconia, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying ailmost in the midway betweene them and Concyra, make them able to fur-round all Peleponne [12:, and wait it at their pleafure. The newes of these doings at Pylus, drew the Peloponnes ans thither in all half out of Attica, which they had entred a few dates before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Nato nie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well forefaw, little fearing the grieuous loffe at hand, which they there in few cares received. For when they in vaine made a generall affault on all sides, both Ly Sea and Land; finding that finall Garrison which the Athenians had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing fourchundred and twentie choice menallofthem, Citizens of Sparta, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter betweene the Isle and Pylus; likewise but seuen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Hand and the Maine, Ha-

could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Maine. Hauing this taken order to llint up this new Towne by Sea, they fent part of their fleet
to teleth wood, and other fluffe, wherewith to fortifier ound about, and block up
the speccon all tides. But in the meane feafon, the Athenian fleet, hearing of their
danger that were left at Pylia, returned thirther, and with great courage entring the
haven, did breake and linke manie of their Enemies veffells; tooke flue, and infored the refidue to runne them felies a ground.

Now was the Towne fecure, and the Spartans abiding in the Iland as good as loft.

Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from Sparta to the camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to adulfe what were best for the publike safetie; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the He, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenisms a-30 bout peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at Pylus. The conditions of the truce were, That the Lacedemonians should deliuer up all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne. nor the Athenian; against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Fleih, should bee daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the lland fecretly: That the Athenians should carrie the Laced amonian Embassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose returns the truceshouldend, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one points should be held veterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the Athenians should restore the Palaponnesian ships, in as good case as they received them. The 40 Embassadors comming to Athens, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begunne the warre; so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the Athenians how great an honour it was that the Lacedamonians did fue to them for peace, admining them to make an end of warre, whilest with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation : For in stead of concluding upon cuen termes, or defiring of meete recompence for loffe fullained; the Athenians demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had beene taken from them by the Lacedemonians long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treatie of peace, vnlesse the Spartans which were in the Ile, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassa-50 dours returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was defired of the Athenian Captaines that they should, according to their couenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their handes. Whereto answere was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, alf

should bee held void; now, (said the Athenians) yee have assaulted our Garrisons,

and

and thereby are we acquited of our promife to restore the ships. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so farreo. uer-weighed honour, that better answere none could be got. Then were the Latedamonians driven to vie many hard meanes, for convenance of victualls into the Ifle: which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prifoners to Athens, where it was decreed, that when the Peloponnesians next inuaded Astica, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the Aibenians hope) fell vpon them; the Lacedemonians were now fo farre from wasting Attica, that they suffered their owne Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the Athenians, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of Pylus; which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

How the Lacedamonians hardly, and to their great disaduantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Herefore they indeuoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the Athemass would not hearken who. For they were so puffed vp with the 20 continuance of good fuccesse, that haung sent a few bands of meninto Siedle, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the Stellans quarrells; when afterward they heard that the diffe-

rences in that He were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the Ile of Sicilie was not conquered; which (belides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it felfe, no whit inferiour vnto Peloponnefus. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disafters received, especially in Thrace, where in a battaile which they loft at Amphipolis, Cleon, and Brasidas, Generalls of the Athenian and Lacedemonian forces, were both 30 flaine; which two had most beene adversaries to the peace. As the Athenians by their losses were taught moderation; so the Lacedamoniums, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had received at Pylus, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently defirous to conclude the businesse, cre Fortune by any new fauour should reviue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a confideration of their present estate, that viged them to bring the treatieof peace to good and speedie effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and readie to fall on them, which vnleffe they compounded with the Athenians, they 40 knew not how to avoide. The effate of Argos, which had ancient enmitte with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeares well-nigh expired, readie to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. Argos was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to Spirta in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the Lacedamonians could euer farre prevaile vponit, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by wasting the Territorie of Athens with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue been ended, whereby not only the Athenians should have been brought to 50 good order, but the Corinthians and others, for whose sake the warre was under taken, haue beene fo firmely knit to the Lacedemonians, that they should for love of them have abandoned the Argines, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the Athenians abounding in readic money, and meanes

to raife more, were able to fecure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme, that the Peloponnelians wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could doe vnto them, yea as Masters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect alreadie they had done. As for the Confederates of Sparta, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many loffes had fo wearied and incenfed them. Wherefore the Lacedamonians were glad to vie the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as feemed equall and catie; but were indeede impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

The reflictution of priloners and places taken being agreed upon; it fell out by 10 The return more prince and prince first. These had won more townes upon lot, that the Laced amonians should rettore first. These had won more towness upon the lot of the laced from the prince had been compared to the laced from the continent from the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to fuch of their Allies, from whom the State of Athens had taken them; fome, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vato them, as to their friends and deliuerers, and not compelled them to break in a chemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands. bar had been erendred vnto their Confederates, the Spartans found meanes to give fome fatisfaction, by permitting the Athenians to retain others, which they had got-20 ten in the warre; as for the reft, they promifed more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to

heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselues into the handes of their old Lords the Athenians, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding whatsoener articles were drawen, and concluded, for their fecuritie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the Spartans, made the Athenians become as backward in doing those thinges which on their part were required; fo that reftoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the reit, vitill fuch time as they might receive the fuil fatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before fuch time as these diffi-

20 culties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the Lacedamonians entred into a more ftraight alliance with the Athenians; making a league offenfine and defenfine with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the Argines, who being (asthey thought) likely to have fued for peace at their hands, as foone as things were once compounded betweene Athens and Sparta; did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to give care to any fuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from Argos all hope of Athenian fuccour, they should make fure worke, the Spartans regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deferring in the late warre, or found fo trouble some, that their enmittee (if perhaps they durit let it appeare) were little worfe than friendihip. It bred great

40 jeloulie in all the Cities of Greece, to perceive fuch a conjunction betweene two fo powerfull Signories: especially one clause threatning enery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a fecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceipts. of fubduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For belides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall confent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought fo ftrongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, and other ancient Confederates of Sparta, that the hate which they had borne to the Athenians their professed Enemies, was violently throwne upon the Lacedamonians their unjust friends: whereby it came passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe fivay in Greece, might have beene abandoned

50 to the discretion of their Enemies, as alreadie in effect they were, had the Enemies wifely vied the advantage.

Of the negotiations, and practifes, held betweene many States of Greece. by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of Sparta as weretittable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been fo excefline, that when by some finisher accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very to honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happensylually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it wasneuer thought that any Lacedamonian would have endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himfelfe prisoner, nor that any mistortune could have beene so great, as should have drawne that Citie to releeue it felfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were fome of especiall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the lland before Pylus, had rather chosen to line in captinitie, than to die in fight; and that Pylus it selfe, flicking as a thorne in the foot of Laconia, had bred fuch anguilh in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accultomed Spartan resolution, had made it sit downe, and 12 fecke to refresh it felfe by diffnonourable eafe: then did not only the Corint bian; and Thebans beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other leffer Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their cies vpon the rich and great Citie of Argos, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceined a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankinde. We curioutly fearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our felues.

The first that published their dislike of Sparta were the Corinthians, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuicat the greatnesse of Athens dayly encreasing) the Laced emonians had entred into the present warre. But these Corinthians did only murmure at the peace, alleadging as gricuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantineans who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the Arcsdians to become their followers, and forfake their dependency upon the State of Sparta, did more freely and readily discouer themselues; seare of revenge to come working more effectually, than indignationat things already past. The Argines feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their failes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could standyn-40 der; giuing for that purpose varotwelue of their citizens, a full and absolute commillion to make alliance betweene them and any free cities of Greece (Athensand Sparia excepted) without any further trouble of propounding energy particular bufinesse to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open to all commers; the Mantineans began to lead the way, and many Cities of Pelopennelus following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wifest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courses, the Lacedamonians easily discerned, and therefore sent Embaffadors to stoppe the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischiefe had beene hatched. These Embassadors found in the Coronbians a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceined of their present advantage over Sparta. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into the alliance with Arges, to fend their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the Lacedemonians; the purport of whose Embassie was

CHAP. 8. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

this: That the Corinibians, without breach of their oath, could not for fake the alliance, which they had long fince made with Sparta, and that reason did as well binde them to holde themselues contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their auncient confederacy, for a fmuch as it had been agreed betweene the Spartans and their affociates, that the confent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with Athens) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withflood them. Heereunto the Corinthans made answere, that the Spartans had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loft many places, without to promition of reflicution, & that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, for a smuch as they had lworne vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against athers, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly fuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reafon and religion to vie all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oth was no leffe to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pettilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vindertaken. As for the alliance with Argo, they faid that they would doe as they should finde cause. Having dismitted the Embassadors 20 with this answere, they made all hast to joyne themselves with Argos, and caused other States to do the like; fo that Sparta and Athens were in a manner left to themsclues, the Thebans and Megarians being also upon the point to have entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were divers, which caused this halfile confluence of fudden friends to Argos, it folikewife came to paffe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much divertitie both of inceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the Lace demonians; as the Mantingans and Eleans: thefe did firmly betake themfelues to the Argues, in whom they knew the fameaffection to be inveterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; and thefe

would rather have followed the Spartans than the Argines in warre, yet rather the 30 Argines in war than the Lacedemonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowing that the Thebans were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the focietie of the Argines, as they had done a but the different formes of gouernement, vied in Thebes and Argos, cauled the Thehanes to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by joyning withfuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This butinetle hauing ill succeeded, the Corinibians beganne to bethinke themfelues of their owne danger, who had not fo much as any truce with Athens, and yet were unprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the Albenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had 40 dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one citie that shewed against them more stomach than force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which Athens had lately made, with Sparta and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these Corinthians (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they defired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the

Heerein, as in many other paffages, may clearely be seene the great advantage 50 which absolute Lords have as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as Sparta was, by fo many States, and fome of them litic inferior to it felfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwife, the Athenians had lately, and by compultive meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants.

But in performance of conditions agreed you, the Athenius were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and gining by fish places as were agreed you or of which the Leacheniums could doe neither the one nor the other. For fish Towness a their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not be reitored without their confent, which had them in prefent policilion, and particularly the Towne of Paulic, which the Thebarsheld, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the Leacheniums (who earneilly delired); that by reithitution thereof vinto the Athenium, as earneilly demanding it, them folius might recover Pylan) vinelle they would agree to make a private alliance with Thebas; which thereupon they were laine to doe, though knowing it to bee

The Lacedemonians having broken one article of the league made between them & the Athenians, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the Thebans, who did not give vp the Towne of Panacte, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the Athenians. This was fought to have beene exculed by the Lacedamonian Embassadours, who comming to Achens (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had beene detained at Thebes; hoped with gentle wordes to salue the matter; faying, That from henceforth no enemie to Athens should nesslein Panacle, for it was destroied. But these Embassadours had not to deale with tame 20 fooles. For the Athemans told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vied fuch base collusion as stood not with their honour : having made private alliance with the Thebans; having destroied a Towne that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by warre, to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hercupon they difmiffed the Embaffadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in Athens and Sparta, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the Ephori, chosen for that yeare, in Sparta; and Alcibiades a powerfull yong Gentleman in Athens. But the Ephori, though de- 30 firing to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to bee rendred to them by couenant, especially Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Alcibiades whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him defire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable emploiment, vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilest the Athenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought face their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that advantage of breaking the peace, by reafon that the Laced commians (though indecde against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of Athens had fully determined to retaine Pylus, and to performe nothing that the Lucdamonian: (hould, and might require, vntill 40 they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereunto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing alreadie done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delinerie of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But Alcibiades wishing a speedie beginning of open warre, sent privily to the Argines, and gave them to vnderstand how fitly the time served for them to affociate themselves with Athens, which was enough to give them fecuritie against all Enemies.

The Argines vpon the first confluence of many Estates who their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all Greece against the Archans, robbing Sparta of that honour, as shaving illvsed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these suddening apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddainely changed into as vaine stare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceined of Argos. For when the Thebans had refused their alliance; when the Cerin-

thans had fought fecuritie from Athenisand when a falle rumour was noticed abroad, that Athenis, Thebets, and Sparks, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then beganne the Argines to let fall their creits, and fue for peace vnto the Lacestannanis, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauitie, and were not ouer-halfiet o acceptit. At this time, and in this perturbation, the mellage of Alcibiades came very welcome to the Argines, which were not now confoling how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to faue themfelues. Wherefore they fine away prefently to Athens, their owne Emballiadours, accompanied with the Athenisms and Eleans, to make a league offentiue, and defendine, between

Of this businesse the Lacedemonians knew not what to thinke : for well they faw, that fuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were delirous to present it; but to keepe the love of the Athenians, the new Ephori thought that more was alreadie done, than flood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to bee valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution premailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to Athens with full comission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Coun-20 cell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the recourie of Panacle: concerning which Towne, or any other bulinesse, that it much grieued the Lacedamoniam, to fee things fall out in fuch wife as might give to the Athenians cause of difpleasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even betweene them; to which purpose they shewed that themseives had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that Pylus might bee restored vnto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argines might be called a-fide. Fanourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their wordes good. But all 30 this faire likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the suddaine, by the practise of Acibiades, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedemonian Embassadours, perswaded them well of his friend thip towards their Citie, and adulfed them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knowne to the Communaltie of Athens, least the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie, and yeeld to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to varcasonable conditions. The Embassadours beleeved him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Herevpon the same Alexhades taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inneighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were 40 come to Athens for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthning themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argines and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) aireadic they had the Thehans. The people of Athers, whom a pleafing errand would hardly have fatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedemonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill beene feconded with good performance) were now fo incenfed with the double dealing of the Embassiadours, and the strong perswasions of Acabiades, that little wanted of concluding the league with Arges. Yet for the present so farre did Ni-Gist, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the bulinesse was put off, till he himselse with other Embassadours might fetch a 50 better answere from Sparta.

It may feeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of Alabiates was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the Soprim Embassadours might haue cast the loade vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth.

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CHAP. S.S.S. of the Historie of the World.

But the gravitie which was vivally found in the Lacedemonians, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handformely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought entrusty men, had they protested themselves such as would fav and vn-fav for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a fowre meffage to deliner at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reft, that the Lacedamonians thould take the paines to rebuild Panacte, and thould immediately renounce their alliance made with the Thebans; letting them understand that otherwife the Athemans, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the Argues, and their Adherents. The Ephori at Sparta had no minde to forfakethe 10 Thehans, affured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was fulfered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate they would doe no more, than only (at the request of Maiss their honourable friend, who would not feeme to have effected nothing) fweare a-new to keepe the articles of the league betweene them and Athens. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadours, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argines, Mantineans, and Eleans, with very ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedamonians were passed over with filence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it false chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the Laced emonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could vnto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recouered nothing of their owne (prifoners excepted) for defalt of reftoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in fundrie passages betweene them and the Athenians: to procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had left fundrie of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwife the Athenians, by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most of that which they loft in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were firengthened by the acceile of new Confederates.

#### V I I.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.



T was not long ere the Argines and their fellowes had found bufineffe, wherewith to let the Athenians on worke, and make vie of this conjunction. For prefuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Spar- 40 ta to defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein Athens and Spiritadid not (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally,

as to the aide of their feuerall friends. By these occasions the Corinthians, Bastians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people

of Greece, beganned new to range themselves under the Lacedemonians, and follow their enfignes. One victorie which the Lacedemonians obtained by their meere valour in a fet battaile, neare to Mantinea, against the A gine-fide, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The civill differtion arifing shortly after within Argos it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of 59 the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded to farre as to renounce the amitie of the Athenians in expresse wordes, and forced the Mantinaans to the like. But in short

space of time the multitude premailing, reverfed all this, and basing chaled away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselines to the Athenians as closely

Beside these vprores in Peloponnesius, many affaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Gre. ce, and likewile in Maccion, to the Athenians; whose forces and readinesse for execution, preuented some thinges, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athemans wanting matter of quarrell, and the Lacedamonians growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining Hill that enmitie in their hearts, which they had fufficiently discouered in effects, though not to as yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

Q. VIII.
The Athenians fending two flecis to facke Stratufe, are put to flight and viticily disconsisted.

Vring this intermission of open warre, the Athenians re-intertained meir hopes of fubduing sieit, whither they fent a fleet so mightic as s. acuer was let forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to fogreat an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibiales Author of that wing, and one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driven to banish himselfe, for feare of such judgement, as else he was like to haue under-gone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuation which the Lacedemonians made upon Attica, whileft the forces of that State were to rarre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who Supplied the Peloponne sans with money.

Neither was the successe of thinges in Sicilia such, as without helpe from Athens, could give any tikelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the begin-30 ning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they be sieged Siracuje, the chiefe Citie of the lland and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtayning the better in fundrie battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with strong aide from Peloponneliss, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the works on all fides, in fuch wife that their fleet was thut up into the hauen of Siracufe, and could not iffue out.

As the Ashenian affaires went very ill in Sial, so did they at home stand upon hard termes, for that the Lacedemonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearifome yearely journies into Atties, which having pilled and foraged, they returned home; did now by counfell of Alcibrales, who feeking renenge you his 40 owne Citizens was fled vnto them, fortifie the Towne of Deceles, which was neare to Athens, whence they ceafed not with daily excursions to harrie all the Countrie round about, and fometimes give alarme vnto the Citie it felfe.

In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacie of the Athenians was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their owne dores, an enemie little leffe mightie than themselues, did yet send forth an other fleet into sieil, to inuade a people no leffe puiffant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous euent makes soolish counsaile seeme wiser than + it was, which came to passe many times among the A'henisms, whose vaine corceipts Pallas was faid to turne vnto the best. But where vnsound adulfe finding bad proofe, 50 is obstinately pursued, neither Pallar nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the A benians, which better might have served to conney home the former, that was defeated; after fome attempts made to final! purpole against the Siraculans, was finally (together with the other part of the Na uie, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the hauen of Sire Iii 2

case, whereby the campe of the *Athenian*; ytterly deprined of all benefit by Sea, either for incoon or departure, was dritten to breake vp and flie away by Land, in which flight they were oner-taken, routed, and quite onerthrowne in fuch wife that fearce any main eleaped.

This muchiele well descruedly fell you the Athenans, who had wickedly condemned into exile sopheales and Pilinanna Generalls, formerly lent into that lie, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in Seal, whereas indiede there was not any meanes or polibilitie to have made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that Agrie, who had the chiefe command in this whappie enterpisse, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrie by the loss of that Armie, wherein to consisted into lesse than all the power of Aben's, than to adventure his owne consisted in the lesse than all the power of the seasy than to adventure his owne consisted in the lesse than all the power of the seasy than to be due to the same defence that the first tence of ludges before his triall resoluted to condemne him, by retiring from Sussesses, when writedome and necessitie required it. For (said he) they shad sine some one consistent of large, when wiselesses were not be required in the said of the less than the said of the less the said of the lesses and danger be well convented to frame their tales to the plusses of the lesse and insoletin mall anger be well convented to frame their tales to the plusses of the less and insoletin mall.

This refolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of 20 an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dilhonour by the affurance of his well-informed conference, rather than by the malicious report and centure of others) yet it may be excufed; fince he had before his cies the injustice of his people; and had well underflood that a wicked fencence is infinitely worfe than a wicked last, as being L. a president and patterne, whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Ther fore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was fuch, as a contlant man could not cafily have over-maftered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectacion of fafetie than the faint hope of a feeret flight, he was fo terrified with an Eclipfe of the Moone, happening when they were about to 36 dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp breake vp till four and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as theissue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heauens, and the course of Nature, would be as vnjust as his Athenians, or might pretend leffe cuill to the flouthfull, than to fuch as did their best. Neither doc I thinke that any Astrologer can alleage this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folic of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had C. Cassiu the Reman, he, who flew Juliu: Celar, imitated this superstition of Wieins, be had furely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retyring the broken remainder of Craffus his Armie descated by 40 the Parthian Archers was aduifed, upon fuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of Scorpio; he made answere that he stood not in such feare of Scorpio, as of Sagittarius. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon carel, hee made fuch a fafe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

Spiers dominabitur astris.

Thus we fee that God, who ordinarly workes by a concatenation of meanes, depriues the Gouernours of understanding, when hee intends cuill to the multitude; and that the wickednessed in just men is the readic meane to weaken the vertue of 50 shose who might have done them good.

φ. I X.

Of the troubles where into the State of Athens fell, after the great loffe of the Fleet, and Armie, in Sicilia.

He Iosse of this Armie was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accompted a very little lesse calamite to that is state, than was the subscription of the walls, when the Citic about steen yeares after was taken by Lylander. For now beganne the Subjects of the Athenian Listate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their owners.

A therefore there held out; some for feare of greater inconnenence were feat at illustric, promiting only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been etheir Subjects; others hauing a kind of libertie oftered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very winclationably, that the principal men of Athens being wearied with the peoples infolencie, tooke upon them to change the forme of that Lifate, and bring the gouernement into the handes of a few. 10 which purpose confipring with the Captaines which were abroad, they can fed them to fer up the forme 20 of an Aristocratic in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the neane time,

20 oran Arthod and the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meetne time, fome that were most likely to withit and this innovation, being slaine at .athous, the Commonaltie were so dismaid that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number of the league. In this generall searche Majedice of .tthous was vumped by source hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded uppon by the greater part of voices: but the thinges propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves, neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and give consent, for whose ever pressumed any 30 further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the mur-

30 further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murider. By the fe meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the effablishment of
this new Authoritie, which neuerthelesse indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the sle of \$\int\_{amer}\$ is dalatogether detestithes dealings of the
foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they recoked. Alcibiade out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the
Passim King had promised vnto the Letechnomians, were by Tislaphen net his Lieutenairs, made vnprositable, through the slow and bad performance. Activities had
at the first beene very well entertained in Sparts, whileth his seruice done to that
State was not growne to be the object of enuie. But when it appeared that in counfaile and good performance he so faire excelled all the Latecknomians, that all their

good fucceffe was afcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; efpecially Agis one of their Kings, whole wife had fo fat yeelded her felfe to the loue of this Alberian, that among her inward friends thee could not forbeare to call her yong child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that Aleibade flould be killed out of the way. But he difcouering the Sparian trecherie, conucighed himfelfe vnto Tissaphernes, whom he so bewitched with his great beautic, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roies affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings tressures and forces in those parts. Then beganne he to adulte Tissaphernes, not so farre 50 forth to assist the Lacedamonians, that they should quite overthrow the Seate of Assistant the to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, where

by all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsails hee made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only fauourice

of fo great a Potentate) hee plaied his owne game, procuring his restitution. At

length his banithment being repealed by the Armic, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the

Souldiers to the Goueinors; or at least to discretcheir heat an other way, and turne

it vpon the common bnemie. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as

being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly because they faw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being leile regarded by the

gett of their companions, than stood with their good liking, fought to acquit them-

selves of it as honeity as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to ob-

charities and the greatnesse of their Citie, if they might, but if this could not be they

did rather with to preferue their owne power, or fafetie at least, than the good F-

flate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made fundric ouertures of peace to

the Lagedamonians, deliring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affir-

ming that they were fitter to bee trusted than the wavering multitude; especially

confidering that the Citic of Sparta was gouerned by an Arijiocratie, to which forme

they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the four hundred (or

the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedamonians, were kept as secret as might be.

For the Citie of Aihens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was

much more auerfe, trufting well that the discord of the Athenians (not voknowne

abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in

effect (though norther prefently) came to passe. And upon this hope King des

did sometimes bring his forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, hee

received fome small losses. Likewise the Nauic of Peloponnesus made shew of at-

tempting the Citic, but feeing no likelihood of fuccesse, they bent their course from

thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune

of the Athenians might more lightly have beene regarded, than in this their decaied

estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisedome, they should

any terrour of the warre. For the diffention within the walls might foone have

done more hurt than could be received from the Fleet or Armie without, which

indeede gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long.

The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their autho-

ritie, which they could not now hold, when the people having taken armes to repell

forraine enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed them selves from

fuch as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernement

a full restitution of the sourraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the

Citic, but only to fine thousand; which companie the four hundred (when their

rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citic, or to the Countries neare adjoyning 30

not inclined to make composition; from which vpon insterground the enemie was 20

taine peace of the Lacedemonians, defiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne au-

diers desire.

ò. X.

How ALCIBIADES wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe deposed.

His establishment of thinges in the Citic, was accompanied with some good fuccessein the warres. For the Lacedemonians were about the fame time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the Athenian fleet which had remained at Samos, to which Sicibiades afterwards

joyning fuch forces as he could raife; obtained many victories, Before the Towne of Abydus, his arrivall with eighteene ships gaue the honour of a great battaile to the Athenians; hee ouerthrew and otterly destroicd the fleet of the Lacedemonians, commanded by Mindarus, tooke the Townes of Cyzicus, and Perinthus, made the Seigmbrians ranfome their Citie, and fortified Chrysopolis. Hereupon letters were lent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the diffreile of the Armie in these few wordes: Alis lost; MINDARVS is flaine; the Souldiers want vi Tualls; we know not what to doe.

Shortly after this, Alcibiades overthrew the Lacedemonians in fight by Land at 20 Chalcedon, tooke Selymbria; befieged and wanne Byzantium, now called Conflantinople, which even in those daies was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Hereuppon hereturned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driuen to banish himselse againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrarie to the expressecommand of Alcibiades, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of Alcibiades was to the Athenians more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they received, was (though more heavie 30 to them, yet) leffe to be pittied of others, than that which enfued ypon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to advertitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of fuch danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weake estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after injurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of Alabiades, arrived at the fleet, hee presented battaile to Lt sander the Lacedemonian Admirall, who was not so consident upon his former victorie, as to undertake A'cibiades himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had beene under his Lieutenant. But when the 40 decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did Aleibiades with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon Hellesport , called Bizanthe , where hee had built a

X I.

The battaile at Arginuse, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.



Fter this time the Athenians, receiving many loffes and discomfitures, were driven to flie into the Hauen of Atytelene, where they were straightly belieged both by Land and Sea. For the railing of this siege necessitie inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as affiftants; herein feeming 40 to doe little wrong or none to the Commonaltic, who feldome affembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the handes of so many, it was soone agreed that Alcibiades and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at Sames should bee requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Soul-

è. X. 50

was fought at Arginufa, where Callieratidas, Admirall of the Lacedamonians, looting the honor of the day, preferued his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight It might well have beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who joyntly had command in chiefe over the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies feruice, and so happie a victorie, haue received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwife they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if wilifully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and funke, to be cast away, when by appointing fome Veffells to take them vp, they might have faved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very just answere; That they purfuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under fulficient men, to faue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplified, it was, because a tempestarifing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who faid, That he him felfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had beene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to delire of the people reuenge of their deaths upon the Captaines. It was very strange that, vpon such an acculation maintained with so flender enidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrie should bee onerthrowne. But their enemies had so incenfed the rascall multitude, that no mandurst absolue them, faue only Socrates the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one 20 had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doc relected by other vessells in the storme : but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and percerted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamie of injustice; but the divine justice was not a fleepe, nor would be so deluded.

#### ð. XII.

The battaile at Agos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnessian Warre.

He Pelepannelim Rect vnder Lyfander, the yeare next following, having foured the £gean Sea, entred Helefpont, where (landing souldiers) it belieged and tooke the Towne of Lampfauu. Hereupponall the Nauico of £thens, being an hundred and fourefore fails, made thitter in halte, but finding Lampfauu taken before their comming, they put in at Seises, where having refreshed themselves, they failed to the Riucr called, £ges-Patames, which is (as we might name it) Gastes-breeke, or the 42 Riuer of the Gastes, being on the Continent, opposite to Lampfauus and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from Lyfander, who rode at £ampfaus in the harbour. The next day after their arrivall they prefented fight vnto the Pelepane-fam, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned against to £ges-Painnes, and thus they consinued fine dases, brauing euery day the Ememie and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards curning.

The Castle of Acidisades was not farre from the Nauie, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his Countrimen, if they could have made vse offit. For he had waged Mercinaries, and making watre in his ownename vpon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much yoreputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired wno them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not some fore-see and preventit. For they lay in a roade subject to every some processing the support of the processing the support of t

ry weather, neither neare enough to any Towne wherethey might furnish themfaues with necessaries, nor so farre off as had beene more expedient. Selfus was the next Market- Towne; thither both Souldiers and Marriners reforted, flocking away from the Nauie enery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemie. Therefore A abisales willed them either to he at Seilus, which was not farre off, or at the least to consider better how neare their enemie was, whose scare proceeded rather from obedience to his Cenerall, than from any cowardife. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date Hadit not beene for these opprobrious wordes, hee could (as hee told his familiars) have compelled the Lacedemonians, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vtterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might fo haue done, by transporting the light-armed Thraci-ns his Consederates, and others his Followers over the Straights, who affaulting the Pelaponnefians by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their saips to the mercie of he Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counfaile no better than hath beene rehearfed, hee left them to their fortune, which how eaill it would bee he did prognosticate.

Islander all this whiledefending himfelfe by the advantage of his Hauen, was 20 not carefelfe in looking into the demeanour of the Athenius. When they departed, his manner was to fend forth fome of his fwitefit Veffells after them, who obfruing: seir doings, related vinto him what they had fene. Therefore vinderitaning in what carefulfe failtion they romed vp and downe the Countrie; hee kept all his mena-boord after their departure, and the fift day gaue effectail charge to his Scours, That when they perceined the Athenium difembarking, as their customews, and walking towards Schos, they should forthwith returne, and hang vpabrazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and Lylan.er win, in a readineffe, made all freedethat through of Oares could give, to Eggs-Patamas, where he found vegor yf worth is enemies a boord their flips, not many nearethem, and all in great contains upon the newes of his approch.

In 6 much that the greatest industrie which the Athenian then shewed, was in the cleape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gauc ouer Athens as desperate, and made a long slight vitto the slic of Cyprus, all the rest were taken, and inch of the Souldiers as came in to the refue cut in pecces. \*
Thu, was the Warre which had lasted seuen and twentie yeares, with variable forcess; concluded in one houre, and the glorie of Athens in such wise Eclipsed, that then seuer afterward shone againe in her perfect light.

Immediately vponthis victorie, Lylander, hauing taken in fuch Townes as readodly did yeeld vponthe first flame of his exploit, set faile for Ashem, and ioyning his forces with those of Ages and Paulsains, Kings of Sparta, summoned the Citie, which sinding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to be wonne on the suddance, heep us forth againet o Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling allthe llands, and fuch Townes of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Ashemians, to submit themselues to Sparta, beed dithereby cut off all prouisson of victualls, and other needstries, from the Citie, and inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions. That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be thrownedowne; That all Cities subject to their Towne to the Port, and the fields adjoyning to their Towne; And that they should keepe no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Inemies, the same, whom the Lacedemonium did, and follow the Lacedemoniums as Leaders in the Warres.

These articles being agreed upon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoycing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens; and not without some confuitation of delitroying the Citie, and laying waite the Land about it. Which aduife, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Gouetnours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompended their former infolencie and injuttice ouer their Captaines, by opprelling them with all base and intolerable flauerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the Alcibiades, was, that Alcibiades might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiuing this, aductifed the Lacedemonians thereof, who contriued, to and (as nowe domineering in cueric quarter) foone effected his fuddaine

Such end had the Peloponnesian Warre. After which the Lacedemonians abufing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew veric odious to all Greece, and by Combination of manie Cities against them, were dispossed of their high authoritic, euen in that very Age, in which they had fubdued Athens. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the Thebans, led by Epimmon as, vider whom Philip of Alicedon, Father to Alexander the Great. had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the Citic of Sparta (besides other great losses received) was fundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haugh 20 tie attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the feuerall Estates and Signories of Greee, were growne so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the Ladedemontans, Athenians, Argines, and Thebans, which were the mightieft, affociating themselues with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrie remained rather eucoly ballanced, than well agreeing, till fuch time as Philip, and after him Alexander,

Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had beene dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into feruitude, from which they never could be free, till the Romaines prefenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselues indeede become their

Masters.

CHAP.

CHAP. 9. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

How the affaires of Persia slood in these times.



VRING the times of this Peloponnesian Warre, and those other leffe expeditions foregoing it, Artaxerxes Longimanus, having peaceably injoyed a long raigne ouer the Persians, lett it by his death either to Darius, who was called Darius Nothus, or the Baftard, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing ouer Aerxe, the fecond, and Sogdianus, as Vlurpers, and for their thort raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to Nerves the fecond, who, and his brother Sozdianus after him (feeming to have beene the fonnes of Hefter ) held the Kingdome but one yeare betweene them, the yonger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have faid be-

fore) to purfue the Historie of the Persians from honceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be eincident to the affaires of Greec. It may therefore suffice to say, That Nerves the second, being a vitious Prince, did perilhafter a moneth or two, if not by furfeit, then by treacherie of his as riotous bro. 30 ther Sogdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he flew vnjuftly Bagorazas a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother Darius the Bastard, had not hee foreseene it, and by railing a stronger Armie than this hated King Sog dianus could leavie, seized at once you the King and Kingdome. Darius having flaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. Amyrteus of Sais an Agyptian rebelled against him, and having partly flaine, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmely with the Greekes, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (not withstanding the furie of their ciuil) Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the daics of this Darius, and of his sonne Artanernes 40 Minemon. Likewise Amorges, a subject of his owne and of the Roiall bloud, being Licutenant of Caria, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the Athemians. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell you the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life into the Spartans, and given courage to the Ilanders and others, subject to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for Darius, that the Lacedemonians being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impoffible to advance the warre against the State of Athens, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driven to crave his affiftance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league 30 betweene him and them were fet downe in more precise termes, wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre joyntly vpon the Athenians, and ypon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of A/ia, which had formerly beene his, or his Predecessours, should return to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre en-

fuing (of which I have alreadic spoken) herecovered all that his Grand-father and Father had loft in Aira. Likewise by affiftance of the Lacedemonians he got Amorges a-line into his handes, who was taken in the Citie of Iafus; the Athenians wanting cither force or courage to succour him. Neuertheleffe Leppt still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot bee the emploiment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was infufficient to performe. Darius had in marriage Paryfatu his owne fifter, who bare vnto him (belides other children) Artaxerxes called Atte-10 mon, that is to fay, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and Cyrus the yonger, a Prince of fingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever Persia bred after Gyrm the Great. But the old King Darius, intending to leave vnto his elder sonne Artaxerxes the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous cie vpon the doings of yong Cyrus, who being Lieutenant of the lower Asia, tooke more vpon him than besitted a Subject : for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his yonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre between ethese bretheren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, wee shall have occasion to speake some- 29 what in more conuenient place.

#### ð. I I.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.



Hold it in this place most convenient to shew the proceedings of the freekes, after the subversion of the walls of Athens, which gaucend to that warre called the Pelaponnessan warre, but could not free the valiappie Countrie of Greeces from civil broiles. The thirtie Gours onours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of Athens, were chosen

at the first by the people to compile a bodie of their Law, and make a collection of fuch ancient Statutes, as were meeted to be put in practife; the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supermeanthorite, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did for require it, wherein the Law being vincertaine, it was six that such men should give judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to be cordered, were become subject. But these thirtie having so great power in their handes, were more carefull to hold it, than to descrue by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them 40 in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who considered their lewed conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselues, how casie a thing it would bee vnto their thirtie men, to take away the lines of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or whateslie they liked; when condemnation without due triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of gouernment, they thought it best to fortist chemselues with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needes commit for the class 50 bildhing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to \$parts, they informed the \*Lacedemonian\*, that it was the full intent of the thirties, to keep the Citic free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behough them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the \*Lacedemonian\* to send

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard fent, the Captaine of which was fo well entertained by the thirde, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the Citic, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able, to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernement: whereby there was such effusion of bloud, as to Theramenes (one of the thirtie) feemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His diffike of their proceedings to being openly discouered, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselues, and provide for their owne fecuritie, and his destruction, least he should make himselfe a Captain of the ascontrated (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeemehis owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens. whom they thought meetest, and gaue vinto them some part of publique authoritie, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their ownestrength, and weakened their opposites, they beganne a-fresh to shed the bloud, not only of their private enemies, but of fuch whose money, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the ow-20 ner to death. But when Theramenes yttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did Critias, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priviledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but hauethe accustomed triall) he tooke vpon him to strike out of that number the name of Theramenes, and so reduced him under the triall and sentence of that order. It was wellalleaged by Theramenes, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, vpon which confideration hee aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but (enery man choosing rather to preserve his owne 20 life by filence, than prefently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neare him) the Tyrants interpreting filence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poifon.

## §. III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.



Fter the death of Theramenes, the thirtie beganne to vie fuch outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feareor thame, defpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauling them to flie into banishment, for fafeguard of their lines. This flight of the Citi-

zens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the Citie. For the banished Citizens, who were sled to Thebes, entred into consultation, and resoluted to hazard their lives in setting free the Citie of Ashem. The very thought of such a practise had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captaine Thrassibalus tooke Phyle, a place of strength in the Territoric of 50 Ahm. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than sceke meanes to previent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their Lacedemonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyle, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that fell, and other storms.

weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Ci-

tie, which about all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege.

But it was not long ere the followers of Thrafybulus were encreased from leuentie to feuen hundred, which aduentured to give charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twentie. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand men got entrance into Piraus, the suburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming, the thirtie had refolued to fortific the Towne of Elewine, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an eafie retrait, and faue themselves from any suddaine perill. It

may well feeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernement had brought them into fuch danger, they were fo farre from feeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwife, to affure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place

who could beare armes into their handes by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder

forme of justice) murthered them all. But, Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter,

the mischiefs which they had alreadie done were such, as left them no hope of go-

ing backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of fafetie, than by extending their

crueltie vnto all, feeing few or none were left, whom they could truft. When Thra-

Tybulus and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the Piraus,

it; but in this enter prife Thrafybulus had the better, and repelled his enemies, of

whom although there were flaine to the number of feuentie, only yet the victorie

feemed the greater, because Critics, & one other of the thirtie, perished in that fight.

The death of Critias, and the stout defence of Piraus, together with some exhorta-

tions vsed by Thrasybulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect that the thirtie were

deposed. Neuerthelesse there were so many of the three thousand, who having

communicated with the thirtie in their mildeedes, seared to be called to a sharpeaccount, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could be established. For

Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who craving aide against Thrasybulus, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power fent to their affiftance, both by Land 30

and Sea, under the conduct of Lyfander, and his Brother; whom Paufanias the Spar-

tan King did follow, railing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the Lacedamomians. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of

Sparta: The Baotians, and Corinthians, who in the late warres had beene the most

bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow Paulanias in this expedition; alleaging

then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to affault 20

CHAP. X. Of the expedition of CYRVs the yonger.

The grounds of CYRVS his attempt against his brother.

HE matters of Greece now standing vpon such terme that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of Lacedamon; yong Cyrus, brotherto Artaxernes, King of Persia, having in his fathers life time very carefully profecuted the warre against Athens, did send his mesfengers to Sparta, requelting that their love might appeare no leffe to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous warre against the Athenians. To this request, being generall, the Lacedemonians gaue a futable answere, commanding their

should require of him. If Cyrus had plainely discouered himselfe, and the Lacedemonians bent their whole power to his affiftance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of Perfia linould have been the recompence of his deferts, or that he periffing in battaile, as after he did, the subucrison of that Empire had forthwith enfued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the Greekes the waies, which under the Macedoman Enlignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and ope-30 ning vnto them the riches, and with all the weakenesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both defire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The lone which Pary faits the Queene-Mother of Persia bare vnto Cyrus her yonger sonne, being seconded by the carnest sauour of the people, and readiedefires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before beene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother Artawerves established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not fafe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might 40 eafily loofe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in Afia the leffe, and hardly bee able to maintaine his ownelife. The nearest neighbour to Cyrus of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardise, trecherie, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his Father, vling by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well beethought that Queene Pary fatis had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true that Pary atis had vfed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleaging that (which in former ages had beene much availeable to Xexxes, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was borne whilest his father was a private man, but Cyrus, when he was 50 acrowned King. All which not sufficing; when the most that could bee obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydin, and the parts adjoyning: then did this Tissaphernes discouer his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new King Artaxerxes, of a dangerous treafon intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true of false, very

CHAP.

that it flood not with their oathes, to make warre against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league : but fearing, indeede, least the Lacedamonians should annexe the Territorie of Athens to their owne Demaines. It is not

to bee doubted that Paufanias tooke this answere in good part. For it was nothis purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings 40

of Lysander, whom he enuied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of Thrafybulus his partie, made a flew of warre, he finally wrought fuch meanes that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and such others, as were

like to give cause of tumult, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having with drawne themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to at-

tempt some innouation, whereupon the whole Citie rising against them, tooke their

Captaines, as they were comming to Parlie, and flew them: which done, to avoide

further inconvenience, a law was made that all injuries past should be forgotten, and

no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

Admirall to performe vnto Cyrus all feruice that hee

eatily believed, Cyrus was arrefted, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Province.

## I I.

The preparations of CVRVS, and his first entrie into the Ware.

Guerall Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; viually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet fometimes one with an other: which was the more eatily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleafure, which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoeuer it were, or they could conjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being fetled in Lydis, began to confider with himfelfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the finall affurance of his brothers lone, held only by his Mothers intercellion; the diffrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedemonians, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtain the Crowne for himfelfe. Neither was it expedient that he should 20 long lit idle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise fomewhat whileft yet his Mother lined, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worfe than only questionable. Hereupon hee first beganne to quarrell with Tiffephernes, and feized vpon many Townes of his jurifdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not Artaxerxes at all, who (belides that hee was of condition formewhat timple) being truely paid by Cyrus the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrells. But Tislaphernes, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardife despised, although he durst not aduenture to take armes against Cyrus, yet perceiuing that the Milesians were about to give up them- 20 felues into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other Townes of the tenians had done, thought by terrour to preferue his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne bandes. Wherefore he flew many, and many he banished, who flying to Cyrue, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no fmall part of his defire. In leaving Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he tookenot only the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adjovning, whose lines were readie at his will; but fecretly he furnished some Gracian Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, fome of them warring in Thrace, others in Theffalie, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them readie to croffe the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had se- 40 cret inftructions to prolong their feuerall warres, that the Souldiers might bee held. in continual exercise, and readic in armes upon the sodaine. Cyrus having sent a power of men to beliege Mietus, forthwith fummoned these bands of the Greekes, who very readily came ouer to his affiftance, being thirteene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Artimerxes. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very calily have forced Miletus, and chased away Tiffaphernes out of Affathe leffe: but his purpose was not so to loose time in small matters, that was to bee imploied in the accomplishment of higher designes. Pretending therefore that the Pilidians, a people of Alia the leffe, not fubicet to the Persian, had inuaded his Terri- 50 torie, he raifed the fiege of Miletus, and with all speede marched Eastward, leuing Tillabhernes much amased, who had no leasure to rejoyce that Cyrus had left him to himfelfe, when he confidered that fo great an Armie, and fo firong was never levied against the Rouers of Pisidia, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

cause taking a band of fine hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

#### III.

How CYRVS tooke his tourney into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

He tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene Statina, againft Parylatis, the Queene-Mother, whom finee called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whileft the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haltened upon him very fall. For Cyrus made great marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though moit fitrengthned by the accessor of seuen hundred of rekes, and of other four hundred of the fame Nation, who resulted who him from the Kine. How terrible

marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen. though moit strengthned by the accesse of seven hundred Greekes, and of other sour hundred of the same Nation, who revolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the Greekes were to the Barbarians, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of Cilicia, who had brought him aide) hee made in Phrygia; where the Greekes by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which to contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiping that this was but a brauerie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers for faking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to Cyrus a joyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the fame temper. and the more vnlikely to make relistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne a-long by meere affection and good will. Neuertheleffe he found it a very hard matter to per fwade the Greekes to passe the River of Emphrates. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedrous returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to feeke excuses, telling them that Abrocomas one of 20 the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemie, lay by the River against whom he requested them to affish him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to Euphrates, where some of the Greekes confidering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thankes, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perfwaded to doe as fome had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out Artaxerxes, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raifed an Armie of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident ypon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. Abrocomies, who with three hundred thousand men had under-taken to 40 make good the Straights of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a firong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to feeme impregnable, had quitted the paffage, and retired himfelfe toward the Kings forces. not daring to looke Cyrus in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the Lacedamonian fleete, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Armic. I doe not finde that this cowardife of Abrocomas, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe till five daies were past after the battaile, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same mettall.

Therefore Artacerses was voon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of 50 his Kingdome, vntill by Teribasms, one of his Capasines, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the Enemie, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most availeable) would have growne superior in reputation. By such advice the King resoluted vpon meeting with his brother, who now beganne to be service the superior who have superior who have superior who now beganne to be serviced by the superior who have s

cure, being fully perswaded that Artaxerxes would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broade, and eighteene foot deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing fo fafe as to be farre diffant from his enemies.

#### ò. IIII.

#### The battaile betweene CYRVS and ARTAXERXES.



He Armie of Cyrus having over-come many difficulties of enill waies. and fearcitie of victualls, was much encouraged by perceining this great feare of Artaxerxes, and being past this trench, marched carelesty in great diforder, having bettowed then Albania Vaunt-currors,
Bealts of carriage; when on the fodaine one of their Vaunt-currors,

brought newes of the Kings approch. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River Euphrates, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they faw not till it was after-noone. But when they faw the clowd of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neare approach how well they were marthalled, comming on very orderly, infilence, whereas it had beene expected, that rushing violently with lowd clamours, they should have spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one bodie and Iquare, that Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian manner) in the middest of his owne, did not with the corner and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of Artaxerxes his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of Cyrus: then did the Greeks beginne to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessive oddes. It was all most incredible, that so great an Armic should bee so casily 30 chased. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrarie to their custome) to give charge vpon their enemies with filence; had not learned (for it was contrarie to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the Greekes, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and lithes (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and Cyrus not twentie) did small hurt that day, because the driuers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his encmiesgaue so much confidence to Cyrus, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had been affured 40 vnto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that Artaxerxes, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompasse the Greekes, and to set vppon them in the reare, he advanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge vpon a squadron of fixe thousand which lay before the King, that hee brake it, flaying the Captaine thereof, Artagerses, with his owne hands and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of fixe hundred, very few excepted, beganne to follow the chase, leaving Cyrus too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; I fee the man, and presently with a small handfull of 50 men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base-fellow, wherewith astonied,

hee fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their bett for his fafetie; not caring atterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceived that Cyrus their Malter was flaine. Artaxerxes caused the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith firicken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them fled apace, calling vpon the name of Cyrus, and deliring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and vtterly difmated fuch Persian Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eies, no better than rebells; it was not long ere the Campe of Cyrus was taken, being quite abandoned, from 10 whence Artaxerxes, making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greekes, which was about three miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There hec met with Tissaphernes, who having made way through the battaile of the Greekes, was readic now to joyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which Artaxerxes brought with him of his brothers death, beene sufficient to counteruaile all disasters received; the exploit of Tissaphernes in breaking through the Greekes would have yeelded little comfort. For Tiffaphernes had not flaine any one man of the Greekes, but contrariwife, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great flaughter through them, in such wife that hee rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the 10 Greekes. Hercof the King being informed by him, and that the Greekes, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these Greekes, intending to set upon them in reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approch, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purfued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold-fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom hee would seeme to have slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this 30 reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, by shewing a manlylooke, halfea mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might have encouraged his people, had not some of the Greekes espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neare them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approch, fled vpon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, faue only the Greekes, who had loft that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of Cyrus, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to returne to 40 their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leifure to Dine.

The bard estate of the Greekes after the fight; and how ARTAXERXES in vaine fought to have made them yeeld vate him



T was now about the fetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might ferue for foode: so that wanting victualls to fatisfie their hunger, they refreshed their wearie bodies with sleepe. In the meane season Artaxerxes returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he

perceived that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainely discouered to the Greekes: which gaue him affurance, that if any of these who had beheld the thamefull demeanor of his Armie, should live to carrie tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee refolued, to trie all meanes, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which hee had feene : to which purpose hee sent them a braue medage the next morning. Charging them to deliuer up their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It feemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the Greekes being advertised that morning from Ciriaus, a principall Commander under Cyrus, that his Mafter being flaine, he had retired himfelfe to the place of their latten camping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into lonia, his meaning was to diflodge the next day; awaiting for them fo long if they would joyne with him, but refoluing to flay no longer; they fent anfwere back to drieus, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durit reaft them, they would place Arress himselfe in the Kings Throne, if 4 he would joyne with them, and purfue the victorie. Before they received any reply to this answere, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Campe, whose errand feemed to the Captaines very infolent : One told them that it was not for the 29 Vanquithers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that hee would die ere hee yeelded to fuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victoric, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he defired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question Phalinus a Gracian, waiting upon Tiffaphernes, answered; That the King having flaine Cyrus, knew no man that could pretendany Title to his Kingdome, in the middest whereof hee held them faft enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted fireigth to kill if they would hold up their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These wordes, to them, who knew themselves to 20 be free, were nothing pleafant. Therefore, one told Phalinus, that having nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whileft they kept their Armes, their Valour would be feruiceable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat Phalinus laughed, laying; This yongman did sceme a Philosopher, and made a pretie speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that Phalinus being a Courtier. and imploied in a bulinesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a Statesman, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdome herein failed him. For what focuer he him felfe was (of whom no more is knowne than 40 that he brought an vnhonest message to his owne Countrimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Liues, to the mercilesse Bar barians this you Scholler by him despised, was that great Aenophon, who, when all the principall Commanders were furprifed by treacherie of the Perfians, being a private Gentleman, and having neuer scene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought fafe into Greese, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Philinus could propound. Some there were who promifed to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to Cyrus, offering their feruice in Agypt, where they thought Artaxerxes might have vse of them. But the finall answere was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends , nordefend 50 themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon Phalinus delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto hee required their answere. Clearchus the Generall told him, they liked it. How (faith Phalinus) must I undertand you? as choosing peace if we flay, otherwife warre, faid clear chins. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embaffadour. To whom Clearchia (not willing to acquaint him with their purpofe.) Let our doings tell you; and fo difmiffed him, no wifer than he came. All that day the Greeks were faine to feede vpentheir Horfes, Affes, and other Batts, which they rofted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, thrown a way by the Enemies.

## è. V I.

How the Greekes beganne to returne home-wards.



T night they tooke their way towards Ariaus, to whom they came at mid-night; being for faken by four chundred foote, and fortic horfe, all Tratiums, who fled ouer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in peeces: for had they been kindly vfed, it may well be thought that fome

of them should have accompanied Tiffaphernes, and ferued as Stales to draw in the rell. Artess being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke upon seeking the Kingand dome for himfelfe, with fuch affittance as might have given it vnto Cyrus, was very well pleafed to make couenant with them for mutuall affifiance vnto the lait: Whereumo both parts having fworne, he adulfed them to take another way home ward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relecue them with victualls, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearifome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselues to haue encamped: towards which Clearehus made directly, because hee would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath confidered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the Gracians being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrie, should be very fearefull: but it is all most past beleefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuoufly, as the present condition inforced them to doe, thould make the Perfians flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in flead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came Meffengers from Artaxernes, defiring free accesse for Emballadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that fuch particulars doe best open the qualitie of the persons, by whom thinges were managed, I should hold it fitter, to

runne oner the generall paffages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances.

40 But furely it is a point very remarkeable, That when Cleurchus had willed the McG fengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the Greeker as he faid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full;

Anterixed differabling the indignitie, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, fending them guides who conducted them to a place where was plentic of victualls to releeue them.

8. VII.

## ò. V I I.

How TISSAPHERNES under colour of peace betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.



therto the Greekes, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Fox Tilisphernes, who circumuenting the chiefe Commanders by fine fleights, did mischienously entrapthem, to the extreme danger of the Armie. 15

He told them, that his Prouince, lying neare vnto Greece, had caused him greatly to delire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be vnthankefull for such a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of Grushis intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the Greekes, when all others turned their backs ! that hee, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the Barbarians that flood on the part of Cyrus. All this (quoth hee) did I alleage to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you fafe into Greece; in which faite 20 I have good hope to speede, if you will fend a mildeanswere to him, who bath willed me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which Tiffsphernes relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he faid) that peace should be granted : the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victualls by force, in any place that resulted to affoord them an open Market. Hereunto both parties having sworne, the League was concluded, and Tiffaphernes returning to the King to take leaue, and end all bufinesse, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they set forward. This 30 interim of twentie daies, which Tiffaphernes did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of miltrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of Ariens, repairing daily to him, and other Perfians to his Souldiers, did worke him and them fo with affurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the Greekes, than formerly he had beene. This caused many to aduise Clewchus, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relie upon couenants, and sit still whilest the King laied snares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting 40 withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee faw no reason why the enemie should haue clogged himfelfe if he meant mischiese, having power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tisciphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may bee valued by greatneffeand place in Court) which caused his Oath to bee the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawne it from him. But his fallhood was fuch, both in fubstance and in fuccesse, as may fitly expound that faying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, I hate a rich man alyar. A lye may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his ori- 52 ginall from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almightic, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abhominable; for the offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his ownestrength against the divine Justice, doth commit that finne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamen-

table effects, and is followed with fure vengeance. It was not long ere Tiliaphernes found meanes to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall Clearchus himselfe the meane to draw in all the reft. The businesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed some daies together, in fuch wife, that the Persians did not encampe with the Greekes, who were very jealouse of the great familiaritie, appearing betweene Tissaphernes, and Arious; Cien chus thought it convenient to roote out of Tiffaphernes his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had growne in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, hee rehearfed the oath of Confederacie, which had patt beto tweene them, showing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the Greekes did receive by the helpe of Tisaphernes, hee promised that their love should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vse of their service against the Mysians or Pisidians, who were accustomed to infest his Prouince, or against the Azyptians, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he defired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspition, whereby might grow fuddaine inconvenience to either of them, vpon no just ground. The faithlesse Perfian was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told Clearchus, that all this was by him in wifely confidered, withing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue yied to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the Countrie, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needes have perished by meere famine. For which cause hee said that it had beene great folly, to fecke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were alreadie in his handes; But the truth was, that his owneloue to them had moved him to worke their fafetie, not only for those ends which Clearchus had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their affistance; but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what Cyrus had mist. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and fent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promifed to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, Tiffaphernes likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by fecret information fought to raife diffention between them. Clearchus himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the camp of Tistaphernes, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had beene to some common Faire. But being there arrived, Clearchus with other the fine principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a figne was given, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the relidue flaine. Forthwith certaine bands of Per-40 fram Horse-men scoured the field, killing as many Greekes as they met, and riding vo to the very Campe of the Gracians, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping forely wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Hereupon the Greeker tooke Armes in halt, thinking that the enemie would forthwith haue affailed their Campe. Anon they might perceive the Embassadours of Tisaphernes, among whom were his owne brother, and Arieus, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Armie, faying, That they brought a meffage from the King, which Arieus deliuered to this effect. That Clearchus hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was juftly rewarded with death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other of the fine Co-50 ronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to furrender their Armes, which were due to him, as having belonged vnto his feruant Crrus. When some altercation had followed vpon this meilige, Xenophon told the Embassadours, that if Clearchus had in such fort offended, it was well that he was in fuch fort punished: but he willed them to fend backe

Menon and Proxenus, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the Greekes might be aduifed how to answere the Perlian. Hereunto the Embaffadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. Clearchus, and the other foure were fent to Artaxerxes, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of Tisaphernes, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province walled by the Greekes, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aide of men and money, heedid so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous 10 of his cunning head, and fent a new Lieutennant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the scruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. Dut now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betraied brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiese vpon the whole Armie.

How XENOPHON heartened the Greekes, and in destight of Tissa-PHERNES went off fafely.



Reat was the heavinesse of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no leffe their feare of the cuill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to avoide. Among the rest, Xenophon, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe fadnesse of the whole Armie to be such, as hindred them from taking

any course of preuenting the danger at hand, beganne to adulse the under-Officers of Proxenus his companies, whose familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke them- 30 felues of fome meane, whereby their fafetic might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: fetting before their eyes what socuer might serue to give them hope, and about all perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercie of their barbarous

Hereupon they defired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment ; and fo together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeede in the places of those who were flaine, or taken. This being done, and order fet downe for difburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loile of Tisaphernes his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than 40 he had beene wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paffe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by Tisiphernes, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the Persian Archers, who shot at a farcher distance than the Greekes could reach. For this cause did Xenophon prouide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemie; and finding some Horses sit for service, that were imploied among the carriages he fet men vpon them; training likewise his Archers, to shoote compasse, who had been accustomed to the point blancke. By these 50 meanes did hee beare off the Persians who affailed him; and sometimes gaue them chace with that band of fiftie Horse, which being well backt, with a sirme bodie of footmen, and feconded with troupes of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loofe. Tisaphernes not daring to come to handle-gripes with

these resolute men, did possesses the tops of Mountaines, and places of advantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through ail fuch difficulties, he betooke himfelfe to that course, which was indeede the furest, of burning the Countrie. With great forrow did the Greekes behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victualls cut off. Some aduised to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemie himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the Perfians might be ashamed to doe that which were the desire of such as made puffage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile. was, That being neare vnto the Garduchi, a people enemie to the Persian, they should to enter into their Countrie, palling ouer some high Mountaines which lay betweene them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them if Tissaphernes had begunne sooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

#### ð. I X.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the Carduchi.



trites did arriue.

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Ntring vpon the Land of the Carduchi, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the Persian, were no way inferiour to the Greekes in daring, but on 'y in the Art of warre. They were very light of foot,

skilfull Archers; and vied the S'ing well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie, were of much vse against these poore trauailers, afflicting them in seuen daies, which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territoric of these Carduchi, and the parts of Armenia confining them, ranne Centrites a great River, upon which the Greekes refreshed themselues one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and ho-

ping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they faw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leaused by the Kings Deputies in those parts; Tiffaphernes and his Companies having taken their way towards Ionia. The River was broade and deepe, so that it was not possible for fuch as would enter it, to make reliftance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers the Cardnehi following upon them, lay on the fide of a Mountaine, within leffe than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending backe the most expedite 40 men, gaue succour to the Reare ward, against which the Carduchi being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make relistance hand to hand. These Carduchi seeme to have inhabited the Mountaines of Niphates, which are not farre from the Spring of Tigris; though Ptolomie place them farre more to the East vpon the River of Cyrus in Media, wherein hee differs much from Xenophon, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case descrue credit. Of the River Centrites (as of many other Rivers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by Xenophon) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the feueritie of a Critick. For Piolomie, and the whole Nation of Geographers, adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into Tigris, not much 50 abone Artasigarta springing out of Niphates, and running by the Towne of Sardeus in Gordene, a Province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greekes having passed Cen-

CHAP. 10. S.12. of the Historie of the World.

How TERIBARYS Gouernour of Armenia, feeking to entray the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and [hame sitty beaten.

He Armie finding in Armenia good prouision, marched without any diffurbance about liftie or three score miles to the heads of the River Tigris, and patting ouer them, transiled as farre further without refinance, till they were encountred by Teribuzus at the Riuer Telebos, 10 which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though finall; but Pto-

lomie and others omit it. Teribazus gouerned that Countrie for the Persian, and was in great fauour with Artanernes, whole Court may feeme to have beene a Schoole where the Art of fallbood was taught as wifdome. He defired peace of the Greekes. which was made upon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As foone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, and befetting the straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to paffe, hoped wel to make fuch benefit of their fecuritie, as might give him the commendations of being no leffe craftily diffionell than Tiffaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of fucceffe. For a great fnow fell, which caused the Greekes 20 to make many fires, and featter themselves abroad in the Villages. Tembazus also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about feeking reliefe. By the fires he was discouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the Greekes ; taking this captine with them for a guide, fought him out; and comming vpon his Campe, did to affright him, that before the whole Armic could arrive there, the shout which was railed by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Paulion, wherein (belides many flaues, that were Artificers of voluptuoufneile) very rich furniture was left by the treacherons coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Atmie went northward, and passing Euplrates, not far below the springs thereof, trauailed with much 30 difficultie through deepe fnow, being followed aloofe by the enemie, who durft not approch them, but did cut off fuch as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched had their wintering boules vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewife did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had confumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-flaues, and taking away (befides other Horfes and Cattaile) fome Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

#### XI.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering topon the River of Phasis, and other ob-Scure Nations.

630 without impediment they came to the River Phasis, neare wherevnto the people called Phasiani Taochi, and Chalybes were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the Greekes were to paile, made countenance of warre: 50 but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the peece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flie, every one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first ypon whose Countrie

the Greekes did enter were the Tsochi, who convaying all their provision of victualls into ftrong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattaile were taken; the people, to avoide captinitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then calting themselues upon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which ferued to feed them, trauailing through the land of the Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The Chalybes were a very front Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the Greekes hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prifoners, and cutting of their heads, which they carried away, finging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after feuen daies journey they efcaped from those continuall skirmilhes, wherewith they had been vexed by these Burbarians. Hence transiling through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obfeure Nation called the Seythini, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, vsed them friendly, and promifed to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discouer the Euxine-Sea. From Gimnius ( which was the name of his Towne) hee led them through the Territoric of his enemics, defiring them to wait it with fword and fire. After fine daies march, they came to a Mountaine called Teches, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called Mo-30 school, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the Macrones, ( with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselues, who borne in that place had beene fold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the land of Colchos, wherein stands the Citie of \* Trabifond, called then Trapezus, a Colonic of the . Trabifond a Greekes. The Colchi entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like; Colonie of the for the Armie, hauing now good leifure to repose themselves among their friends or the bottome the Trapezuntians, did spoile the Countrie thirtie daies together, for bearing only the of the Engine Borderers vpon Trabizonde, at the Citizens request.

## X I I.

How the Armie beganne at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there prosequated the same purpose to effect.



Auing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were defirous to take thipping, and change their tedious Land-journies into an eafie Nauigation. To which purpose Cherisophus a Lacedemonian, one of the principall Commanders, promifed by meanes of Anaxibius the Lace Lamonian Admirall, who was his friend, that hee would prouide

Vessells to embarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their nauigation. Least all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, Xenophon perswaded the Cities adjoyning to cleare the waies, and make an case passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sca: but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to Xenophons request. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and fent to Sea: the one of them failed directly into Greece, for faking their 30 Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of Trabifonde: the other tooke Merchants and Paffengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessells were staied to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the colchi, neare vnto the Campe, was alreadic quite walted, they were faine to embarke their fick-men, with

thips which they had alreadie prouided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to Cerajus, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Herethe Armie being mustered was found to consist of eight thousand and fixe hundred men. From a Mosari a hence they passed through the Countrie of the a Massaci, who were divided into Nation of Post- factions. The stronger partie, despiting their friendship, caused them to joyne with the weaker, whom they left Matters of all.

the women, children, and fuch of the baggage as might belt be spared, in those few

b Cotvora a Port-Towne

Port-Towne

in Lescolycia,

the Milegians.

The next place of their abode was b Cotyora, a Greeke Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the Sinopians, as Trapezus and Cerafus were; but the entertainement which here they found was very churlith, hauing neither an open Market affoorded to 10 them, nor the lick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were licke in concenient lodgings; taking into their owne handes the cultodie of the Gates. Prouition for the Armie they made by firong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the Paphlagonians, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to e Simpe, whence Embassadours were fent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to joyne with the P. phlagon ans, if redrefle could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by Xenopion, That meere receifitie had enforced the Armie to teach those of Corrora good manners in fo bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale 20 with them and the Paphlagonian at once; though perhaps the Paphlagonian would be glad to take Smope it lelfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend affistance. Vpon this answere the Embassiadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of Sinope could show, and commanding the Towne of Cotyora to relecue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promifed to affift them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the manie and great Rivers, as Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenizes, which croffed their way. This good counfaile, and the faire promifes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armic, which well perceived, that the Citic of Smape would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It 30 was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sca 3 prouided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to embarke energy one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

XIII.

Of diffention which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.



Itherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolue 40 and to thaw, by the neighbouring airc of Greece, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were fent as Agents from the Campe, remained at Sinope;

Xenophon confidering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made facrifice, according to the superstition of histime and Countrie, dinining of his fuccesse by the entrailes of bealts. The Sooth-sayer, whom he imploied, had received a great reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing aright, that Ar 50 taxerxes would not give battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was defirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of Xenophon was disulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the

greater part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heraelea, being informed of this confultation, were fore afraide, leaft the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not whe rewith to maintaine themselines at home, should give successe to the project. Which to preuent, they promifed to fupply the Armie with a fufficient fleet, and likewife offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon under-tooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would prefently let faile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a bandhed man, defired them to follow him into Treat; an other offered to leade them into Cherronefus. Xenophon who defired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that hee would have them to let forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that flourd for fake the Armie, before fuch time as they were arrived at their journies end. Estimus the Sooth-fayer, who had vttered Xenophons purpose, was hereby flaied from our running his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were maca croubled and afraid, when they perceived, that thips were prepared fufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Sinope, and Heraelea, knowing that the Armic was now resoluted for the voiage, and that xenophon, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Nauie 20 whileft they were in good readineffe to depart, but to keepe the money to themselues. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their hastie offers, and fignifying as much to Xenophon, praied him to make proposition to the Armic, of taking the ships, and failing to Phasis, where they might feize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomining publike, bred a suspition of xenophon, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to catrie the Armie quite an other 30 way from their owne home. Wherefore affembling the Companies, he gaue them fatisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redreffe. A generall inquilition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of Cyrus; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassiadours from Corylas, Lord of the Paphlagonians, who sending presents desired peace of the Greekes: the Embaffadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have beene fought, for that the Greekes having now their Fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for Harmene the Port of Sinope, whether Cherisophus came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall Anaxibius, who promifed to give the Armic pay as foone as they came 40 into the parts of Greece.

d. XIIII.

Another great diffention and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and refened by XENOPHON.



He nearer that they approched to Greece, the greater was their defire to make prouision for themselves, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determi-Lilla

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ned to make Aenophon fole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to diffilease the Lace Jemonians who were jealous of him alreadic (being incensed by that fugitiue who forfooke the Armie at Trabizond, flying with one of their two fhips) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrailes, that threatned ill fucceife to his government, procured with vehement contention that this honour was laied upon Cherisophus a Lacedamonian. It see hes that Xenophon, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Armic, wanting pay, did wifely in yeelding to fuch tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their defire, which was, by right or by wrong to get wealth wherefoeuer it might bee 10 found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. Cherifophus had beene Generall but fixe or feuen dates, when hee was deposed, for hauma beene vn willing to robbe the Towne of Heracles, which had fent prefents to the Campe, and beene very beneficiall vnto them in lending thips for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coalt of Aia, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at Heracles, where confulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one feditious man began to put them in minde of feeking to get fomewhat for them felues; telling them that all their prouition would bee spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrie, victuals, and other necessaries, could not bee had without 10 money; for which cause he gaue aduice to fend messengers into the Towne of Heraclea, giving the Citizens to viderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand precess of money, called Cyzinens, which summe amounteth to two thousand and flue hundred pound starling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the fumme raifed to ten thousand Cyzicens at least: which to require, they thought Cheriforhus, as being Generall, the fitteft man; others had more delire to fend Xenos hon: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Least therefore either of these should faile in managing the bufineffe which agreed not with his dispolition, others of more impudencie and leffe diferetion were fent, who in fuch wife deliuered their infolent mef- 20 fage; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to bee disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fell to mutinic, saying, That their Leaders had betraied them: and being for the more part of them Areadians, and Achaens, they for fooke immediately Cherisophus and Xenophon, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and fine hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captaines, failed vnto the Port of Calpas, which is in the mid-way betweene Heraeles and Bizantium, with purpose to affaile the Bythinians on the suddaine. With Cherisophus there abode two thousand and one hundred of whom one 40 thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: Xenophon had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good feruice alreadie, and could not have beene spared now. Cherisophus had agreed with Cleander Gouernour of Bizantium, to meete him at the mouth of the River Calpas, whither Cleander promifed to bring some Gallies to conveigh him ouer into Greece; for which cause hec tooke his way thither by Land, leaving to Xenophon fuch shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of Heracles, and Thracia Afiatics, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Countrie to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calpus by night, with purpose to take spoiles in Bythinia, divided themselves into ten Compa- 50 nics, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fine or fixe miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and fo was that part of the countrie surprised on the suddaine, and sacked all at one time.

The place of Rendeuous was an high peece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no diffurbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the reit were all put to the fword. For the Thracians which escaped at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raife the Countrie, and finding the Greekes loden with bootie, tooke the advantage of their diforder, cutting in pecces those two Regiments: which done they attempted the reft, encompating the hill whereon they encamped. One great aduantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleafure make retrait from these Arcadians, and Acheans: who wanting the affiltance of horse, and having to neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to fland meerely youn their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Larts and Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to craue parlie. What locuer the articles of composition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for affurance they would give none, without which the Greekes well knew, that all promifes of fuch people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time Xenophen holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trausilers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian Armie, passing along those parts : and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne on themselves, hee marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gave him the intelligence. His horse-men be sent before to discouer, and to scoure the waies; the light armed foot nien tooke the hill-tops on either hand; all of them fetting fire on whatfocuer they found combuttible, whereby the whole Countrie feemed to bee on a light-flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that fome huge Armie had approched. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the Areadi ns, encreasing will the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to bee quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainely that hee would have come vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all balt to dislodge. Early the next morning 30 Nenophon comming thither in very good array, to have given battaile, found that his device, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but hee marusiled that the Greekes were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquirie, that they removed at breake of day, and perceived by fignes that they had taken the way to the Port of Calpas, in which journey hee ouer tooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great joy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid least he had forsaken them, and thereforehaftened away, to ouertake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauen of Calpus, where it was decreed, That who focuer from thencefort a made a-40 ny motion to dilioyne the Armie, should suffer death.

CHAP. 10. S.15 of the Historie of the World.

#### ò. X V.

Of diners peeces of service done by XENOPHON; and how the Armie retura ned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betweene the Lacedamonians and the Perfian.



He Hauen of Calpas lay under a goodly head-land, that was very ftrong, and bounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very contenient feate for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant,

caused them to hast away, fearing least Xenophon should finde some deuice to have fetied himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow Cyrus in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare vnto him: the poorer fort were luch as left their Parents, Wines, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now delirous to returne. But whether it were so that Aenophon found advantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the fignes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: follong they were intorced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would to the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices should promife good fuccesse. Cherisophus was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the fooner felt want. For which caule, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of Chersfophus, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neare at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in wait to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by Pharnabazus the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the affiliance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troupes falling upon the Greekes that were scat- 29 tered abroade in feeking bootie, flew fine hundred of them, and chafed the reft to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this overthrow comming to Aenophon, he led forth a part of the Armie to the refeue of those that survived, and brought them fafe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythmians made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps du garde, flew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemie, together with the present condition of the Armie, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greekes to remove their Campe to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of fuch as were least able to indure trauaile, Xenophon with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately staine, and to 30 abate the pride of the Thracians, and their Affiliants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemic was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainely, that hee had rather follow the enemic with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Balanian, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine 40 them in the place, and thips to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than an other day falling; and not to regard the vneasse returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Encmie a faire and casie way, by which hee might flie from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persans and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not fodainely bee conneighed away, to the diferetion of the Greekes, who at good leisure gathered the haruest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the fide of Afia. For they were not only fuffered quietly 50 to enjoy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of Xenophon to plant a Colonic on the Port of Calpas, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and

make offer of their best affillance. But the Souldiers had no minde to flay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to Chry poolis, a Citie neare vnto Chalce lon, where they fold it. Pharnabanaus, Licutenant in Phrygia to Areaxernes, did greatly feare, least their long flay in that Countrie might breede in them a defire to vilite his Pronince, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore hee fent to the Lacedemonian Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promiles to wast them ouer into Europe; to whom Anaxibius the Admirall condescending, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soone as they arrived at Bizan-10 tium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreatie of the Persian, who in the heigth of his pride had thought them so furely imprisoned with mightie Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to furrender their Armes into his handes, and so to yeeld their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by Anaxibius, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon Bizantium, which by Aenophons persistent they forbare tofack, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of thinges. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of Asia, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpongreater enterprifes, than euer their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it 20 was the only remarkable action which the time affoorded. For the Roman warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italie; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedemonians ruling infolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedemonians made upon Artaxerxes, were alreadie fowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of Afia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had sided with yong Cyrus against Tiffaphernes, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought fafer, than to fall into the handes of Tiffaphernes, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to Cyrus. Wherefore the Ionians befought the Lacedemonians to fend them aide, whereby to recouer their libertie; and obtained their

request.

For a power was sentouer, under conduct of Thimbro

a Spar: m, who bestowed his men in such

Townes as had alreadie revolted, to
secure the Cities and their Fields,
but not to make any offensine Warre.

CHAP.

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## CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were menaged by the Lacedæmonians.

How the Lacedamonians tooke courage by example of XENOPHONS Armie, to make Warre upon ARTAXERXES.



I feemes that the Lacedamonians did well perceive in how ill part Artaxerxes tooke their fauour thewed unto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient 20 to take all care that no advantage might flip, which could ferue to firengthen their estate, by finding the Perlian worke beyond the Sea. But when Xenophons Armie had reucaled the basenesse of those esseminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme difaduantage; then was all Greece filled with defire of

undertaking upon this huge unweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Su/a, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able 30 to give them reliftance, in all that long journey of foure and thirtie thousand two hundred and fiftie fine furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of Englilh miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeare and three moneths. Neuertheleffe the civill diftraction wherewith Greece was miscrably torne, and especially that hot fire of the Theban Warre, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew back out of Alia the power of the Lacedamonians, to the defence of their owne effate; leauing it questionable whether Agesilaus, having both the same, and farre greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commenda- 40 tion of magnanimitie and faire behauiour, than of flout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly so euer it pleased xenophon, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrie no proportion to Xenophons owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled : the famous retrait of Conon the Briton with fix thousand men from Aquileia, to his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of Italie, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor Theodofius, being rather like it than equall. But of Agefilaus and his warres in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

ð. II.

ò. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.



HIMBRO receiving Xenophons men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all fuch as were willing to reuolt from the Perfun, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly benolding to the King; who seeme to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to line under the government of Tiffsphernes,

whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Mafter did love him. "The managing of the warre begunne by Thimbro, was for his oppressions taken out of his handes, and committed to Dercyllidus a Spartan, who behaued himfelie as a good man of warre, and a wife Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Ajia was divided betweene Pharnahazas and Tiffaphernes, who didill agree, Phanabazas being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and having the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; Derevicus who did beare a private hatred to Pharnabazus (knowing well that Tiffaphie was avas of a mischieuous nature, and would not be sorrie to see his Corriuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loffe) made an appointment with Tiffaphernes, and forth-20 withentred Lolis, which was under the jurisdiction of Pharnibasing which Prouince, in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of Lolis had about the same time suffered a violentalteration. which gaue carle fuccesse to the attempts of Dercylledus. Zenis a Dardanian had been Deputie to Phernabasus in those parts; after whose death his wife Chania procured his Office, wherein thee behaued herfelfe fo well, that thee not only was beloued of the people under her gouernement: but enlarged her Territoric, by the conquest ofcertaine Townes adjoyning; and fundrie times gaue affiftance to Pharnabazus in his warres against the Mystans and Pisidians. For shee had in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good vsage did her great service. But somewhat be-30 fore the arrivall of Dercyllidas in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called Atidias,

whom shee trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seuenteene yeares old; which done, he seized vppon two of her principall. Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to Pharnabacia, desiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of Mania. His presents were not only rejested by Pharnabagus, but revenge of his fowle treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into tearmes of almost otter desperation. In the meane time came Dercyllidas, to whom the Townes of Mania, that held against Midias, 40 did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out foure daies (against the

will of the Citizens, who were couctous of libertie) the Gouernour striuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vie of Pharnabazus. Now remained only two Cities Gergethe and Sceplis, which the Traitour held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadours to Dercyllidas, desiring leave to speake with him, and pledges for his fecuritie : vpon the deliucrie of which hee iffued out of sceptis, and comming into the Campe, made offer to joyne with the Greekes vpon firth conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainely sold by Dereyllaten, that other condition there was none, than to fet the Citizens freely ablibertie. And prefently vpon these wordes they marched toward Scepsis. When which pensioned that it 50 was in vaine to ftring against the Armic, and the Townessinen; who were all of one

minde; he quietly went along with Dercyllidan; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie did a facrifice to Minerus, and then leading away the Garrison of Aticine, he left the Citie free, and departed toward Gergethe. Add not for lake his Companie, but followed him, earnefly intreating that hee might bee suffered to re-

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taine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth Dercylledas) I must here likewise doe a facrifice to Minerua. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby Dererllides, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of Mania were feized upon, as belonging to one that had beene subject to Pharnabazus, who was enemie to the Greekes and fo the murderous wretch was fent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to hide his detefted head. Dercyllidas, having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purpofed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end hee tooke 10 Truce with Pharnabazue, who had not any defire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer enfuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, belides the walting of Bythinia, the neck of Land joyning Cherronea to the Maine, was fortified, being foure or fine miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild Thracians. and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewise the Citic of diarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this, Dercylidas had command from Sparta, to divert the warreinto Caria, where was the feate of Tillaphernes; for that hereby it was thought not vneatie to recouer all the Townes of Jonia: Pharax the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearely Office) 20 being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was manifest that Tiffaphernes had neglected Pharnabazus in time of necessitie, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For Pharnabazaus having respect to the Kings scruice, came to asfift his private enemie Tiffaphernes, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for relistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne dores, to was Dere, Illulas willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the River of Meander, and not looking to have been so some encountered, marched carelefly through the Countrie: when on the very fodaine 20 the whole Armie of Tillaphernes and Phannabazus was discouered, confisting of Perfians, Carians, and some Mercinarie Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground; for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the tonians, together with the Handers and others, of fuch places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselues to present flight; or abiding a while for thame did plainely discouer by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Only Dercyllidas with his Peloponnesians regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs have brought 40 them to destruction, if the counsaile of Pharnahamus had beene followed, who perceiuing the opportunitie of fo great a victorie, was not willing to let it flip. But Tillaphernes, who naturally was a coward, feeing that countenance of relistance was made, beganne to confider what strange defence the Souldiers of Xenophon had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wifest way to craue parlie; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill Tistaphernes might receive answere from the King, and Dercyllidas from Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part that all the Greekes in Asia might enjoy their ownelibertic and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the Lacedamonians should depart Asia, and leave the Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it served to free the Greekes from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto Tissaphernes, who defired to avoide the warre by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by triall of a battaile.

ò. III.

How the Lacedamonians tooke reuenge upon the Eleans for old diffleafure. The difcontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceused against the State of Sparta.



N the meane feafon the Lacelemonians, who found none able to withhand them in Greece, beganne to call the Eleans to accompt for some difgraces received by their during the late warres, when leisure was wanting to the requitall of such pettie injuries. These Eleans being & Presidents of the Almoniana cames, had for a fine woon the Cirica's

Prefidents of the Olympiaque games, had fet a fine vpon the Citie of Star ..., 101 Non-paiment of which, they forbade them to come to the folemnitie: and publiquely whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for prefuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred Agis King of Sparta, from doing facrifice to Inpiter; and in all points yied great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no bulineffe that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptoric message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at libertic the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the viuall pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of fuch 20 Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vallals of the Lacedamonians. In their late warres with Athens, the strong opposition which they found caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke very flowly: but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Armie into the Countrie of the Eleans : the first yeare an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwaies forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the Citie it selfe was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their libertie, and to have her owne walls throwne 30 downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted, that they would in time comming vie modefuly, finding themselves to stand at the mercie of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greekes were assistant to the Lacedamoniums, excepting the Corinthians and Bacotians, whose aide hauing beene of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian Warre, as the force of Sparta it felfe, they could not fmoother their diflike of their vnequall division following the victorie; which gauc to Spartathe command of all Greeces to Thebes, and Corinth, only securitie against Athens, but such a securitie as was worse than the danger For when the equall greatnesse of two mightic Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weales to adhere to 40 either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge injuries. they had by mortall hatred profecuted the warre to extremitic, leaving the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if not necessarie to obay the greatnesse which themselves had made yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuerthelesse, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victoric or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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à. IIII.

The passing of Agestlans into Asia. His warre with Tissapher nes.
How Tissapher nes was put to death, and the warre discreted into an
other Prounce, through persuasion and gifts of Tithranstes
his fuccessor. How caveleste the Persian Licutenants
were of the Kings good.



Gestlass newly made King of Sparta, was defirous to have the honour of the victorie, which, not without earlie, he expected upon those of A/sa, and therefore procuring a great Armie to joyne with that of Leers/llulis, he tooke his way in great pompe to Aids in Baotta, a Hauen, lying opposite to the lland of Eubea, in which place Agamenton

(leading the power of all Greece to the warre against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon hee meant also to doe facrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrie, would not permit, but faving that the performance of fuch ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for Age/laus to entangle himselfe and his Countrie in any new warre; there- 20 fore, waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephelus, he was entertained by Tiffaphernes with a Treatic of peace, wherein Agefilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian thould restore to libertic all the Greeke Townes in Alia, was promifed that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answere to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tiffaphernes had fought only to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilest Agestlaus was bulie in fetling the Estates of his Confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming downe of these for- 30 ces which Artaxerxes had fent:at what time Ageflaus received a plaine message from Tiffaphernes, that either hee must forth-with depart out of Alia, or make good his aboade by itrong hand. Agefilans returning word that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjurie deferued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and fending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him, and Caria, that they should prouide victualls, and other necessaries for his Armie, did casily make Tiffaphernes beleeue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein Tif-Saphernes dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horle, in which part of his forces the Perfian had most confidence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plaines of Maander, hoping thereby to 40 stoppe the passage of a heavie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrie which was fittest for their service. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Pbrygia, where they tooke great spoile without relistance, till such time as the Horse-men of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmilh having the better of the Greekes, were the occasion that Azefilaus returned to Ephelus. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet Agesilaus perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the mafterie of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himfelfe, whilest winter lasted, hee entred vpon the Countrie of Tiffaphernes, as soone as the season of 50 the yeare would permit, and not only tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of Tissaphernes in the plaine of Meander, without affishance of their infanterie, heegauethem battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this loffe fell heanie vpon Tiffaphernes

Tiffaphernes, who either upon cowardife had abfented himfelfe from the battaile; orfollowing some other businesse, was then at Sardes. For which cause his Master hauing him in diffruit, and thinking that peace might be the fooner had, which hee much delired, if the man, fo odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he fent into those parts Tithraufles a Persian, to cut off the head of \_ Illiaphernes, and succeede him in the gouernement. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perjurichce could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wifedome, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought him-10 felle most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the Greekes, and make them wearie of Mas he did not leeke to hnilh the warre, and, according to his Masters wish, bring all things facedily to quiet, but rather to temporife till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it feemes that he much miftooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found fuch meanes whereby the danger it felfe might have beene avoided: as not louing to have warre whileft by anyconditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well 20 by the course which Tithraustes tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. Forhe sent Embassadours to Agesslaus, in very friendly fort, letting him know, that theman who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie beforthwith difmiffed. The answere to this proposition, was by aggillaus referred to the Councell of Sparta; in the meane feafon he was content to transferre the warreinto the Prouince of Pharnahazaus, at the request of Tithrausles, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defen-30 flue part. For Age/lla. s having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbeare his feuerall Provinces, at the entreatic of the Lieutenants; and those Lieutenants being emploied by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies ( wherein if they failed they knew that their heads might cally bee taken from their (houlders) were little offended at any loffe that fell on their next Neighbour-Proninces, which were subject likewise to the same Crowne of Perlia, so long as their owne government could be preserved free from wast and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side I can ascribe to nothing so deseruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and Ministers of pleafure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or dif-40 grace, the actions of fuch as had the managing of things abroade; and to that foolith manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prounciall Gouernour, according to the beneat or loffe, which the Countrie given in charge vnto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territorio yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if loste or danger might thereby grow to himfelfe and his; but fate still

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as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces it had not beene vncafie

to recompence the spoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a

è. V.

third from farre greater miseries.

The Warre and Treatie betweene AGESILAVS and PHARNABAZVS.



GESILAVS having thus compounded with Tithraustes, entred Phrygia, burning and walting the Countrie without reliftance. Hec tooke the Palace of Pharmabazius, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profita-

ble. For he did not winne Cities and Places of ffrength, which might have encreafed his power, and given affurance to the reft of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him fome that were discontented and stood upon bad termes with the great King, whom heeloft agains as callly, by meanes of some slightingurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. Pharmabagus did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for searc of being belieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could fafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which hee found not vncalle to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessitie, had beene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) 20 did set before their cies his bountie towards them, and his loue (which had beene fuch, that belides many other hazards of his person, hee had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driven to runne a thore at Abydus, adventured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-back against the Athenians) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word ordeede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That having warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. Igefilaus did make a faire offer to him, that if hee would revolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Countrie wherein hee was at that time only Deputie to Artaxernes. But 10 Pharnabazus told him plainely, That if the King his Mafter did put him in truft to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemie; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and hee commanded to obay an other, hee would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest emploiment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by Agest. aus, and the with-drawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appeale Pharnabazus, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessarie businesse elsewhere; but because his Countrie would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the Lacedemonians changed an honourable 40 Friend into a hot Enemie, who afterwards requited their unthankefulneffe with

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Perlian.



MINIST.

N the meane while Tithraustes, perceiving that Agestlaus meant nothing leffe than to returne into Greece, and let Artaxerxes rest quietly 50 in Asia, tooke a wife course whereby the Citie of Sparta was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and faw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of

her owne Territorie. He fent into Greece fittie talents of filuer, to bee implosed in railing warre against the Lucedemonians; which treasure was, by the subtile practise of him that was put in truit with it, in fuch wife dispersed, among the principall men of the Thebans, Argues, and Corinthians, that all those Estates having formerly borne fecret hate to that of Sparta, were now delirons of nothing fo much as of open war. And least this great heate of the incenfed multitude should, for want of prefent exercife, beginne to faint, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedamonians into Armes, that they themselues might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid claime; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the Locrians were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phoesans not meaning so to loose their Rent, made a diffresse by strong hand, recovering a great deale more than their owne; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tennants) requited with an inualion made vpon Phocis, waiting that Countrie in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betweene Thebes and Sparta, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the Phocian Embaffadours came to Sparta, complaining of the o violence done by the Thebans, and requesting succour, they had very tauourable audience, and readie confent to their fuite; it being the manner of the Lace Lamonians, to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, vntill occasion of revenge were offered, and then to discouer their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, having no other war to diffurbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they fent Ly (ander to raife all the Countries about Phocis, and with fuch forces as he could leavie, to attend the comming of Paulanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath beene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. Lysander did as he was appointed, and being of great 20 reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to reuolt from Thebes. Panjanias likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians, (who refused to affist him in that enterprise) meaning to joyne with Lyfander, and make a speedie end of the war. The confideration of fo great a danger, approching fo fwiftly, caused the Thebans to feeke what helpe they could abroade, for a fmuch as their owne strength was farre too little to make relistance against such mightie preparations. It was not vnknowne to them, that many followers of the Laced emonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were litle availeable, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could: by which manner of terginer sation, the 40 Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the fafeil course to procure the affiltance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they fent Embassadours to Athens, exculing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewen in their refusall of affishing Paulanias, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honours fake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to 50 her former Estate and Dignitie. Thrasybulus and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had beene well entertained at Thebes, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courtesic which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacedemonians in this Warre; but that

it should affift the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest Paufanias lay Mmmm 2

Linuia:

ftill, waiting the arruall of his Confederates; Lyfander being defirous to doe fomewhat that might advance the builnesse in hand, came to Haliartus, where, though Paulania did not meete him, as had been appointed yet he attempted the Towne, and was flaine in fight by the Thebans, who came halfily to the refcue. As this victoric did encourage the Thebans, so the comming of Paulanias with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were foone reujued by the ftrong fuccour which was brought from Athens, in confideration of which, and of the late battaile, Paufanias durit not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardife or indifcretion, he was at his re- to turne to Sparta condemned as a Traitour, and driven to flie into Tegea, where hee ended his daies in banifhment.

#### D. VII.

How AGESILAVS was called out of Afrato helpe his Countrie. A victorie of the Spartans. CONON the Athenian, afsifted by PHARNABAZVS, ouercomes the Lacedamonian fleet; recouers the mastrie of the Seas; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

His good fuccesse, and the confederacie made with Athens, gaue such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argines, Corinthians, Eubwans, Locruss, and Acarnanes, did forthwith lide with unsus, unsurance of Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as Armie, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedamonians, as neare as neare as the Lacedamonians, as neare as the Lacedamonians, as neare as the Lacedamonians they might, to their owne dores; Confidering that the force of spartait felfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiuing the danger, sent for Agesilaus, who readily obaied them, and promiting his friends in Afia to returne speedily to their affiftance, paffed the ftraights of Hellefont into Europ. In the meane time the Citics of the new league had given battaile to the Lacedamonians, and the remainder of their Affociates, but with ill fuccesse. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the A gines and Thebans returning from the chafe in some dilorder, were broken and defeated by the Lacedamonians, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacedemonians, and made the victorie of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting Agefilaus at Amphipolis, were by him fent ouer into a/a, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had fince his departure feene the Spartan fleet beaten, and Lifander the Admirall flaine. The fame man, whose endeauour had brought the Athenians into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the Laced emonians with money, and all manner of 40 supplies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarsly able to maintaine an Armie by Land for berowne defence. Pharnabazus confidering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the Greekes divided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from undertaking abroade, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not neede any more, to seeke peace by entreatie and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vn-prouoked had fold his love for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Atherian with eight thips, who had escaped, when the fleet of Athens was surprised by Lylander at Agos-Potames; giving him the command of a great Navie, 50 wherewith he requited the losse received at Agos. Potamos, by repaying the Lacedemonians with the like destruction of their fleet at Cnidus. After this victorie Conon failed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberalitie of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of his victoric, so strong a Nauie, and so much gold, as encouraged the

. Athemsas to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouring the Signorie which they had loft,

#### A. VIII.

Of sundrie small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedamonians loofe all in Asia; The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.

Enerthelesse the Lacedamonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeares the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this loffe at Sea. For Agefilans obtained the better with his horse-men, from the *Thessalans*, who were accounted the best ridges in *Greece*: He wasted Ba osia, and fought a great battaile at Coronea against the Thebans, and their Allies, whom hee overthrew; and by his Marshall Gylis forraged the Countrie of Locris: which done, he returned home.

The gaine of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battailes of Coronea vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount 20 Helicon, opening way perforce when Agefilaus charged them in their returns from the pursuit. Likewise Gilis was slaine with a great part of his Armie by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Laced emonians performed against the Corinthians, were repaied with equall damage received in the parts adjoyning; many Townes being casily taken, and as easily recoursed. The varietie of which enter-feats was fuch, that the Thebans themselves were drawne, by the losse of the Hauen of Corinth, to fue for peace, but could not get audience, till fuch time as the newes came of a great victoric obtained by Iphierates, Generall of the Athenian-forces at Lecheum: whereupon the Theban Embassadours being sent for, and willed to doe their mesfage, required only in scorne, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might 30 enter into Corinth. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the Achaems, confederates of Sparta, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrarie side, vntill Agefilaus repaied these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought your their owne Lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the succeffe of all depended. For when the Townes of Asia perceived, that the Lacedamemissis were not only intangled in an hard warre at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having loft their fleet at Chidus; they foone gave eare to Pharmabazus, who promifed to allow that they should vie their owne lawes, if they would expell 40 the Spartan Gouernours. Only the Citic of Abidus did stand firme, wherein Dercyllidus lay, who did his best to containe all the Townes about Hellespont, in the alliance of the Lacedemonians; which he could not doe, because the Athenian fleet vnder Thrasphulus tooke in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of Lesbos to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedemonians. Of fundric fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of ANTALCIDAS.



Bout this time the Spartans beganne to perceive, how vneasie a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves, affilted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of Artaxernes, most basely offering, not only to renounce the Greekes inhabiting A/ia, and to leave them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, and every Towne in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie, whereby they faid that all the principall Estates of their Countrie would so be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should becable to stirre against the great King. And fure it was, that the power of the Countrie being fo broken, and rent into many small peeces, could neither have disquieted the Persian, by an offensive warre, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it eatie for him in continuance of time, to have taken the Cities one after an other, till hee had made himselfe Matter of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the Dominion of the Seas was like to returne to Athens, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weake; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselues, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe joyned together against the Lacedamonians, did by their severall Embaffadours oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for Artaxerxes, rather to weaken the Lacedemonians yet more, than by interpoling him felfe to bring friends and foes on the fuddaine to an equalitie. Especially Strutkas, whom Artaxerxes did fend as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did feeke to repay the harmedone by Agefilaus in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and 20 all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; Thimbro was fent into Afia to make war vpon Struthas; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robberie, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthie of remembrance. Thimbro was flaine by Struthas, and in his place Diphridas was fent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. Dercyllidas was removed from his charge at Abydus, because hee had not impeached Thrasybulus in his enterprises about Hellespont; Anaxibius, who succeeded him, was surprised and slaine in a skirmish by Iphicrates the Athenian. Thrasybulus, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was flaine by the way at Aspendus. The Citie of Rhodes had long before joyned 30 with the Lacedemonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Ariflocratie, or the Gouernement of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soueraignetic into the handes of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselues, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Gouernment like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour Sparta, and the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of Agina roued vponthe coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Armie in Agina, and befrege their Towne : but this frege being raised by the affistance of the Lacedemonian fleet, the Ilanders beganne a-new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships againe, that returned 40 beaten, having lost foure of thirteene. The losse of these ships was soone recompensed by a victoric which Chabrias the Athenian Generall had in Agina, whereuppon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well feeme strange that the Citie of Athens, having but newly raised her walls; having not by any fortunate and important battaile fecured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending vpon the affiftance of fuch Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discouered themselues irresolute in the common cause; would fend a fleet and an Armie to Cyprus, in defence of Eurgoras, when the mastric of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the cic of Pir.cens, had abilitie to vexe the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weening of that Citie did canse 50 it viually to embrace more than it could compaffe; so the infolencie and shamelesse injustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselues farre out of sight, and to seeke emploiments at such distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, and from publike judgements, out of which

CHAP.II. S.9. of the Historie of the World. few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did passe away much part of his time in the life of Leskos; Iphierates in Thrace; and Chabrias now did carrie away into Cyprus a greater force than his Countrie well could have spared, with which hee returned not when the bulineffe in Cyprus came to an end, but fought new aduentures in Egypt, whereby arose neither thankes to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus careleffe of things at hand, had a notable blow given vnto them, shortly after that Chabrius was gone to Cypria, euen within their owne Hauen. For Teleutias, a Lacedemonian, being made Gouernour of Agma, conceined a firong hope of furprifing the Nauie of Athens, 10 as it lay in Piraus; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten thips prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Marriners were a fleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore hee failed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on thore, & few or none left abourd to make relitance: by which meanes hee tooke many thips laden with marchandizes, many fisher-men, paffengers, and other Vessells, also three or foure Gallies. hauing funke or broken, and made vnferuiceable, as many of the rest as the time would fuffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom hee lived about the 20 Court; and many Officers that fauoured the Lacedemonians were placed in the lower Ain; by whole affiltance, the fleet of Spartagrew victorious about itelle pont; in such wife, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themfelies procured by Antalei las, from the great King, the conditions whereof were fuch as are mentioned before, giving freedome to all the Cities of Greece, and dividing the Countrie into as many feuerall States as there were pettic Boroughs in it. Thus Artaxernes having bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of Controuerlies between the Greekes, dispofing of their businesse in such wife as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of Artaxerves his decree was, That all Asta and Cyprus should be his owne; the Iles of 30 Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scirus be subject to Athens; all other Greeke Townes, as well the little as the great, bee let at libertie; and that who socuer should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King affiling them by Land and Sea, with men, and thips, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their loffes at Sea; the Lacedemonians by renolt of their Confederates, and the neceffitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miferies of the warre, whereof they faw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of Antalcidas: whereof the Laced amonisms taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the Argines to depart out of Corinth ( which under pretence of defending 40 they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leaue Bxotia free, of which Prouince Thebeshad alwaies held the government: the Thebans themselves being also comprehended under the name of Buotians; but caused the Mantineans to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly been accustomed so to doe, though purpoling indeede to chastise them, as having beene ill affected to Sparta in the late war. By these courses the Lacedamonians did hope that all the small Townes in Greece

would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as

Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having loft all their dependants.

would be vnable to make opposition.

turned from worke, and so passed vndiscouered vnto the house of Charan, whom

Phyllic at the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne

featt being then held in the Citic, Phyllidas promifed the Gouernours, who were in-

ð. X. The warre-which the Lace emonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynshus by famine.



Hilest these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, confumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was growne to mightie, that shee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre remoued, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with 10

Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the viual pretence of the Lacedemonians, to fet at libertie the places over which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Domi-Fions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearest vnto the danger of these incrocking neighbours, acquainted the Lacedemonians with their feare, affirming that this Lominion of the Olynthians would bee too throng for all Greece, if some continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested affishance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre upon Olynthus, or become subject vitto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastic leavie of 10 men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to bee seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the bodie of the Armie following them surprised the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betraied into the handes of Phabidas the Lacedemonian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Countrie. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betweene them; which caused the Lacedemonians to doubt whether this act of Phabidas were more worthis of reward or of punilhment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deede was approued, many principall Citizens of Thehes condemned to death, ma- 30 niedriuen into banifhment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the Cirie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to ferue the Lacedemonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power having strengthned the Lacedamonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it felfe to their obedience.

#### d. X I.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedemonian Garrison.



Fter this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Saib

of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannic wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for seare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laied betweene these two, that soone found very good fuccesse, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men for sooke And then privily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gateslike hulband-men re-

folent and lustfull men, that hee would conveigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with fuch hope, and plentic of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promife, vnleffe they would difmiffe their followers; because the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the feruants to should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the Gouernours loofe behaviour, flew them all vpon the fodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then prefently calling off their difguife, they went to other places, where faining themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon businesse, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the Lacedamonian faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prifon; flew the Guler; and let at libertie luch as they thought meete, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowne. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the proclamation, thought the Rebells to bee 20 thronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwife mistrusted, that it was a practife to discouer such, as would be forward upon occasion of repoliting. But as foone as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes and befreged the Castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the refeue. were defeated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speede to affish their Countrimen, but procured fome Athenians to joyne with them, and thereby came fo strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through feare than any necessitie, your condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the 20 Captaine at his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all thinges prepared as earnestly for the recouring of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had been taken from the Lacedamonians, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. Cleombrotus, one of the Kings, was fent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers, with a toilefome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leauing Sphodrius, with part of his Armie, at The spies, to intest the Thebans; who doing them fome displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt youn the Hauen of Athens, which failing to take, hee wasted the Countrie adjoyning, and

CHAP.

draue away Cattaile, causing by this outrage the Athenians to

enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which

they were before very carefully feeking how to with-draw them-

felues.

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## CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Lentra to the battaile of Mantinæa.

How Thebes and Athens toyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselnes, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.



HE Lacedamonians were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings, but one difhonorable rule they held, That all respects withftanding the commoditie of Sparta were to be neglected; the practife of which doctrine, euen by the best and wifeit of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but when it was put in execution by infufficient ouerweening men, it feldome failed to bring vpon them in 20 flead of profit vnjuftly expected, both shame and losse. And foit befell them in these enterprises of Phabidas,

vpon the Castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias vpon the Pireus. For howsoeuer Agestlaus did spoile the Countrie about Thebes, in which hee spent two Sommers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise beganne to looke abroade, sailing to the Ile of Coreyra, where they ordered thinges at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prenailed, began as in the Peloponnesian warre, to surround Peloponnesias with a Nauie; afflicting to the Lacedemonians, that had not the Thebans by their in solencie weatied 30 their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the end of this warre, should have soone come to a good end, which neverthelesse, being prosequited by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the Citie of Sparts as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroched every day vponher weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had beene dependants upon Athens, and sinding themselues, whilest engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resoluted to settle the affaires of Greece, by tenewing that forme of peace which Antaicidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily fignifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to 40 which purpose they willed the Thebans to send Embassadours along with them to Sparta; who readily condescended, fearing other wife that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace, which came to paffe, being so wrought by the couragious wisedome of Epaminondas, who understood farre better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatic the Lacedemonians and Athenians did foone agree; but when the Thebans offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the Bastians; Agefilaus required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leave the Baotians free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondus made answere, That the Citic of Sparta should give example to Thebes by fetting the Laconians free; for that the Signorie of Bxotia did by as good right appertaine to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly Spoken; but was heard with no patience: For Agestlaus bearing a vehement hatted vnto those of Thehes, by whom he was drawne back out of Afa into Greece, and disappointed of all the glorie which he had hoped to atchieue by the Persian Warre, did

now very pathonately vege that point of fetting the Baotians at libertie, and finding it as obttinately refuted, he datht the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the same time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparts lay in Phocis, who received command from the Gouernours of Sparta forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there flame at Leučtra, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of Leučfra being one of the most famous that euer were fought betweene the Greekes, was not fo notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of Sparta, but especially, for that after this battaile (betweene to which and the conclusion of the generall peacethere passed but twentic daies) the Lacedamonians were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neare; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the litle Region of Broise, did now beginne to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Effates, in fuch wife that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of Sparta. So much dee the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, advance the affaires of the diffressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxuric, rechlessenesse, and many other vices or vani-20 ties, made ruftie and effeminate.

ð. I I.

How the Athenians tooke upon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. Now troubles hence arifing. Eraminondas inuadeth and wafieth the Territorie of Lacedamon.



He Athenians, refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen vppon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedamonians, did neuertheleffe finely give them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded,

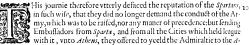
which Ageillaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfect, they affembled the Deputies of all the Litates confederated at Athens; where the general libertie of all Townes, as well fmall as great, was ratified, vnder thestile Of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon beganne fresh garboiles. The Mantineans, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedificit, and allie themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Areadians, a strong Nation, confishing of many Cities, were 40 diffracted with factions; fome defiring to hold good correspondencie with the Lacedemonians; fome to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Latedamonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantineans; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the Areadians, till fuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then was an Armie fent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Teges, against the Mantineans, but indeed against them both. Agesilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued the Phocians, & were become head of the Lecrians, Acarnamians, Euba ans, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred Peloponne fus in fauor of the Areadians, who had, vpon expectation of their com-30 ming, abstained from giving battaile to Agesilaus. The Armic of the Spartans being difmiffed, and Epeminondas joyned with the Arcadisms; the Region of Laconia was inuaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost fixe hundred yeares were spent, since the Dorians, under the posteritie of Herenles, had seized upon Laconia, in all which time the found of an

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enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeares were not fully past fince all Greece was at the deuotion of the Spartans : but now the Region which neither Nerves with his huge Armic could once looke vpon, nor the mightie forces of Albens, and other Enemie States had dared to fet foot on, fauing by Itealth, was all on a light fire, the very fmoke whereof the women of Sparts were alhamed to behold. All which indignitic notwithstanding, the Lacedamonians did not issue out of Sparta to fight, but lought how to preserve the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their Heilores or Slaues, as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and formwhat pittifully entreated the Athenians to give them fuccour. From Corinth and fome Townes of Peloponnefus they received speedie affiftance; the Athenians came 10 forward more flowly, so that Epaminon dus returned without battaile, having rebuilded the Citic of Messene, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the Lacedemonians many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselues.

## ò. III.

The composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans: who againe inuade and foile Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.



my, which was to be raifed, nor any maner of precedence: but fending Embaffadors from Sparta, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto Athens, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might bee Generalls by Land. This had beene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Marriners and others that were to be imploied at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have ferued under the Lacedemonians. Wherefore it was 20 agreed that the authoritie fhould be divided by time, the Athenians ruling flue daies, the Lacedamonians other five & fo fuccessively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very flowly aduanced, where confultation, refolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a fecond invalion of Pelapannefus, wherein the Thebans found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that having fortified 1/thmus from Sca to Sea, as in former times they had done against Aerwes, they were driuen out of their strength by Epaminondas, who forraged the Countrie without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene Athens and Sparta did, by divi- 40 ding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the Areadians confidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernement, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encreasing whose greatnest hey should strengthen their owne yoke. Herevpon they began to demeane themselues very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For a motion of 50 generall peace having been made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of Mef-Jene was not abandoned to the Lacedemonians) the next enterprise of the Spartans and their friends was upon these Arcadians, who relying too much upon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as plealing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

#### ò. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Perfian; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embasages.

He Thebans especially rejoyced at the Arcadians misfortune, confide ring, that, without their aide, the fuccesse of all enterprises proued so ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well what focuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious ouer the Lacedamonians, but Patrons ouer the Tieffalians,

and proderators of the great quarrells that had rifen in Macedonia, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried Fhilip the Sonne of Amyntas, and Father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage vnto Thebes. Having therefore obtained fuch reputation that little feemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Perflan King, to whom they fent Embaffadour the great and famous Captaine Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxernes to grant vnto the I hebans all that they 20 defired; whereof two especiall points were, That Atessee thould remaine free from the Lacedamonians, and that the Athenians should forbeare to fend their ships of Warre to Scasonly the later of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadours at the fame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a fure partie in Greece, did vpon many waightie confiderations refolue, to binde the Thebans firmely vnto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that fide his owne fecuritie. The Athenians had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne, and, having turned the profit of their victories ypen the Perfian to the purchase of a 20 great Fflate in Greece, maintained their Signoric in fuch pu ffant manner, that (fundriegricuous misfortunes notwithflarding) they had endured a ten be wa're, wherein the Lacedamonians being followed by mon of the Greeks, and supplied with treafer , and all forts of eide by Darius Kothus, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indifferction brought them on their knees. The Lacedamonians being victorious ouer Athens, had no fooner established their Dominion at home, than they indertooke the conquest of Asia, from which though, by the commotion raifed in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and fetled thinges in Greece, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next advantage have purfued the fame enterprife, had not they been emperched 40 by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwife had alwaies discourred a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece; with Darius and the Lacedemonians against A hens; And finally having offered much contumely to Agelilans when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Belides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroade, whereunto if perchance they fhould have any delire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not feize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artanernes did wholly condescend unto the 50 requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as hee might without giving open defiance to the reft of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molefted by that Nation in the lower Asia. The ill meanes which the Greeks had to diffurbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Effate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the

Nnnn 2

How all Greece was dinied, betweene the Athenians and Lacedamonians, on the one fide, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

He condition of thinges in Greece at that time did stand thus. Ashens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all her followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now

conjoynetheir forces against the Thekans, who fought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and Achaians, followed the partie of these ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in diflike of those who by strong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not fodainely aspire without some injurie and much enuie. The Citic of Thebes abounding with men whom necessitie had made warlike, and many viflories in few yeares had filled with great spirits, & being so mightic in dependants, that mee had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peleponne us (the Region of Astronand very little part belide excepted) under fuch acknowledgement, as wan-20 ted not much of meere Vaffallage, did hope to bring all Pelopoznefus to the like obedience, wherein alreadie thee had fet good footing by her conjunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia. The Argines had beene alwaies bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre under them in valour, hauing beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of looling all: which caused them to suspect and enuis nothing more than the greatnesse and honor of Sparta, taking truce with her when shee was attest and had leifure to bend her whole force against them, but firmely joyning with her enemies when focuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the Argines were, in hatred of Sparta, fure friends of Thebes, so the Arcadians, trans-30 ported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and

provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the Lacedamonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought convenient by Epaminondas, and the State of Thebes, to fend an Armie into Pelaponnefus, before fuch time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens; which was very strange, and seemed no leffe to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the fame time when the Arcadians treated with them, did neuertheleffe accept this new

40 Confederacie, not relinquilling the old, because they found that, how socuer these Areadians were enemies to the Lacedamonians, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was vnlikely to inuade Peloponnesius with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay, the comming of epaminondas; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of Corinth, which lay upon the 1st hours, and had beene aduer se to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grieuous warre, driven to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians. to visit Peloponnesius with an Armie, consisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had rifen in Arcidia about confecrated money, which many principall men

<sup>50</sup> among them had laied hands on, under pretence of imploying it to publique vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their handes, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countrimen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done: but the vp-roare Nnnn 3

affaires of Greece beene fo composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the reft haue transported an Armie, to affift the renolting Satrapa, or Viceroies of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mylia, Lycia, Pilidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phanicia. humane reason can hardly finde the meanes, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the divine Councell had deterred vnto the daies of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthie Prouinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardie Souldiers, was in thort space discussed and vanithed like a mift, without effect; thefe effeminate Afiatiques wearied quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to warre, for faking the common cause, and each man ftriuing to bee the first that by treason to his companie should both redeeme the 10 former treason to his Prince, & purchase with all his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related. I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a fuddaine storme, rashly commenced, idlely followed, and foolishly laied downe. having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole raigne of Artaxerxes, from the warre of Cyrus, to the invation of Agypt, I finde nothing (this infurrection and a fruitleffe journey against the Culusians excepted) worthy of any mention, much lesse of dieresfion from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time, patied a- 29 way fo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleafures which an Empire fo great and wealthy could affoord vnto fo absolute a Lord, with little diffurbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domefficall; growing out of the hatred which Paryfatis the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife Station, and to fuch as had been the greatest enemies to her sonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death : vpon whom, when by poifon and mischieuous practises shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth the wholly applied her felfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud defire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perfuafion. which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace doe readily entertaine, That his owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were 30 to be measured, and adjudged to be good or cuill. In this imaginarie happinesse Pe-Lopidas, and the other Embailadours of Greece, both found and left him, but left him by fo much more affured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne advantage, did feeme to promife, if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the fame felicitie to him and his, or (at the leaft) a full fecuritie of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But fuch foundations of eternitic laied by mortall men in this transitorie world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or made vaine and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raifed to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other Estates of Greece 40 that had fent Embaffadours to the Perfian. For whereas it had been concluded that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should bee set at libertie, and the Thekans made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all controuerlies that might arife, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacie; the Kings letters being folemnely published at Thebes, in the prefence of Embaffadours, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for observation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatoric anfwere was made by the Embassadours, who said that they were sent to heare the articles; not to fweare vnto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to fend vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the Corinthians had bold- 50 ly refused it, faying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne swords.

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the di calians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarse pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminon das turned all the blame ypon them who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know. that he would be thortly among them, to judge of their fidelitie, by the affiltance which they should give him, in that warre, which he intended to make in Peloponne-(us. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hercupon such of them as had before fought meanes to fettle the offaires of their Countrie, by drawing thinges to fome good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with fend to Athens for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadours to Sparta. by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponne (w. now readie to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedamonians. who feared nothing more than the comming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew that all their forces, and best provisions, would bee no more than very hardly fufficient. For bearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed into such a supremacie, as they would in no wife communicate with the powerfull Citic of Athens, till other hope of fecuring their owne Eflate could not be thought vpon) did now veric gently yeeld to the Arcadians, that 29 the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be given, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territoricit lay.

# Q. VI. A terrible inualion of Peloponnessus by EPAMINONDAS.



Ertaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verifirm confent, and vniforme care of the common fafetie. For beful the the great forces railed out of the other parts of George 4, the Arginals, and Olefenans, prepared with all their ftrength to joyne with Epamnondus; who hauing lien a while at Armea, to intercept the A-

thenians, received there intelligence, that the Armie comming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Arcadia belides, forth-with declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be upon such of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caused the Lacedanionian Captaines to fortific Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend for Agesslaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held fo good espiall vpon his Enemies, 40 that had not an vinknowne fellow brought haftic aduertifement of his purpole to Age/llaus, who was then well onward in the way to Mantinea, the Citie of Spata had fodainely beene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had furely carried the Citie, notwithstanding anie defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Agefilaus in all flying haft got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the refeue as fast as it was able. The arrivall of the Lacedemonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Venta, fo it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon Mantinea. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely that the Mantineans, finding the warre to be carried 50 from their walls into an other quarter, would vie the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattaile into their fields, whilest no enemie was neare that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from Sparta to Mantinea, fending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might

befound without the Citie. The Ollantineans (according to the expectation of Evaninondas) were scattered abroade in the Countrie; farre more intent upon their haruest-businesse, than you the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselues out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattaile, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie should have taken all their provision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to focietie with Thebes. But at the fame time, the Athenians comming to the fuccour of their Confederates. to whom they thought to have found at Minimes, were very earneftly entreated by the Citizens to refeue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer those who otherwise were given as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the Greeker, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies beene giuen to the Thesialians, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour fo wrought vpon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but only in denire of relieuing her diffressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding to long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giving a lu-20 flie charge upon the enemie, who as brauely received them, after a long and hot fight they remained mafters of the field, giving by this victorie a fafe and calle retraitto all that were without the walls. The whole power of the Berotians arrived in the place foone after this battaile, whom the Lacedemonians and their Affiftants were not faire behinde.

#### VII.

The great battaile of Mantinea. The honourable death of EPAMI-NONDAS, with his commendation.

PAMINONDAS, confidering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising Sparta and Maninea hat ung failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the Pelaponnessias, would some vanish, valest by some notable at he should abate their courage in their first grouth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition 3 resoluted to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to fettle the doubtfull affections of his owne Associates, and to leaue the Spartans as weake in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherem victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and inding the alacritic of his Souldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of

to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for 40 that battaile, wherein victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacritic of his Souldiers to be fuch, as promifed the accomplishment of his owne defire; he made they of declining the enemie, and intrenching himfelfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their fenses with amazement, when hee should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with veric much tumult, as in fo great and fodaine a danger, the enemie ranne to Armes, necessitic enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that daies service vrging them to doe as well as they might. The Theban Armie confifted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the La-50 cedemonians and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by athird part. The Mantineans (because the warre was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing, and with them the Lacedemonians : the Athenians had the left wing, the Acheans, Eleans, and others of leffeaccount, filled the bodie of the Armic. The Thebans flood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the La-

cedemonians, having by them the Arcadians; the Eubwans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Meficmians, and Thessalians with others, compounding the maine battaile; the Argues held the right wing; the horfe-men on each part were placed in the flancks, only a troupe of the Eleans were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prenailed. notwithstanding the valiant relistance of the Athemans: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were ouer-laied with numbers, and fo beaten upon by The fialian flings, that they were driven to for fake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the leffe difgracefull, because they kept themfelues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the to Theban horse to have given them over, and withail discovering some Companies of foot, which had beene fent about by Epaminondas, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane scason the battaile of the Athenians had not only to doe with the Argines, but was hardly pressed by the Theban Horse-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was readie to turne back, when the Elean squadron of Horse came up to thereliefe of it, and reflored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the Lacedamonians and Thebans meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, fo that equall courage and equal loffe on both fides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: 20 vnleffe perhaps the Lacedemonians being very firme abiders, might feeme the more likely to preuaile, as having borne the first brunt, and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practife of a few yeares, cannot bee thought to have gotten a habite fo fure and generall. But Epaminondas perceiving the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the Bxotian Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foote of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied 20 with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rancks, and cleaue the whole battaile in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the Thebans, who may justly bee said to have carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the Athenians, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the flaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retayning of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable only among the Greekes, and ferued meerely for oftentation, thewing that by the fight they had obtayined fomewhat, which the 40 Enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the Thebans arriued at the generall immediate end of battaile, none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who for sake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of Epaminondas, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the Lacedemonian esquadron, and forced it to give back in disaray, was furiously charged on the fodaine, by a desperate Companie of the Spartans, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, hee neuertheleffe with a - fingular courage maintayned the fight, vling against the Enemies many of their 50 Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a Spartan, called Anticrates, hee received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breft. Hereupon hee funke downe, and was soone conneighed out of the fight by his friends; having by his

tall fomewhat animated the Spartans (who faine would have got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the Thebans, who raging at this heavie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the fadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trausale of the day. Epaminondas being brought into bis Tent, was told by the Philitians, That when the head of the Dart should bee drawne out of his bodie, hee must needes die. Hearing this, hee called for his thield, which to have loft was held a great diffuonour: It was brought vnto him. Hee bad them tell him which part had the victorie; answere was made, to that the Baotians had wonne the field. Then faid hee, it is faire time for mee to die. and withall fent for Iolidas, and Diophantes, two principall men of Warre, that were both flaine; which being told him, He aduifed the Thebans to make Peace, whileft with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iffue, by telling them that the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie thould line.

So died Epaninondas, the worthieft man that ever was bred in that Nation of  $\tau$ Greece, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrie : for hee equalled all o-20 thers in the feuerall vertues, which in each of them were fingular. His Iustice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wifedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in energy part whereof hee fo excelled. That hee could not properly bee called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Provident Captaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfeet composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his private Conversation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroade. For hee was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique bufinesse, but in his owne particular case, and of much mildnesse; a louer of his People, bearing 20 with mens infirmities, wittie and pleafant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into fuch effects as gaue vnto Thebes, which had euer-more beene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the highest command in Greece.

VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinea. The voiage of AGESILAVS into Ægypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and POMPEY the Roman.

His battaile of Mintinea was the greatest that had ever beene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the last. For at Marathon, and Platea, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the Grecien valeur; neither were the practicof Armes and Art Militarie so perfect in the beginnings of the Peloponnessan Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those

excepted which were vidertaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this lait fight all Greece was interessed, which never had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victoric with greater care of the fuccesse, or more obtainate resolution. All which notwith standing, the iffue being fuch as hath beene related, it was found bett for every particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, every one retayning what hee presently had, and none being forced to depend upon an other. The Messenians were by name comprised in this new loague; which caused the Lacedamonians not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conc.ution; confidering that Spare, was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and 10 therefore might well bee allowed to lhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to deciare it felfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Countrie, so to the Cities of Athensand Sparta it affoorded lessure to feeke after wealth by forraine emploiment in Fgppt, whither Ageflaus was fent with fome small torces to affilt, or indeede, as a Mercenaric, to serve vnder Taches King of Agypt in his warre vpon Syria. Chabrias the Athenian, who had before commanded under steeris King of £gypt, went now as a voluntarie, with fuch forces as he could raife, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These Agyptian Kings descended from Amyrtaus of Sais, who rebelled against Darius Nothis, having retained the Countrie notwithstanding all intestine differntions, and 20 forraine inuations, during three Generations of their owne race, were fowell acquainted with the valour of the Greekes, that by their helpe (cafily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to affure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not failen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vicertaine. But very likely it is that the rebellion it felfe had foone come to nothing, if Agestlaus had not proud a falle Traitor, joyning with Nectanebus who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the money of Taches had waged. This fallhood Agefilan excust d, as tending to the good of his owne Countrie; though it feeme rather, that hee grudged because the King 30 tooke vpon himfelle the Conduct of the Armie, vling his feruice only as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall Howfocuerit came to passe, Tachos being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the Perfian, who vpon his fubmiffion gaue him gentle entertainement; and Nectarelus (who feemes to have beene the Nephew of Tachos) raigned in his flead. At the fame time the Citizens of Mendes had fet up another King, to whom all, or most of the Agyptians yeelded their obedience. But Age ilam fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so farre, that hee left Nectanebus in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of histreason to the former King Tachos, and good feruice done to himfelfe, rewarded him with 40 two hundred and thirtie Talents of filuer, with which bootic failing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and voliant and a good Leader in warre, free from couetou ineffe, and not reproched with any blemifh of luft; which praifes are the leffe admirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparia was fuch as did enduceueric one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was neutrtheleffe very arrogant perucrfe, vnjust, and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obitinately profecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of xenophon had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of Persia should be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being transpor- 50 ted, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto Thebes, as compelled that Estate by meere necefficie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dilhonour of Sparta, and the irreparable loffe of all her former greatnesse. The commendations given to him by

Nenophon his good friend, have caused Plutarch to lay his name in the ballance against pompey the Great; whose actions (the solemne granitie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as Pompey made great warres under fundric Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imploiments all that were before him; to Agefilaus had at > one time, or other some quarrell with eueric Towne in Greece, had made a Warre in Alia, and medled in the businesse of the Agyptians, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predeceffours : yet not winning any Countries, as Pompey did manie, but obtayning large wages, which Pompey neuer tooke. Herein alfo they are very like; To Each of them was the last great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wilfulnesse. We may therefore well say, Similia magis ownia quam paria; Thereforeblance was nearer than the equalitie. Indeede the freedome of Rome was lost with Pompey, falling into the handes of Cafar, whom he had enforced to take Armes; vet the Roman Empire stood, the forme of Gouernement only being changed, But the libertie of Greece, or of Sparta it felfe, was not forfaited vnto the Thebans, whom Age/laws had compel-

led to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of Sparta was prefently loft: and the freedome of all Greece

being wounded in this Theban warre, and after much bloud loft ill healed by the peace enfaing, did very foone vpon the death of Jeellaus give vp the Ghoft, and the Lordfhip of the whole Countrie was feized by Thilp King of Mueedon, whose actions are now on foore,

and more to bee regarded than the Contemporarie paffages of thinges, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertij.

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## THE FIRST PART OF

THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the raigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of Antigonys.

THE FOURTH BOOK &.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

Q. I.

What Kings raigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



HE Greeks, of whom wee haue alreadie made large difcourfe, not as yet wearied with intefline Warre, nor made wife by their vaine contention for fuperioritie, doe lill, as in former times, continue the inualion and vallation of each other.

Againit Aroxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their libertie, with as happie success, as cuer Nation had, and with no lesse home, than hath cuer been equired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall, and experience, more than fortunate, a-

game those Nations, they folintic regarded what might come from them; who had to often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as what focuer could be fpared from their owned ditraction at home, they transported ouer the Heleijom, as fufficient, to entertaine and busic them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with enery man of marke in the world, that they vnder-fall, and perifh, by the hands and harmes, which they least feares to fared it at

Finir Lilui Touij.

this time with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each of ther, when the fait-growing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, have served them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glorie of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoles of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, so much weakned them, and wonne upon them, that they were not (as the Greenas perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their owne, much leffe to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeede, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decaied and broken banks, when great Rivers are once (wollen, fast running, and inraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inundation: than leeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was there-

orofander. 12. fore well concluded by OROSIVS: Gracia Cinitates dum imperare fingula cupiunt, imperium omnes per diderunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by flrining each of

them to communit all. The Kingdome of Mucedon, so called of Mucedon, the Sonne of Ofric, or, as other Authors affirme, of Jupicer and Æthra, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Agean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weff, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and Southwest, by Thestalie and Evirus.

Their Kings were of the familie of Temenus, of the race of Hercules, and by nation Argines; who are lifted as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the Affirian Empire, Arbaces then gouerning Media; Caranas of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynic 20 and tempetuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the florme as fast as they could, hafting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon Caranto, calling to minde, that he had also by an other Oracle beene directed, to follow the first

troupe of those beatts, that thould either lead him, or flie before him; He purfued

these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants by

Antiof.6.

reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance, and pos-Eufth. in Chron. feltit. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of Ciffeus, Caranus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twentie yeares. Canus succeeded Caranus, and raigned twelve yeares. Tyrimas followed Canus, and ruled eight and twentie Perdiesas the first, the some of Trimes, governed one and fiftie yeares; a Prince,

for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. Solinus, Plinie, Juffine, Exfebius, Theophilus Antiochenus, and others affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of Macroon his Successours, at Age: affuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is faid that because Alexander the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the Temenide failed in him: a thing rather denifed after the effect, as I conceine, than foretold by Perdicas. Eufch. in chron. Argains fucceeded vnto Perdice.is, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Philip the first, his succession, raigned eight and twentie yeares.

Europus tollowed Philip, and gouerned fixe and twentie yeares; in whose infancie the Illyrians inuaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victorie they pursued the fame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resoluing either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both

their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so voide of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natu- Engle. Justin. rall Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the handes of his feruants) able diminian. The to defend himselfe from destruction. The ike is reported by simonus, of Clotwins 13.683. the fonne of Fredegunda.

Alcetas succeeded Aropus, and ruled nine and twentie yeares.

Amontas the first succeeded A'ceras, and raigned fiftie yeares; Heeliued at such to time as Darius Hyfraffes, after his vnprosperous returne out of Seythia, lent Megabazus with an Armie into Europe, who in Xerxes name required Americas to acknowledge him for his Supreame Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Emballadours, as you have heard before, were, for their infolent behaviour towards the Officedoman Ladies, flaine by the direction of Alexander, who was the forme of Her. Enfanthing Amontas, and his Succeffour.

Alexander, furnamed the rich, the sonne of Amyntas, governed Macedon three and fortie yeares. He did not only appeale the wrath of Gingabazus, for the flaughter of the Fe firm imballadours, by giving Gyges his Silter, to Bubares of the bloud of Perfia, but by that match he grew fo great in Nerves grace, as he obtained all that 20 Region betweene the Mountaines of Olyn pus and Hemus, to bee vnited to the Kingdome of Mice on. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greeker.

For Nerves being returned into Afra, and Mardonius made Generall of the Persian Ar-Her.13. mic; Alexander acquainted the Greekes with all his intents and purpoles against Plateuleb. them. He had three Sonnes, Perd coss, Alcetas, and Philip. Perdicess the second, the sonne of Alexander, lived in the time of the Peloponnesian

Warre, and raigned in all eight and twentie yeares. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkeable; the Storie of them is found here and there by peeces, in Thuey lides his first lixe bookes. He left behinde him two fonnes; Per dicess, who was very yong, and Archelaus who was base borne.

30 Perdicon the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of Archelaus, was at feuen yeares of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false guardian : who excufing this fact to Cleepatra the Mother of the yong King, faid, That the child in fol- Platin Emg: lowing a Goose hastily fell thereinto by misaduenture. But Archelaus staied not 41th Fol. 5. here: for having thus dispatched his Brother, hee flew both his Vncle Alcetas the fonne of A xander the Rich, and Alexander the fonne of this Accetas, his Cofen Germaine, and enjoyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twentie yeares.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plate and Ariffelle make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many thinges greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is faid, That hee fought by all meanes to draw Socrates 40 vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured Eurypides the Tragedian. He had two lonnes, Archelaus and Orestes.

Archelius the second succeeded his Father, and having raigned seven yeares, hee was flaine in hunting, either by chance or of purp sle, by Crateus.

Orefles his yonger fonne was committed to the education of Fropus, of the roiall bloud of Macedon, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Pupill; for Frogus murdered him and vfurped the Kingdome, which he held fome fixe yeares: the same who denied passage to Agestlans King of Sparta, who desired after his returne from the Asian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into Greece.

This V furper left three fonnes, Paufanias, Argens, and Alexander. Paufanias fue-pied. Policett. ceeded his father Aropus, and having raigned one yeare, hee was driven out by A- Platin Demel; myntas the fonne of Philip the fonne of the first Perdicess, the fonne of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preserved, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his brother Perdiceas, his Vnele Alcetas, and his sonne Alexander. This Amentas O000 2

raigned (though very viiquietly) foure and twentic yeares; for he was not only in-

felted by Paulanias, aififted by the Thracians, and by his brother Argeus; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the faid Argaus, for two yeares dispossed of Macedon: but on the other lide, the Olynthians, his Neighbours neare the Agaan Sea, made themselues for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe Citie of Alacedon.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife Eurydice, the Illyrian, three Sonnes; Alexander the focond, Perdice is the third, and Philip the fecond, Father of Alexander the Great; and one Daughter called Euryone or Exione: He had also by his second wife Gyges three Sonnes; Archelaus, Argens, and Monelaus, afterward flaine by their brother Philip, He had more by a Concubine, Ptolomie, furnamed Alorites, of the Citie Alorus, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the fecond raigned not much about one years, in which time he was inuaded by Paulinia, the lonne of Frepus, but defended by Iphicrates the Albinian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great fumme of money) to leave his yongest brother Philip in Hestage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his Father Amyntas to the paiment of tribute. After this, Alexander, being innited by the Alexande against Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres in The falle, having redeemed his brother Philip; to draw the Thehans to his affiltance entred into confederacie with Pelopidas, being at that time in the fame Countrie, with whom he also left Philip with divers other principall persons for the 20 gage of his promifes to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his Mother failing in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter Euryone or Exione, practized the death of Alexander her fonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which Ptolomic Alorstes did put in execution : by meanes whereof hee held Macedon for three yeares, but was soone after slaine by Perdice as the brother of Diod.15.6 16 Alexander. Diodor hath it otherwise of Philips being made pledge; and faith, That Amyntus his Father delinered him for hoftage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conucied to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that Philip (while his Father was yet lining) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and delinered for hostage a second time by Alexander his Brother.

Perdice as the third, after he had flaine Alorites his base-brother, gouerned Mace-30 don fine yeares, and was then flaine in a battaile against the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; but lustine affirmeth, that he perilhed by the practife of Eurydice his Mother, as Alexander did.

The beginning of PHILIPS raigne; and how he delinered Micedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Diod.1.16.

The same of the sa

Iuft,1.7.



HILLIP the fecond, the yongest sonne of Amyntas by Eurydice, having beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernement of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which hee had vnder Epaminondas, making an escape from Thebes returned into Macedon, in the first yeare of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the

building of Rome three hundred fourescore and thirteene yeares: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was inuironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for Perdice.us left a fonne, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition foone ouer-grew his modestie, and he was easily perswaded by the people to 50 accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to fay the truth, The necessitie of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, belides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did fet vp in opposition Paufanias; the Athenians, Argaus;

CHAP.I.S.2. of the Historie of the World.

fonnes of the late V furper Eropus: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their owne Election. These heavie burdens when Pollip could not well beare, he bought off the waightieft by money, and by faire promifes valoded himfelfe of fo many of the reft, as he ranne under the remainder happily enough. For, nozwithitanding that his brother Perdicess had his death accompanied with foure thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before the min Macedon, and that the Athenians with a fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mantias, did beate upon him on all fides and quarters of his Countrie: Yet after he had practifed to the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Paufanias, he forthwith made head againse the A henians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he presented their recourse of Amphipolis, a Citie on the frontier of Micedon; and did then purfue Argeus the fonne of Fronts, fet against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retrait from Ages, that he forced him to abide the battaile; which Argens loft, having the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the prefent furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquilhers life and libertie to returne into 20 Atties. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the Athenians for that prefent, and for this elemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all

#### 8. III. (:

The good successe which PHILIP had in many enterprises.

Ow had Philip leifure to looke Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Paonians, his irreconciliable enemies and borderers : both which he inuaded with fo prosperous successe, as hee slew Bardillis, King of the Illyrians, with feuen thousand of his Nation, and thereby recour-

vpontue death of the King of Pannonia, hee pierft that Countrie, and after a maine victoric obtained, hecenforfithem to pay him tribute. This was no fooner done, than (without flaying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Larisia, vpponthe River Peneus in Theffalie, of which Towne he foone made himfelfe mafter; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrie, whereof he made vie in time following. Now although hee refolued either to fubdue the Theffalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countrie were the 40 best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safetie to close vp the entrances out of Thrace, least while hee inuaded Thessale and Greece towards the South those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either with draw him, or ouer-runne Macedon as in former times He therefore attempted Amphipolis, feated on the famous R juer of Strimon, which parteth Thrace from Mace, on. and wonne it. He also recovered Pydna; and (to the North of Amphipolis) the Citie of Crenides (fometime Datus) and called it after his owne name Philippi : to the people whereof St. Paul afterward directed one of his Epifiles. This place, wherein

50 dred thousand French Crownes. And that hee might with the more ease dilburden the Thracian-shores of the Athenian Garrifons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the Olynthians; whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of Pydna with the Territorie, mea-

Philippi stood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the adulance-

ment of Philips affaires, he drew yearely a thousand talents, which make fixe hun-

O000 3

CHAP.I. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

ning nothing leile than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, manie

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the Citie of Pheres in The Salie, from the tyrannic of Lycophron and Tifiphonus. Who, after they had conspired with Thebe the Wife of Alexander, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselves (Alexander being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that Alexander did, till by the affiftance of Fhilip they were beaten out, and Pheres reflored to her former libertie. Which act of Philip did for cuerafter fatten the Theffalians vnto him, and to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his feruice.

#### ð. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP into Greece.



Bout this time, to wit, in the second years of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of Mantinaa, and about the eighth years of Artaxernes Ochus, beganne that Warre, called Sacred. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of enery great alteration in the World there is some 20

preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned, so did this revengefull hatred by the Thebans, Theffalians, and Locrians, conceived against the Phocians, nor only teach Philip how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greekes themselves beating downe their owne defences, to give him an eatle passage, and beating themselves, to give him victorie without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne flauerie, fauing the title and impolition. Of this Warre the Thebans (made ouer-proude by their victorie at Leuctres) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the Amphyctiones, or of the generall Effates of Greece, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the Lacedomonians and Phocians to bee condemned in greater fummes of money than they could 30 well beare; the one for furpriling the Castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The Phoeians being resolved not to obay this Edict, were secretly set on and incouraged by the Lacedemonians: and for refufall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accurled, to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleafures.

The Phocians perswaded thereunto by Philomelus, a Captaine of their owne, cast the fame dice of hazard that Cafar after many Ages following did; but had not the fame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngratious quarrell, of which there was left no 40 hope of composition, they resolved to fack the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of Apollo's ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they refolued to take the gold with the ground, and either to perifh for all, or to prevaile against all that had commission to call them to accompt. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the warre was ten thousand talents, which in those daies served them to wage a great many men, and fuch was their fuccesse in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the Thebans, Thesialians, and Locrisms, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader Philomelus cast himselfe head-long over the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of Cher (one (us, both to defend them selues against their bad-Neighbour Philip, who encroched upon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselues to the Athensans. Philip prepareth to get them into his handes, and at the fiege of Methone loft one of his cies. It is faid, That hee that that him did purposely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shafe thereof: After PHILIPPO; After to PHILIP; for so he was called Plat. Vipian. that gaue him the wound. This Citic he euened with the foile.

The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, while Philip was bufied on the border of Thrace, and the The Salians ingaged in the holy Warre, entred The Salians ingaged in the holy Warre, forces, being affifted by Onomarchus, Commander of the Phocian Armie, in place of Philomelus. For hereby the Phocians hoped to entertaine the The Salians at home. as they should not finde leifure to inuade them. Hereupon was Philip the second time called into Theffalie, but both the Thefialians, and Macedonians, ( Philip being 10 prefent) were vtterly ouerthrowne by Onomarchus; and great numbers of both Nations loft. From Theffalse, Onomarchus drew speedily towards Baotia, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the Baotians, and tooke from them their Citie of Coronea. But Philip impatient of his late misaduenture, after hee hadre-enforced his Armie, returned with all speede into The Salie, there to finde against he honour which he lately loft; and was the second time incountred by onomarchus, who brought into the field twentie thousand foote, and fine hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for Onomarchus was by Philip surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armic ouerturned, lixe thousand flaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged 20 by Philip. Those that fled were in part received by the Athenian Gallies, which failed alongst the coast, commanded by Chares, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they reconcred them. Lycophron was now againe driuen out of Thesidie, and Pheres made free as before.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practifes of PHILIP.

Rom hence Philip resolued to inuade Phoeis it selfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the Lacedamonians they retrencht his pallage at the Straits of Thermopylis. Wherevpon hee returned into Obaceson, and after the taking of Micyberne, Torone, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the olynthians were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the Macedonians. It is faid that Philip having put to death Archelaus his halfe brother (for Amyntes had three fonnes by Eurydice the Mother of Philip, and three other fonnes by Gyg.es: but Philips elder brothers by the fame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himfelfe also of the rest) the two yonger held themselues 40 within Olynthus; and that the receiving of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the warre, Iustine affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, forto Justile. × this King all thinges were lawfull that might any way ferue his turne; all his affections, and passions, how divers some rin other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and thereinto conuerted. For hee neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie, hee effected no place ftrong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest to be madegreater, could loose the sense of other mens forrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of Ofnthus, till hee had inclosed all the power they had within their owne 50 walls, he entred their Territoric, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee fate downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought Euthicrates and Lasthbenes from their people, and from the seruice of their Countrie and Common weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, flew his brothers therein, fackt it, and fold the Inhabitants for flaues by

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly inriched himselfe, and had treasure fulficient to buy in other Cities withall, which be daily did. For fo was hee adulfed Ly the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That hee flould make his affaults + with filter speares: Whereupon tiorace well and truly said.

Hor.Carm.3. Od. 16.

\_Diffidit Vrbium Portas vir Macedo, & Subruit amules, Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates a-funder, And Kings enuying his effate brought under.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers ( which way of Conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spaine: ) So when in the contention betweene the Competitors for the Kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie, and Iustice, but with a powerfull Armie, and having beaten and flaine both Kings, gave fentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

# How PHILIP ended the Phocian Warre.



He warre still continuing betweene the Phecians, and the Associates of the holy Warre, the Barotians, finding themselves vnable to sublist without some present aide, sent vnto Philip for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men yeelded to their necessaries, and text their enemies, nor to affice them as were neither fufficient to mafter their enemies, nor to affice them.

felues; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of 30 Greece. They also sent to Artaxerxes Ochus for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred and four efcore thousand Crownes, but when with these supplies they had still the worst in all their attempts against the Phocians, who held from them three of their firongest Cities within Baotia it selfe, They then befought Philip of Macedon that hee would affift them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obay his commande-

Now had Philip what he longed for ; for he knew himselfe in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards Baotia, where being arrived, Phalleens who commanded the 40 Phocian Armie, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and with-drew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Pelopomelus, leaving the Phocians to the mercie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that Warre called Sacred, which the Greeians with fo many mutual! flaughters had continued for ten yeares, and, besides the glorie, he posses himselfe of orchomene, Coronea, and Corfia, in the Countrie of the Baotisms, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselucs. Hee brought the Phocians into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, referuing to himselfe the yearely tribute of threefcore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the same of pietic for service of the Gods) obtai- 50 ned the same double voice in the Councell of the Amphycliones, which the Phocians had, with the superintendencie of the Pythian games, for seited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian facriledge. d. VII.

VII.

Hav PHILIP with ill successe attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.



01

HILLIP after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Armie Parmenio, flaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians, and Dardanians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their reuennues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stated his furie. Perinthus was a Citie of Thrace, seated vpon Propontis, in the mid-way betweene Seitos and Byzantium, a place of

great fireigth, and a people refolued to detend their libertic against Philip, where the Athensans incouraged and affifted them. Philip fate downe before it with a puiffant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious affaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall affaults to wearie them, and walte both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and money, and succoured from Byzantium which stood vpon the same Sca-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhoaes, by the conduction 20 of Phocion, with whatfocuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their Neighbourhood, and the casie passage by water gaue them often and readic helpe; Philip removed with the one halfe of his Armie and belieged it, leaning fifteene thouland foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; but to be short, hee failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take divers enterprises at one time) and returned into Aucdon with no leffe dishonour than loffe: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the A! benians, and greatly defired it, to which though Photion perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; Yet Demoglihenes with his eloquence prevailed in the refufall. In the meane while, Philip 20 having digetted his late affront, and supplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and three score and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne A'exander, lead them into Seythia; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Arlia, set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

How PHILIP ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Cheronea, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of



Mong these Northren Nations (part of which hee supprest, and part quieted) hee spent some eight yeares, and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was to his great aduantage in uited againe by the Gracians to their affiftance. For the Citizens of Amphifa hauing

disobased the decree of the Amphyetiones, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans and Locrians gaue countenance and aide to the Amphiseniums, the rest were not of themselves able to constraine them, they belought 50 Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that Philip was not long in refoluing upon this enterprife; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe back; nor other diffwafion than a mastring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand foote, and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wanne Plates, and brought into fully jection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to search that a great part of this storme would fall on themselves, yet were they disswaded by Demolthenes from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered. and rather made choise (having drawne the Thebans to joyne with them) to leave the injoying of their estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of Philip. But this their Orators eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might to repeate vnto them (with wordes mouing paffion) the wonders they wrought at Marathen, but hee could not transforme the Macedonians into Perfians, nordraw from the dead, a Mittades, an Aristides, a Themificeles, or a Cimen, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had paied with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in difgrace, and not imploied: in so much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates incountred, although fome thousand of the Athenians abid the killing, and the like number well neare of the Theban, gied with them; yet the want of worthie men on that fide to hold up the reft, and to draw them on, and the many choife Captaines of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King 20 of a growing fortune, as it gaue to Philip fo thining a victorie that Accounter withe light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) into Persia, India, and Agypt; fo it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the Gracian glorie: Yea their libertie (faith Curtins) with their large Lominion wonne with fo many difficulties, continued for formany Ages, and fo often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for our lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disaduantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetic ouer all Greece and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the Persians, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those Atherians that were taken at this battaile of Cle ones, as he also 20 forbare to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of Epaminondas triumphed over the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of Macedonisms. And being foone after (according vnto the long defire which he had nourished of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at Cormth, stilled The first Commander of all the Gracians, and contribution of men and money granted him, hee compounded an Armie of great strength, and under the commandement of attalia and Parmenio, transported the same over the Hellespont into Ala, to beginne the Warre. Of his enterprise against Persia hee fought the successe from the Oracle at velybes, from whence he received fuch an other convertible riddle, as Cra/to did when hee attempted Cyrus, and was in like fort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites. fo did Philips ambitious defire to inuade Perfia abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he understood to be delinered of his enemie, whom he intended prefently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Alia, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter Cleopatra with Alexander King of Epirus, to which feaft and pastimes thereat appointed hec inuited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For having refused to doe justice to one Pausanias, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom Attalus (greatly fauoured by Philip) had first made drunke, and then 50 left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, This Paulanias grew into sogreat detestation of the Kings partialitie in so fowle a fact, as when Philip was passing towards the Theater, he drew a fword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had lived fixe and fortie yeares, and raigned five and twentie.

juffine reports it, that Olympias incouraged Paulannas to murder the King her huf- infl.19. band, which after his death thee boldly answed, by the honour flee did vnto Paufantas in crowning his dead bodie, in confecrating his fword vnto Apollo, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

#### ò. I X.

What good foundations of ALEXANDERS greatnesse were laied by PHILLIP. of his landable qualities, and iffue.

ഉത്തു 😋 Ow although he were then taken from the World, when he had mafired all oppolition on that fide the Sea, and had feene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripeneffe, and perfection, yet he was herein happie that he lived to fee his fonne Alexander

at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eie-witnesse of his resolution, and lingular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laied so soundly for him, with fo plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more casie to Alexander, though more glorious than 20 the beginnings were vnto Philip, though leffe famous. For belides the recourse of Macedon it felie, in competition betweene him and the fonnes of Eropus, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the regaining of many places possess by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northeen Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of Olynthus, a State that dispised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; Hee left vnto his fonne, and had bred vp for him, fo many choise Commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgement in the Warre were no lesse wor-20 thie of Crownes, than himfelfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was faid of Parmenio (whom Alexander, vngratefull to fo great vertue, impioufly murdered) That Parmenie had performed many thinges challenging eternall fame, without the King, \* but the King, without Parmenio, neuer did any thing worthie of renowne; as for the restoshis Captaines, though content to obay the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after Alexanders death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to therafelnes.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For belides that He was Valiant, Wife, Learned, and Mafter of his 40 Affections, he had this fauour of Pictic, that he rather laboured to fatisfic those that, were grieued, than to suppresse them, Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with Arcadion , and Vicanor ; whom, when for their euill speech of Philip, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to bee considered, whether the fault were in them that gauchimill language, or in himfelfe: Secondly, that it was in every mans owne powertobee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after Philip had relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that hee was a better Philition for cuill speech than they were.

His Epistles to Alexander his fonne are remembred by Cicero, and Gellius; and Cic.Off.2. by Dion: and Chryfostome exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered Diona, de Rei by Polyenus and Frontings, his wife fayings by Plutarch, And albeit hee held Macedon as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next > Heirethereof: for Amyntas the fonne of his Brother Perdice to (of whom he had the protection

protection during his infancie) had the right. This simples hee married to his Daughter Cyma, who had by him a Daughter called Emydice, who was married to Philips bale fonne stridens, her Vncle by the mothers-fide: both which olympa, Philips first Wife, and Mother to Alexander the Great, put to death; Atlaus by extreme torments: Emydice thee throughed.

Philip had by this Ofmpiss the Daughter of Neoptolemus, King of the Molofism, (of the race of Achies) Accorded the Great and Cleopatra, Cleopatra was married to her Vincle Alexander, King of Epirus, and was after her Brother Alexanders death flaine at Sardus, by the commandement of Aniegonus.

By Andata, an Illyrian, his second wise, hee had Cyna, married as is shewed 10 before.

By Nieslipolis, the Sifter of Islan, Tyrant of Pheres, hee had The falonics, whom Cassander, after he had taken Pidna, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law Anipater put to death.

By Cleontra, the Necce of Attalus, he had Caranus, whom others call Philip: him, 1184.1.3.4.3. Olympia, the Mother of Alexander the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a coper Pan. Others lay this murder on Alexander himselfe. By the same Cleopatre hee had likewise a Daughter, called Europa, whom Olympias also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By Phila and Meda he had no iffue.

Hee had allo two Concubines, Africe, whom, after he had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called Lagus, who bare Protome. King of Agypt, called the sonne of Lagus, but esteemed the sonne of Philip: by Philimsa, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, he had Arideus, of whom wee shall have much occasion to speake hereafter.

# CHAP. II. Of ALEXANDER the Great.

ģ. I

A briefe rehearfall of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee imaded Afia.



Lexander, afterward called the Great, fucceeded vnto Philip his Father; being a Prince no leffe valiant by Nature, than by Education, well influeded, and intiched in all forts of Learning and good Arts. He began his raigne ouer the Macedonians four chundred and feuenteene yeares after Reme built, and after his owne birth twentie yeares. The firange dreames of Philip his Father, and that one of the Gods, in the fhape of a Snake, begat him on Ofmpiss his Mother, 19 I omit as foolith tales; but that the Temple of Dianz (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was

burnt upon the day of his birth, and that fo flrange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three feuerall victories, obtained by the Macedoniam, it was very

remarkeable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and forethewing the great thinges by Aexander afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had opprest, beginne to confult about the recouerie of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. Alexanders young-year s gaue them hope of prenailing, and his suspected feueritie increased courage in those, who could better resolue to die, than to live slauithly. But Alexander gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might specdily have endangered the health of his effate. For after revenge taken you the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tombe; and the celebra-10 tion of his Funeralls, hee first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily flauerie, other than their feruice in his warres; and vfed such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his yong yeares, and such elemencie to the reit that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a prefent journey into Peloponne jus, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great defire of his heart, elected Captaine-Generall against the Persians, vpon which warre Philip his Father had not only resoluted, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported under the leading of Parmenie, and Attalia, a part of his Armie, to recouer some places on 20 Alis-fide, for the fafe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all Alexanders affections; those faire markes of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either gricuous or hatefull. But a contrarie winde ariseth; for hee receiveth advertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedemonians, had vnited themselves against him, and, by assistance from the Persian, hoped for the recoucie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by Demosibenes, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of Persia: the deute he vied was more fubtile than profitable, for he caused it to be bruted that Miexander was flaine in a battaile against the Triballes, and brought into the affern-30 bly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himfeife was prefent and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policie (as \_\_ Policie is now a-daies defined by falfhood and knauerie) that deuifed rumours and lies, if they ferue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly availeable. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Warres; but in all that I have observed, I have found the successe as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like

brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and

inoccasions perilous, summoned to affemble; so doe all meningeneral condemne

the Venters of fuch trumperic, and for them feare ypon necessarie occasions to en-40 tertainethe truth it felfe. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not only very gricuous to \*\*liex\*\*adar\*\*, but by turning his fivord from the ignoble and effemnate \*\*Perjam\*\*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous Gratians\*, of whose affishance he thought himselfe affured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered But he that cannot indure to firtuagainst the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which heep purposeth to recouer: and it no lesse becommend the worthielt men to oppose missortunes, than it doth the weakest children to be waile them.

He therefore made fuch expedition towards these Revolters, as that himselfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. 19 Hereupon all stager, and the \*Athexius\*, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacific the King, and to be received againe into his grace. \*Alexander was not long in resoluting; sforthe Persons personaded him to pardon the Gracium. Wise men are not cally drawne from great purposes by sinch occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King

cuer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himfelfe in many enterprifes at once, not tending to one and the fame certaine end.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.2. S.I.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he refolued to affure those Nations which iav on the North-side of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Tilballes, Peones, Getes, Agrians, and other faluage people, which had greatly vexed with incurtions, not only other of his Predeceffours, but cuen Philip his Father: with all which after divers overthrowes given them, hee made peace, or elfe brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the Greekes had enjoyed it ouer-long, and loft it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yeke once againe. The Thebans, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand Macedons, attempt to force it; Alexander halteth to their fuccour, and prefents himfelte with thertie thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being even heart-sicke with the delire of passing into Ajia. So viwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the Gracians, by whom hee hoped to ferue himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the Thebans remission, if they would only deliuer into his hands Phanix and Prothytes. the flirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, oppoling the mounting fortune of Alexander, (which bare all reliftance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in fleed of fuch an answere, as men belieged and abandoned should have made, deman- 20 ded Philotas and Antipater to bee deliucred vnto them; as if Thebes alone, then laied in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of Macedon and many other Prouinces, could either have evened the scale or swated it. Therefore in the end they perithed in their obstinacie. For while the Thebans oppose the Armie affailant, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, fixe thousand flaine, and thirtie thousand fold for flaues, at the price of four hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Gra-

Many Arguments were vied by Cleuds; one of the prisoners, to perfusade Alexander to forbeare the destruction of Thebes. He praied the King to believe that they were rather missel-ed by giving halfice-recedit to falls reports, than any way malicious for being persuaded of Alexanders death, they rebelled but against his Succession. Hee also belough the King to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor Hereises was borne therein: but all persussions were fruitlesse, the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggruute them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of Prindsruth Poet, and spared, and set at libertie Timeslea, the sister of Theagenes, who died in defence of the libertie of Greece against his Father Philip. This Noble-woman being taken by a Thrasian, and by him raussished, he extreasted to take her life unself she would confesse her treasses, she had therein cash; and when the Thrasian to a Well, and told him that 40 she bad therein cash; and when the Thrasian Rooped to looke into the Well, shee sheddainly thrush him into the mouth the reco, and though though the death.

Now because the Athenians had received into their Citie so many of the Thebans, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, Alexander would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which persuaded this second revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of Persia, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill adulted, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the restance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the Greeians betooke 50 themselves to the secretary of the Persian, whom after a few daies he intundeth.

ò. I I.

How ALEXANDER passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the Ruser of Granicus.



Hen all was now quieted at home, Mexander, committing to the truft of Antipater both Greece and Mucedon, in the first of the Spring did passet to tellespont, and being readic to disimbarke, her threw a Dart towards the Min shore, as a token of defiance, commanding

his Souldiers not to make any wast in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or defice those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to posselfe. He landed his Armie, confishing of two and thirtie thousand foot, and fine thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neare vnto Troy, where he offered a solemne facrifice you stabiles Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his owne coaft, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinfmen, whom Philip his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing fuch of his owne as he sufficiently. He had been been been all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrarie to offere all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrarie to the policie which his Ambition had commended who him, though agree has verienced well with the justice of God, for all that he had planted, was soone after with red, and rooted up; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; if mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercies the Govern as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and left bim there.

When the knowledge of Alexanders landing on Alia-fide was brought to Parim, he fo much Corned the Armie of Macedon, and had fo contemptible an opinion of Alexander himfelfe, as having thicked him his feruant on a letter which hee wrote wrohim, reprehending his difficialtic and and actite (for Darius intitled himfelfe King of Kings, and the Kinfman of the Gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieute-30 nanes of the leffer Alia, that they should take Alexander a-liue, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should linke his ships, and fend the Macedons taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into Lethiopia, or some other

vnhealthfull part of Alirica. In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleffe, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the alreadic-vanquished Macedonians ; But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soener armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any difcouragement at all. For belides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dan-40 gers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to pregaile against those of leffe courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and filture their upper garments, as if they attended the invafion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and fteele against the sharpe-pikes, swords, and darts of the hardie Macedonians; I say befides all thefe, even the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled enery of them with the care of their owne fafetic, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The Otitedanians as they came to fight, and thereby to inrich themselves with the gold and 50 jewells of Persia, both which they needed, so the Persians who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obaied the King; who had power to constraine them in affembling themselves for his service; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they only then obaied, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did justly and

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violently

violently require it. For faith V & GETIVS: Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles pras. lium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam feiendum est in pugna ofum amplicus prodesse quam vires; As the well-practifed Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one scares it : for we must understand, that in fight it more auxiles to have been execustomed unto the like than only to have rude firength What manner of men the Perfians were, Alexander diffcour red in the first encounter, before which time it is faid, by those that writh is Storie. That it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueit of an Empire to well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the fuccesse he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territoric of Tree from Propontis, the Perfuns fought to ftop his passage, taking the higher ground and 100 banck of the river to defend, which Alexander was forced (as it were) to clime vp vpto and scale from the Levell of the water; Great relistance (faith Curtius) was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it seemes to mee, that the victoriethen gotten was exceeding calie, and that the twentie thousand Perlan foot-men, faid to be flaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or, after Platarch, two thousand and fine hundred horse-men, died with their faces towards the Micedonians, Alexander could not have bought their lines at fo small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all forts of his owne. And if it were also true, that Plutareh doth report, how Alexander encoun- 29 tred two of the Persian Commanders, Spithridates and Persaces; and that the Persian horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly how those Grecians in Darius his pay holding themselves in one bodie vpon a peece of ground of advantage, did (after mercie was refused them) fight it out to the last: how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having beene made, yet of Alexanders Armie there fell but twelve Foote-men, and two and twentie

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granick,



He winning of this paffage did greatly encourage the Mucedonians, and brought fuch terrour vpon all those of the lesser Ajia, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, fome one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuations, where the Nations inuaded have once beene beaten vpon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Ri-

uers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will foone have perswaded themselves, that fuch an enemie, vpon equal termes and euen ground, can hardly be refifted. It was 50 therefore Aschiauels counsell, that he which resolueth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are fo well fenced, that Armies, of fuch force as may be thought sufficientto conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wates. One paffage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrie be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often have the Alpes given way to Armies, breaking into Italie? Yea, where shall we finde that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they fuch, as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they give no fecuritie to those that lie beninde them: for 59 they are of too large extent. The Townes of Lumbardie perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Switzers had vndertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Duchic of eMilan: but whilest these Patrons of Milan, whom their owne dwelling in those Mountaines

Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custodic of the Alpes; Francu appeared in Lumbardie, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leffe they had expected his arrivall. What thall we fay of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such fort, as they leave but one Gate open ? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of Taurus in Citicia, and those of Thermopyla, have seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable : but how feldome (if euer) haue they been attempted in vaine? Xerxes, and long after him, the Romans, forced the entrance of Thermoppie; Cyrus the yonger, and after him Alexander, found the Gates of Cilicia wide 10 open; how strongly soener they had beene locked and barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that thould enter on the back-fide. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, wee finde examples in all histories that beare good witneffe. The deepelt have many Foords; the fwifteit and broadeft may bee paffed by Boates, in cale it be found a matter of difficultie to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enough to beate his enemie; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his loff, than by striuing in vaine to hinder the pallage, as a matter tending to his owne disaduantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their meanes of fafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of fuch as are too 20 good for them. Certainely if a River were fufficient defence against an Armie, the lile of Mona, now called Anglefey, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had beene fafe enough against the Romans, inuading it under conduct of Inlins Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vesfells to transport his forces, did affay the foords. Whereby her fo amazed the enemies attending for thips and fuch like prouision by Sea, that furely believing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came fo minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the Britaines were men flout enough; the Perlians verie dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of Alexander, to passe the River of Granick in face 20 of the enemie; not marching higher to feeke an eafier way, nor labouring to conucy his men ouer it by some fafer meanes. For having beaten them vpon their owne ground, heedid thereby cut off no leffe of their reputation, than of their firength, leauing no hope of fuccour to the partakers and followers of fuch vnable Pro-

Soone after this victoric he recoursed Sardis, Ephefus, the Cities of the Trailians and Mignesia, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which with the people of the Countrie, he received with great grace, fuffering them to be governed by their owne lawes. For hee observed it well; Novam Imperium inchoantibus viilis elementia fama; It is commodious onto fuch as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignetie -40 to have the fame of being mercifull. Hee then by Parmenio wanne Miletus, and by force maîtred Hilicarnaffus, which, because it relisted obstinately, hee razed to the ground. From thence hee entred into Caria, where Adathe Queene, who had beene cast out of all that thee held (except the Citie of Alinda) by Darius his Lieutenants, presented her felfe vnto him, and adopted him her fonne and successor; which Alexander accepted in fo gracious part as hee left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. Hee then entred into Lycia, and Pamphilia, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subjecting unto him Pifidia, he directed himfelfe towards Darius (who was faid to be advanced towards him with a maruailous Armie) by the way of Phrygia: For all the Province of Ala the leffe, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victorie laied under his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernement and fetling of Lycia, and Pamphilia, he fent Cleander to raife fome new Companies in Peloponnefus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas, scated on the River Ateander, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle only holding out, which also after fortie daies was given vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas he past on

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through Phrygu towards the Euxine Sea, till he came to a Citie called Gordium, the Regail-feate, in former times, of King Midas. In this Citie it was that he found the Gordian-knot, which when hee knew not how to vndoe, hee cut it a-funder with his fword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promife to him that could vnite it, the Lordship of all Asia; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the manner how. fo it were done, affumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophetic, by hewing it in pecces.

But before he turned from this part of Asia the leffe towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the Persians out of the Ilands of Lesbos, Scio, and Coos, the charge whereof he comitted vnto two of his Captaines, 12 giuing them fuch order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delinering vnto them fiftie talents to defray the charge; and withail out of his first spoile gotten, he sent threescore talents more to Antipater his Licutenant in Grecce, and Macedon. From Celenas he removed to Ancira, now called Anguers, standing on the fame River of Sangarius, which runneth through Gordium: there hee multred his Armie, and then entred Paphlagonia, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where heeleft Catus Gouernour with one

Regiment of Macedonians lately arrived.

Here he vnderstood of the death of Memnon , Darius Lieutenant , which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more re- 20 spect than of all the multitude by Davins affembled, and of all the Commanders hee had belides. For fo much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the scarefull passions of his owne sollowers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; fuch spirits haue beene ftirred up in fundrie Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Perfons and States; to the same certaine ends, which the infinite spirit of the Vniner/all, 20 piercing, mouing, and gouerning all thinges hath ordained. Certainely the things that this King did were maruailous, and would hardly have beene undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leffer Afia, it is like enough that he would have contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of Indus, as this mandid. The swift course of victorie, wherewith he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed vnto this, That he was neuer encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than Desert places, and the meere length of tedious journies could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes, not so much to bee ad- 40 mired for the workemanship, though therein also praise-worthie, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by xenophon, discouer as braue a spirit as Alexanders, and working no leffe exquifitely, though the effects were leffe materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke upon such as Epaminondas, that encountring worthic Captains, and those better followed than themselues, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are doe seldome line to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered 50 State, than to tread downe and vtterly subdue a multitude of service Nations, compounding the bodie of a groffe vnweldie Empire. Wherefore these Paruo Potentes, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like abilitie, are to be regarded as choife examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to bee rather admired for the fubstance

substance of their actions, than the exquisite menaging: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring fo feldome, that I can finde no instance of both in one; fauc only that braue Roman Ca/ar.

Hauing thus farre digreffed, it is now time that wee returns vnto our Easterne Conqueror; who is trauailing hastily towards Cilicia, with a desire to recour the Streights thereof before Davius thould arrive there. But first making a dispatch into Greece, he fent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the Perlian Targets which he had recoursed in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of h s victorie. Herein hee well aduited him felfe; to for he that doth not aswell impart of the honour which he gameth in the Warres, -

as hee doth of the spoiles, shall never beelong followed by those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often fatisfie themselves with the purchase of glorie; as the weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and filuer.

The Gouernour of Cilicia hearing of Alexan ler comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as Curtius noteth, hee beganne over-late to prife and put in execution the Counfell of Memnon: who in the beginning of the Warres adulfed him to wast all the prouifions for Men and Horse, that could not bee lodged in strong places, and alwaies to

20 give ground to the Inuader, till hee found some such notal leaduantage as might affuredly promise him the obtaining of victorie. For the furie of an inuaging Armie is best broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and fometimes too much, fometimes repoling themselues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. The seand the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases upon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from meat and fleepe, and refusing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the Parthians afterward did the Romans; hee might perchance haue faued his owne life, and his estate: For it was one of the greato incouragements given by Alexander to the Macedonians, in the third and last fa-20 tall battaile, that they were to fight with all the ftrength of Perlia at once.

Xerxes when he inuaded Greece and fought abroade, in being beaten, lost only his men; but Darius being inuaded by the Greekes, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loft his Kingdome; Pericles, though the Lacedemonians burnt all in Attica to the Gates of Athens, yet could not bee drawne to hazard a battaile : for the invaded ought euermore to fight vpon the advantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, we will give fome inftances of those that have perished by adventuring in their owne Countries, to charge an inuading Armic. The Romans, by fighting with Hanibal, were brought to the brinke of their destruction.

Pompey was well aduised for a while, when hee gaue Cafar ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines he adventured to fight at Phar/alia, he loft the battaile, loft the freedome of Rome, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battaile with the French to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise furetie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conflable of France made frustrate the mightie preparation of Charles the Fift, when he inuaded Prouence, by wasting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; fodid the Duke of Alua wearie the French in Naples, and diffolue the boilterous Ar-

mic of the Prince of Orenge in the low-Countries.

50 The Leigers, contrarie to the aduife of their Generall, would needes fight a battaile with the Bourgonians, inuading their Countrie, and could not be persuaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but they lost eight and twentie thousand vpon the place. Philip of Valois fet vpon King Edward at Cresse, and King Iohn (when the English were well neare tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit

haue beene wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great furie, neare \* Pairiers, to joyne battaile with him : But all men know what lamentable fucceile these two French Kings found. Charles the Fift of France made another kinde of Fabian-Warfare; and though the English burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to torbeare blowes, and followed his adulfe which told him, That the English could neuer get his inheritance by smoake; and it is reported by Bellay and Herrault, that King Edward was wont to fay of this Charles, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of Guien without euer putting on his Armour.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.2. 8-3.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wife men grow short lined, and the charge of things is committed vnto fuch as either cannot fee what is for their good, 19 or know not how to put in execution any found aduife. The course which Memnon had propounded, must in all appearance of reason have brought the Macedonian to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had Cappadocia and Paphlagonia beene walted whileft Alexander was farre off; and the Streights of Cilicia beene defended by Arfenes, Gouernor of that Province, with the belt of his forces: hunger would not have fuffered the enemie, to flay the triail of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that paffage; or if the place could not have beene maintained, yet might Gilicia at better leifure have beene fo throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should have beene broken, by see- 20 king out miscries with painefull trauaile.

But Arfenes leaving a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to wall, and spoile the Countrie; or rather, as may seeme, to find himfelfe some worke, by pretence of which hee might honeftly runne further away from Alexander. Hee thould rather have adventured his person in cuttodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps have faued the Pronince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into firong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himfelfe with his horfe-men have lad the leffe worke in dettroying that little which was left abroade. Handling the mat- 30 ter as he did, he gaue the Cilicians cause to wish for Alexanders comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that drfenes made all haft to joyne himfelfe with Darius, burning downe all as be went like one despairing of the desence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as loft the Countrie behinde their backs, had exposed themselues vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the Macedonian (words: Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they faw that Arjenes himfelfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruest. Thus 40 Alexander without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had been alienated from the Persian side by their indiscretion.

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ò. IIII.

of the unwarlike Armic leasted by DARIVS against ALEXANDER, The unaduised courses which DARIVS tooke in this expedition. Hee is vanquished at Issus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some thinges sollowing the battaile of Iffus.



N the meane feafon Darius approched; who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetic thoufand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; Justine musters them at three hundredthousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse : Plutarch at fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his comming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne fafetic, perswading himselse, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pompe and fumptuous Pagents. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the Persians worshipped, attended by their Priess, and after them three hundred and three score and fine yong-men, answering the num-20 ber of the daies of the yeare, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Jupiter drawne with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the Sunne: Next after these followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaied and garnisht with siluer and gold, and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelue seueral Nations, which the better to avoide confusion, did hardly understand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitty to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of soote marched, with the Persians called immortall, because if any died the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates 20 with the same mettall imbrodered, whereof the sleeues were garnished with pearle, baites, either to catch the hungrie Macedonians withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivilitie to cut and to deface fuch glorious garments. But it was well faid: Sumptuose inductus miles, se virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, cum in prelijs oportet fortitu line animi , & non vestimentis se muniri , quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that he exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gav garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are besten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the Samnite in that fatall battaile. wherein they all sware either to prevaile or die, thirtie thousand of them having ap-40 parelled themselues in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of seathers, bad the Roman Souldiers to lay afide all feare: Non enim erifl as vulnera facere, timelas & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For these plumed crests would

wound no bodie, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilled finelds. To second this Court-like companie, fifteene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came Darias himselfe, the Gentlemen of his Guarde-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the Micedonians did not serve, but they served their turnes of these, by 50 changing their massie-bodies into thinne portable and currant coine. The head of this Chariot was fet with pretious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same mettall: The hinder part being raised high wheron Darius fate, had a covering of inestimable value, This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their

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heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrew in the Macedoman bloud, for leare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his perfont wo hundred of the bloud Royall, bloud too Royall and pretious to be full by any valorous aduentore, (I am of opinion that two hundred flurdie fellowes, like the Switzers, would have done him more feruice) and thefe were backt with thirtie thousand loot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to have seed he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rearcward, the same being led by Sifigambis the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne inglorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, 10 and the wives of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines. and a world of Nurses, and Eunue's, most sumptiously apparelled, By which it should seeme that Darius thought that the Macedonians had beene Comedians or Tumblers; for this troupe was farre fitter to behold those sports than to bee present at battailes. Betweene these & a companie of flight-armed slaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treafure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the Olixedonians. In this fort came this Maygame-King into the field, incombiced with a most vnnecessarie traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diners Nations, speaking diners languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marthalled, and for the most part so effection and forich 20 in gold and in garments, as the fame could not but have incouraged the nakeddeft Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimitic, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and what socue cise hath beene wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, bath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches, The rich ships are boorded vpon all disaduantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our English Nations have attempted many places in the Indies, and runne upon the Spaniards head-long, in hope of their Koyalls of plate, and Piftolets, which had they beene put to it vpon the like diladuantages in treland, or in any poore Countrie, they would have turned their Pecces and Pikes against 25 their Commanders, contesting that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and flaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good fuccesse, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to thunne perill, and menthat haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. Careuilny a rien a gaigner, que descoups volontiers ilny va pas; Noman makes haft to the market, where there is nothing to be hought but blowes.

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his confultation with his Southfaiers, hee would have fatisfied himfelfe by the out-fides of the Perfians, and neuer haue looked into the intrailes of Beafts for fuccesse. For leaning the descrip- 40 tion of this second battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hastic running away of the Asians could it be) we have enough by the flaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the Micedonians, to informe vs what manner of relistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thouland Persian foot-men were flaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen, Or (as Curtius saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexanders Armie there miscarried but two hundred and sourcscore of all sorts, of which numbers Arianus and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beloeue that this fmall number rather died with the ouer-trausile and paines- 50 taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the Persian Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue fold to good cheape, and at to vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings Children; had their owne honor beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings Children; had his offate at leftle. \*Darius\* by this time found it true that Charlaemus a bandhed Gracin of Athens had told him, when hee made a view of his Armic about Bahylon, to wit, That the multitude which hee had affembled of diners Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrie, whom in paffing by they would deuour, than to the Chacalonium, whom they meant to affaire; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groffe fquadrons, which they call their Phallans, well coursed with Armour for defence, and turnilhed with weapons for offence of great and their palat, being withall ill armed and worfe difciplined, as except it would pleafe him to entertaine (hauing fo great abourdance of treafure to doe it withall) a fufficient number of the fame Gracium, and so to encounter the Macalonium with men of equall courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable facees like to follow.

CHAP.2. \.4. of the Hiflorie of the World.

But this difcourfe was fo vnpleafing to Darius (who had beene accultomed to nothing fo much as to his owne praifes, and to nothing fo little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore Greens flould bee prefently flaine: who while hee was a fundring in the Tormentors hand, vled this speech to the King, That Alexan-20 der, againt whom hee had given this good counfell, should affiredly revenge his death, and lay deferued punishment vpon Darius for despiting his adusse.

It was the laying of a Wife man. Desperataeius Principis salus est, enius aures ita sormas, junt, vit assera qua vitila, nec quicquam nist incundum accipiat. That Princes sasetie x is in adesperate case, whose evers indepeal that is prostiable to be too sharpe, and will entertain enoising that is unpleasant.

Forliberise in counfell is the life and essence of counsells, Libertas consiliy est eius vita, & essenia, qua crepta consilium enanescit.

Darin did likewise value at nothing the Aduise given him by the Grasian Souldiers that Grued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to have opposed the furie of Mexander, without any affistance of the Persan footmen. For when Darias was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Grazians, under their Captaine Amphas, held firme, and marched away in order in despight of the vanquistiers. Old Souldiers are not easily distincted: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits have beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they have served, hath beene broken.

At the battaile of Raueme, where the Imperialls were beaten by the French, a 40 squadron of Spariards, old Souldiers, came oil vubroken and vundimated; whom when Gisles de Foix, Duke of Memors, and Nephew to Lewis the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their cleape, hee was ouer-turned and slainein the place. For it is truely fail of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers searce them not, That, Neglesia pericula imminent is mali opus iplum quartumis difficile aggrediantur; They goe about the business it sells, how hard season in the proposition of the standard which the missing business when there heads may bring; and as truely of those than know the warres but by heare-say. Quod valentes sant circumstants and to present the season of the sanger of the sanger

These Gracians also that made the retract, aduised Darms to retire his Armieinto the plaine of Assignosamia, to the end that Assarba being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might have invironed the Assessams on all fides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to divide that his buge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he

might

might have fought many batrailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once then might have beene well marthalled and conducted. But this counfell was for contrarie to the cowardly affections of the Perfans, as they perfuaded Darius to inuirone the Gracians which gave the aduife, and to cut them in peeces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way. but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking understanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither give nor discerne of Counsels. For Darise that would needes fight with Alexander upon a traightned prece of ground, neare vnto the Citie of Isia, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Jlexander could, (who by the aduite of Parmenio Itaied there, as in a place of best aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers had perfuaded him to leave in Babylon, or elfewhere) taken prifoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, lewels, and Honour, It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexanders prefence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Flonours preserved, and their Iewels and rich Garments reftored vnto them; and though Darius Wife was a most beautifuli Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, Yet Alexander mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of Ariflobulus the Historian, That he imbraced the Wife of the valiant Memnon, her Hufband lately dead, who was taken flying from 20 Damafeus by Parmenie, at which time the Daughters of Ochus, who raigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of Persia in effect, feil into captivitie; At which timealfo Darius Treasure (not lost at Is/us) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches belides.

Darius himselfe leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow given vinto Larius, all Phanicia (the Citie of Tyre excepted) was yeelded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made Gouernour.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one 20 Strate was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him to fast that it troade on his heeles, for Antigonus, Alexanders Lieutemant in Afia the leffe, ouerthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagenians, and others lately revolted; Ariftodemus, Darius Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly leavied; the Lecedamonians that warred against Antipater were beaten; foure thouland of those Greeks which made the retrait at the last battaile, for saking both the partie of Darius and of Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Agypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

Alexander, to honour Ephestion, whom hee loued most, gaue him power to dif- 40 pose of the Kingdome of Zidon. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustaine his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good defire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that hee could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduerlitie; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which hee commended in an other mans desire: for it was a figne that he did but accompanie, and could not governe, his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, impor- 50 ting the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but fuch as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not youch safing, in his direction, to stile Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned

returned him a more scornefull answere vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, fo that of Darius had alreadie cast leafe, the one a resolued well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander diffained the offers of Darius, and fent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Dariss himfelfe.

How ALEXANDER besieged and wanne the Citie of Tyre.



LEXANDER comming neareto the Citie of Tyre, received from them the prefent of a golden Crowne, with great flore of victualls, and other prefents, which hee tooke very thankefully, returning them answere That he defired to offer a facrifice to Hercules, the Protector of their Ci-

tie, from whom hee was descended. But the Tyrians like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of Herenles was feated in the old Citie adjoyning, now abandoned and defolate: To bee fhort, Alexander refolued to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the 20 Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber fufficient from Lybanus, hee filled the paffage of the Sea betweene the Hand and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a florme of winde, fornetime by the Tyrians fired, and fometime torne a funder, vet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the fiege) from Cyprus, he ouercame all difficulties and prevailed after he had front feuen Moneths in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned the meffengers fent by Alexander, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great loffe of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused 20 two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be e hanged on Crosses on the

Sca-shore, and referred for flaues (faith Diodore) thirteene thousand; Arrianus rec- Arrian.I. kons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died had not the Zidonians, that ferued Alexander, conucied great numbers away by thipping vnto their owne Citie. 149.148.

Happie it was for Apollo that the Towne was taken, for one of the Tyrians having dreamt, that this God meant to for lake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of Hercules; but Alexander like a gratious Prince loofened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For Nibuchodonofor had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay 40 betweene the Hand and the Maine.

The government of this Territorie he gave to Philotas, the Sonne of Parmenio; Cilicia, he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus Lieutenant under Parmenio; Ephession had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde Alexander at Gaza towards Ægypt.

Q. VI.
How DARIUS offered conditions of peaceto ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER winnes Gaza; and deales gracioully with the Iewes.



N the meane while Darius fends againe to Alexander, fets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place; he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to incompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of Euphrates,

Tigris, Araxes, and the reit, with all fuch other fearefull thinges : for, hee that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to prefent vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the River of Alysand the Helejiont, he offered him in I ower with his beloued daughter. But Alexander answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victoric and his owne vertue had poffeit him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any; and that he having passed the Sea it selfe, disdamed to thinke of resistance in transporting himfelfe ouer Riuers. It is faid that Parmenio, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he Alexander hee would accept of Darius his offers, to which Alexander answered, That so would be if he were Parmenio.

But he goes on towards Egypt, and comming before Gaza, Betis a faithfull feruant to Darius, thats the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obitinate resolution, at the siege whereof Alexander received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left fo many of his Macedonians buried in the fands of Gaza, that he was forfit to fend for a new fupply into Greece. Here it was that Alexander first beganne to change condition, and to exercise cruel-Toleph. Ant. Liv. For after that he had entred Gaza by affault, and taken Betis, (whom Tolephus calleth Bibemeles) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Affailants; he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to bee 20 drawne about the streets, whilest he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant a manas himfelfe, difdained to aske him either life or remiffion of his torments. And what had hee to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Hector? It is true, that crueltie hath alwaies somewhat to couer

Lat. coit.

her deformitie. From Gaza (faith Infephus) he led his Armie towards Ierufalem, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before Tyre; He had fent for fome supply thither, which Inddus the high Priest, being subject and fworne to Darius, had refused him. The tewes therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to relift, committed the care of their estates and safetie to Iaddus, who, being 30 taught by God, iffued out of the Citic couered with his Pontificall-Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests & Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a maner fo vnufuall, flately, and graue, as Alexander greatly admired it. 10/ephus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that Parmenio reprehended him for it; Howfocuer it was, I am of opinion, That he became fo confident in his enterprife, and fo affured of the fucceffe after the prophecie of Daniel had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of Persia so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to Parmenio 40 (faith Io(ephus) That in Dio a Citic of Macedon, when his mind laboured the conquest of Asia, hee faw in his fleepe fuch a person as Iaddus, and so apparailed, profesfing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to purfue the purposehee had in hand with affurance of victorie. This apparition, tormerly apprehended only by the light of his phantafic, he now beheld with his bodily cies; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the Phanicians, (who hoped to have fackt and destroied Ierufalem) he gave the Iewes all, and more than they defired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to line vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

a. VII.

CHAP.2. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

Q. VII. 4.
ALEXANDER Winnes Agypt: and makes a tournie to the Temple of HAMMO'N.

Rom lerufalem Alexander turned againe towards Agypt, and entred

it, where Darius his Lieutenant, Affaces, received him and delivered into his hand the Citie of Memphis, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that the Kings of Persia, who had more of affection than of judgement, gaue to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the veriest co-10 ward the gouernement of all Egypt. When he had fet thinges in order in Egypt, he beganne to trauaile after God-head, towards lapter Hammon, fo foolish had prosperitie made him, He was to passe over the dangerous and drie fands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels-back was spent, hee could not but have perished, had not a maruailous shower of raine fallen you him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire, All men that know Agypt, and have written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there; but the purposes of the Almightie God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had loft his way in those vast defarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armies who making fatter wing when they were followed, and fluttering flowly when the 20 Armie was cast back, guided them ouer those pathlesse fands to lupiters Temple.

Arrianus from the report of Ptolomie, the fonne of Lagus, faies, That hee was led Anian, 13, by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and thinges prodigious, are fained by those that have written the Storie of 4lexander, as that an Eagle lay houring directly over his head at the battaile of 16as; That a Swallow flew about his head when hee flept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him, at Halicarnaffeus, fore-shewing the treason of Eropus, practifed by Darius to have flaine him; That from the yron barres of which the Tyrians made their defensine ingines, when Aexander belieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a Otace-30 doman Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The Spaniards in the conquest of the West-Indies have many such pretictales; telling how they have been affilted in battaile, by the presence of our Ladie, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I thinke themselves doe hardly belocue. The strangest things that I have read of in this kind being certainely true, was, That the night before the battaile at Nouarra, all the Dogges which followed the French Armie, ranne from them to the Smitzers, leaping and fawning your them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their lines, and in the morning following, Triunlai and Tremonille, Generals for Lewis the twelfth, were by these Imperial Switzers 40 vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of Jupiter Hammon is ill described by Curtuits, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglodites on the fouth, between whom and the territoric of Hamman, the Region Thebais, or the Superiour Agrpt, with the Mountaines of Lybia, and the River of Nilus, are interjacent, and on the North he joynes it to a Nation, called Missimones, who bordering the Sca-shore, line (faith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwrack, whereas the Temple or Groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; these Mallimones be- rold Alitaba.

ing due West from it, in the South part of Marmarica.

When Aexander came neare the place, he fent fome of his Paralites before him 50 to practife the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answere might bee given in all thinges, agreeable to his maddeambition, who affected the title of Inpiters sonne. And so hee was faluted Sonne of Jupiter by the Deuils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defective in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to fay Opaidion, he faid Opaidios, that is ; Ofonne of Iupiter, in flead

CHAP.2. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

of, O deare Jonne: for which Gramaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumor presently spread, that the great supiter had acknowledged Alexander for his owne.

He had heard that Perjeus and Hereules had formerly confulted with this Oracle. The one, when he was imploid against Gorgon, The other, against Anteus and Business and feeing these men had derived themselves from the Gods, why might not hee? By this it feemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himfelfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deitie, hee had practized the Pricits to give answere to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to Inpiter to honour Alexander as his Sonne.

Who this Ammon was, and how represented, either by a boffe carried in a Boate, or by a Ramme, or a Rammes-head; I fee that many wife-men haue troubled themfelnes to finde out; but, as Arrianus speakes of Diony Sus, or Liber Pater ( who lived faith St. Augustine in Alofes time, ) Ea que de aus veteres fabulis suis conscripsere non funt nimium curiose per uestiganda; Wemust not ouer-curiously search into the fables, which the Ancients have written of their Gods.

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell beganne to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became speechlesse. For that this Hammon was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cafar, and in the time of Traian

altogether forgotten, Strabo and Plutarch witnesse.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called Fons folis (though Ptolomie in his third African Table fets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noone as cold as any yee, to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of fome other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by Saint Augustine, by Diodore, Herodotus, Plinie, Mela, Solinus, Arianue, Curtius, and others, and indeede our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

How ALEXANDER marching against DARIVS, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemie.

Rom the Temple of Hammon he returned to Memphis, where among many other learned men he heard the Philosopher Pfammones, who, believ understanding that he affected the title of *Impiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Eastern Vic. 2011 him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to fay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that hee acknowledged none for his children faue

He gaue the charge of the feuerall Provinces of Egypt to feuerall Governours, 40 Arifl. Poll. 5. following the rule of his Master Ariffolle, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Roman Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the government of Agypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner ranck and degree. He then gaucorder for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Wester-most branch of Wilus. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of Agypt, with the Kingdomes of the leffer Afia, Phanicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawnes of Darius his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily haue redeemed.) he led his Armie towards Euphrates, which paffage though the same was committed to Mizeus to defend, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander without refiftance pathit. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a River for the swiftnesse 50 thereof called by the Persians The Arrow. Here, as Curtius, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might Darius callly have repelled the inuading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waightic stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottome, were so round and well polished by continual rolling,

rolling, that no man was able to fight on fo flipperie a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their handes and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire bodie to relift the fwift pallage and furious race of the streame. Betides this notable helpe, the Channell was to deepe towards the Easterne shore, where Darius should have made head, as the foot-men were inforst to lift their Bowes and Arrowes and Darts over their heads, to keepe them from being moiltned, and made unferuiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and understandingly said of Homer.

> Talis oft hominum terrestrium mens, Qualis quotidie ducit pater virorumg, Deorumgo

The mindes of men are ever so affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World by the surfeit of misgouernement haue beene subject to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases, So had the Empire of Perfix at this time brought, it felfe into a burning and confuming Feuer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, toreshewing 20 manifeltly the diffolution and death thereof.

But . Alexander bath now recoursed the Easterne shores of Tigris, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place; where Mazeus (who had charge to defend the paffage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vieuen forces hee durft have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them hee forfooke the advantage which no valour of his enemies could ealily haue ouer come. But it is commonly seene, that searefull and cowardly men doe 🐒 euer follow those waies, and counsells, whereof the opportunitie is alreadic lost.

It is true that he fet all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might ferue 20 themselves over Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counfeli is fruitlesse when vnseasonable. For now was Alexander fo well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competencie of the Armie which he condu Fed, Those thinges also which he sought to wast, Alexander being now in fight, were by his Horse-men saued and recoursed. This, Mazeus might have done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a fireigth of horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foote out of sight, and farre behinde.

The new provisions of DARIVS. Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.



30

ARIVS, vpon Alexanders first returne out of Agypt, had affembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnith, and now alfo were the Arians, Soythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (faith Curtius) that rather ferued to make vp the names of men, than to make relistance. Arianus hath numbred them with

their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all forts ten hundred thousand, and of horse 50 foure hundred thou fand, belides armed Chariots, and fome few Elephants. Cartius who musters the Armie of Darius at two hundred thousand foote, and neare fiftie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaffalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all forts some three or foure hundred thousand, Qqqq 3

with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of Asyria to have over-bornethe sew numbers of the inuading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre. In omni pralio non tam multitudo, & wirtus indosta, quam ars & exercitium solent

prafture victorium; in cuerie battaile skill and practife doe more towards the victorie, than multitude and rule audactie.

While <u>Mexander</u> gaue reft to his Atmic after their paffage ouer <u>Tigris</u>, there happened an Eclipfe of the Moone, of which the <u>Macedonians</u>, not knowing the caule and reafon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine prefage of their ouerthrow and deflruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly. That for the cim-10 bition of sone man, a man that distained <u>Philip</u> for his Father, and would necde bee called the Sonne of lapiter, they should all perish; For hee not only inforst them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themsslues.

Hereupon Alexander being readie to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes ofthe multitude, he called before him the Ægyptian Alfvologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might beca filtered that this defection of the Moone wa. a certaine prefage of good fuccesse; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselues, so as a forric Almanack-maker Lad beene no small soole in those daies.

Of this kinde of fuperfittious obferuation Cesar made good vse, when he sought against Ariouissus and the Germans: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely loose the battaile, Cesar for them to abide it, though they durst not give it, wherein having their mindes alreadie beaten by their owner superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Armie in effect persisted.

Thele. Legypium gaue no other reason than this, That the Gracians were under the aspect of the Summe, the Persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This judgement of the Legypium Priest being noised through 30 all the Armie, all were fastisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obscrued then. Exercisanteror planum Dux as pugnam non class; Let not a Captaineleaselis Armie to the sight, when it is possible with matter of terrow.

It is truely observed by Curtins, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superfiltrion; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such inventions, deuised tales dreames and prophesies the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As Alexander drew neare the Persian Armic, certaine letters were furprized writ. 40 ten by Darius to the Gracians, persianding them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray Alexander. But these by the aduice of Parmenia he suppressed.

At this time also Darius his faire Wife, oppress with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident Alexanier seemed no lesser to bewaile than Darius, who vpon the first brute surpected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her, but being satisfied by an Eumuch of his owne that attended her, of Alexanders Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods. That if they had decreed to make a new Masser of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferreit on so just and continent an enemie as Alexander, to whom he once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliner up and religne all Assate leffe, and with Agypt, all those Kingdomes betweene the Phanician Sea, and the River of Euphrates, That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his

other Daughter thirtie thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leave his Sonne Occhus in hoftage : To this they fought to perfwade Alexander by fuch arguments as they had. Alexander cauting the Emballadours to be remoued, aduited with his Counfell, but heard no man speake but Parmento, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. Hee told him, that the Empire betweene Euphrates and Helleffont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retayning of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vse than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable to that if he had followed his aduife, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himfelfe a Succeffor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himfelfe; who to affure themfelus of what they had vsurped upon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That Alexander in going fo farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a justand prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught new leffons by aboundance of prosperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreame crueltie. Yea, as Senees hath observed, the taint of one vajust 20 flaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beautie of all his greatacts and glorious victories obtained. But the Perlian Embaffadors flav his an-Iwere, which was to this effect, That what some he had bestowed on the Wife and Children of Darius, proceeded from his owne naturall elemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master; that thankes to an enemic was improper; that he made no warres against advertitie, but against those that resisted him. Not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of Darius, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great fummes of money to perfwade his friends to attempt you his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not (were it otherwise and 20 faithfull) resolue in halt to accept the same, seeing Darius had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territorie offered him, it was alreadie his owne, and if Darius could beate him back againe ouer Euphrates, which hee had alreadie past, hee would then belieue that he offered him fomewhat in his owne power: Otherwife he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in Darius possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, hee told them, that hee came into Alia to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Sunnes: and therefore if 40 Darius could bee content to acknowledge Alexander for his Superiour, hee might perchance bee perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his

Q. X.
The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not bee fo strongly fought as report bath made it.



Ith this answer the Embassadors returne; Derius prepares to fight, and fends Mazzus to defend a passage, which he neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. Alexander consults with his Captaines, Parmenio persuased him to force Darius his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the Micedonians, being but

few. Alexander disdaines to steale the victorie, and resolutes to bring with him the

ò. X I.

day-night, to witheffe his valour, But is was the fucceffe that made good Alexanders relolution, though the counfell given by Parmenio was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempus belli fortunam tentare. Notwithflanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers & intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas Darius for seare of surprise had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne fleepe all the night; Alexander gaue his men restand store of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, In pugna Milites validius religiumi, licibo potud, refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better fland to it in fight; if they 10 have their bellies full of meste and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagrely than

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.2. \$-10

fleele without. The numbers which Alexander had, faith Arianus, were fortic thousand foote. and feuen thousand horse; these belike were of the European Armie; for hee had belides both Syrians, Indians, Agyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He yeed but a thort speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes upon the River of Granick and in Cilicia, the Office donishs were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true faying, Victoria Victoriam parat, animumá, victoribus auget, & aduerfarijs aufert; One victorie begets an other, and puts courage in- 20 to those that have alreadie had the better, taking spirit away from such as have beene

Arrianus and Curtius make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at Gaugamela; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victoric inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That Parmeno was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That zilexanders Reare-guard was broken and his carriages loft; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both fides, Fortune her felfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That Alexander in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, Curtius deliuers vs in accompt but three hundred dead Macedonians, in 30 all this terrible daies-worke; faying, That Ephellien, Perdiceas, and others of name, were wounded. Arramus findes not a third part of this number flaine; of the Perfians there fell fortie thousand (saith Curtius, ) thirtie thousand according to Arrianus: Ninetie thousand, if we beleeue Diodor. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Perfians upon the first charge ranne away, and that the Macedonians purfued? For if of these foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by Darius, euery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the East at so called rate, as fixe or feuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainely, if Darius had fought with Alexander upon the bankes of Euphrates, and had armed but liftie 40 or three core thou fand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for Alexander to have past that River so easily, much lesse the River of Tigris. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, Hee abandoned all places of aduantage, and fuffered slexander to enter so far into the bowells of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibilitie of cscape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented vnto them the choife, either of death or victorie; to which election Derins could no way constraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

Of thinges following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Bubylon and Sula.

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d. XI.

ARIV safter the rout of his Armic recoursed Arbela the fame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Aledia, perswading them that the Mucedonians greedie of spoile and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Sufa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie

rather obeied than approued. Alexander foone after Darius his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great malle of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the teare which conducted Darius tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, should rather have fent his treasure into Mexia, than brought it to Arbela, fo neare the place where he abid the comming of his enemies: if he had beene victorious he might have brought it after him at leifure, but being ouer come, hee knew it vnpoffible to drive Mules and Cammels laden with gold 20 from the pursuing Enemie, seeing himselfe, at the overthrow hee had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head to runne away with the more speede. But errours are

then best discerned when most incurable. Et praterita magis reprehenda possunt quam corrigi; It is exfier to reprehend than amend what is past. From Arbela Alexander tooke his way towards Babylon, where Mazeus in whom

Darius had most considence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Captaine of the Caftle, who was keeper of the treafure, ffrewed the ffreetes with flowers, burnt franckinsence upon Altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and deliucred vnto him what focuer was committed to his truft. The Citagi (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: 20 after the fecame the Babylonian horfemen, infinite riche in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himfelfe, Alexander caused his Macedonian foote-men to march. When hee entred the Caftle hee admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of filter vncoyned. The Citie it selfe Thane elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore foote high, and on the toppe theteof (being vinder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is faid that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might

40 walke prinately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie source and thirtic daies, Aut. Alex. confuming that time in banqueting and in all forts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the mindes of the Macedonisms, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the feuere discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Heere it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, & Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stilled Chiliwchi. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certain 50 felected Judges to have deferued best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedonian companies confifted but of flue hundred. Certainely the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath beene the cause (faith the Marshal Monluit) that the title and charge of a Captaine bath beene bestowed on every Pieque Bauf or Spurn-Cow, for when the Captaines of foote had a thousand Souldiers under

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d. XII.

How ALEXANDER came to Perfepolis, and burnt it.

Rom Sufa Alexander leadeth his Armic toward Perfepolis, and when he fought to passe those Mountaines which sunder Susana and Per-[in, hee was foundly beaten by Ariobarganes, who defended against him those Straights, called Pyle Perfidis or Sufurdes, and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forst to saue himselfe

10 by retrait, causing his foote to march close together, and to couer themselues with their T argets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine-top. Yet in the end he found out an other path, which a Lycian, living in that Countrie, disconered vnto him, and came thereby fuddenly in view of Ariobarzanes, who being inforfit to fight vpon euenground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon hee fled to Persepolis, but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) her returned and gaue a fecond charge vpon the Micedonians, wherein he was flaine. In like manner did King Francis the first, in the yeare 1515, finde a way ouer the Alpes, the Smitzers vndertaking to defend all the paffages, who, if their footmanship had not faued them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had beene ill paied for 20 their hard lodging on those Hils.

Foure thousand Greekes, faith Curtius, ( Instine numbers them but at eight hundred) having beene taken prisoners by the Persians presented themselves to alexander now in fight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Nofes, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way have beene knowne to their Countrie-men, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands

as they liked to line vpon.

Tiridates, one of Darius his falle-hearted Grandes, hearing of Alexanders approch. made him know that Fersepolis was readic to receive him, and praied him to double 30 his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treafure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon Alexanders arriuall, and they that staied followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure, There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had beene laied in ballance with Perfepo'rs, would have waighed it downe. Babylon, indeede, and Sula, were very rich, but in Persepolis lay the bulke and maine flore of the Persians. For after the spoile that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and filuer, and other jewells; there remained to Alexander him felfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in 40 Sula, and gage the same formall honour to the Traitor Tiridates, that he had done to Abulites; but he that had the trust of the place was Nieurides, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie hee left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were Parmenio and Graterus, and with a thoufand horse and certaine troupes of chofen foote, he would needes view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had couered, a fruitleffe and foolish enterprise, but as Seneca faics: Nonille ire. vult, fed non potest flare : He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to fland full. It is faid and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreame froft, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the fnow, that Alexander for fooke his horfe, and led them the way. But 50 what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extreamitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime for bearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could leffe indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull provision for those that

one Engine, and after that hue hundred, as in the time of Francisthe first, the title was bonorable and the Kings were leffe charged, and farre better ferued. King Henrie the eighth of England neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good shippes, but to men of knowne valour, and of great chate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie commanders in one thip; but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While Alexanaer was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe, for Antiputer fent him axe thousand foote and fine hundred horse, out of Macedon, of Thracians three thousand foote and the like number of horse, and out of Greece foure thousand foote and source hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly 10 threngthned : for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylan could hardly be brought againe, Le quitter la plume jur dermir fur la dure; To change from foft

beds to bara boords.

He left the Castle and Citie of Babylon with the Territories about it in charge vnto three of his owne Captaines, deliuering withall into their handes to supply al wants a thousand talents: but to grace Mazeus who rendred the citie vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him Bigiffines that gaue up the Caftle, and having diffributed to enery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left Babylon and entred into the Province Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Sufa in Perlia, the same which Ptolomie, Herodotus, and Elianus call Memno- 20 nia, fytuate on the river Euleus, a Citie formetime governed by Daniel the prophet. Abulites alfo, gouernour of this famous Citie gaue it up to the Conquerer with liftie thousand talents of siluer in bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all o-Diederspeaketh ther the treasures of Darius. In this fort did those Vassalls of fortune, louers of the of more than Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their force thousand owne peace and fafetie with the Kings treasures.

While Alexander spoiled As bela, Mazeus might have furnisht his owne King from nine Millions Babylon, and while he staid foure and thirtie daies at Babylon, Abulites might have holof coined golds pen him from Sufa: and while he feafted there, Tiridates from Perfepolis might have relieued him : for the great maffe of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who 20 hath fought out and friended fearefull aduerlitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedie of themselues, doe in all changes of fortune only studie the confernation of their owne greatnesse.

And therefore was Alexander well admifed, that what foeuer titles he gaue to the Perfians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Sula, and Perlepolis, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of Persia would have returned to their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings are neuer to beeyfed alone in great enterprifes by those Princes that entertaine them, nor ouer to be trufted with the defences of any fron- 40 tier-Towne, or Fortrefle of waight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their libertie and effates loft.

Hereof the French had experience, when Don Petro de Manarra, being banished out of Spaine, was trufted with Fontarabe, in the yeare 1513.

It is faid, that Charles the fifth having promifed Charles of Bourbon the governement of Marfeilles, if he could have forfit it, and whereof he made fure accompt, told fome of his nearest Counsellers, that hee meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promife, because hee should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Mafter) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

The government of Sula, with the Caltle and Treasure, Alexander comitted to 50 his owne Macedonians, making Abulites who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done Mazeus and others, in gining them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to affure the place; and Darius his Mother and her children to repose themselues.

XII.

SIMILE IN

19;

follow him, and that feckes wifely to preuent extreme necessitie, than those widesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of hading indured equally with the common-Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We find e wall the Warres that Gefor made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the provision of victual's was their first care. For it was a true saying of Colon Admiral of France; That who so will shape that beast (meaning Warre) must beginn. In his besite.

But Alexander is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberalitie, of his elemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, to were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowsing cups all the reputation of his actions pall, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throncof the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despited both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, whenhe was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet Thais, he caused the most sumpruous and goodly Castle and Cirie of Persepolis, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of Parmenio to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those thinges by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswafion to the Alians, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby aliene their hearts: For they 20 might well beleeve that hee which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing leffethan (after fuch valtation) to hold their possession. Ferevinelentiam crudelitas seguitur; Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For so it fell out foone after, and often, in Alexander.

Curt.l.s.

d. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius

Bout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde Darius in Media. Darius had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which he e meant to have increased in Badru, had he not heard of Alexanders committing on, with whom (trusting to such companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie

thousand) he determined once againe to trichis fortune. Hee therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. Artabazue, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the yee, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any adversitie of the Kings, from the 40 faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the fame disposition (whereof they likewise assured Darius by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, Naburzanes, and Bessus, whereof the latter was Gouernour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master, and therefore adulfed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the Gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to becan enemie: this preamble Naburzanes vsed, and in conclusion adulted the election of his fellow Traitor Beffus, with promife that, the warres ended, the Empire should again be restored to Darius. The King fwollen with diffaine prest towards Naburzanes to have flaine 50 him, but Beffus and the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while Naburzanes with-drew himselfe, and Bellius followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. Artabazus, the Kings faithfull feruant, perswaded him to be adusted, and serve the time,

feeing scheamder was at hand, and that hee would at leaft make flew of forgetting the oilence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition willingly y, elded vnto. Belliu makes his fubmission and attends the King, who remoues his Armie, Patron, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand Greeker, which had in all the former battailes served Darius with great sidelitie, and alwaies made the retreat in spight of the Aucedonians, offered himselfs to guard his person, protesting against the treason of Bellius, but it was not in his destinite to follow their advice, who from the beginning of the Warregaue him faithfull counsell, but hee inclined still to Bessian, who told him, that the Greekes with Patron their Captaine were corrupted by all Mexander, and prastiled the diustion of his faithfull servants. Bessian had drawned with the lowers of the world and of the Armie, promiting them all those thinges, by which the lowers of the world and themselves, are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safetie, and honour.

Now the day following Darius plainely discouered the purposes of Bessus, and being ouer-come with pathon, as thinking himfelfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnaturall Traitors, he praied Artabazus his faithfull servant to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like fort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all faue a few of his Eunuchs; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him, His Persians being most base cowards, durit not vndertake his defence 20 against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greekes to joyne with him, who had been eable to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which for fakes him felfe, no man followes. It had been farre more manlike and King-like, to have died in the head of those fourethousand Greekes, which offered him the disposition of their lines, (to which Artabazus perswaded him) than to have lien bewailing himfelfe on the ground, and fuffering himfelfe to bee bound like a flaue by those ambitious Monsters that laied hand on him, whom neither the confideration of his former great effate, nor the honors he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moueto pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which aboue all thinges should have 20 moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it, for infidelitie bath no compaffion.

Now Darius, thus for faken, was bound and laied in a Cart, couered with hides of beafts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not beed ifcouered; and to adde defipight and derilion to his aduerfitie, they faitened him with chaines of gold, and fo drew him on among their ordinarie carriages and Carts. For Reflus and Azbazans perfuaded themfelues to redeeme their liues and the Provinces they held either by deliuering him a prifoner to Alexander, or if that hope failed, to make themfelues Kings by his flaughter, and then to defend themfelues by force of Armes, But they failed in both For it was against the nature of God, who is most judy, to pardound fof frange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish, and an Idoleter.

Mexander having knowledge that Darius was retired towards Batiria, and durft not abide his comming, halted after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his soot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after Darius. Such as bated the treason of Besseur, and fectively forsooke him, gaue knowledge to Alexander of all that had happened, informing him of the way that Besseuroke, and how neare hee was at hand: for many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon Alexander againe doubled his 59 pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by Besseuro mount thereon, and to save to the Cart, where Darius lay bound, persuading him to mount thereon, and to save himselse. But the vnstortunate King refussing to follow those that had betraied him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drew him, and slew two poore servants that the safe for. This done, they

(though to his great dilhonour) to receive Wabarzanes that had joyned with Beffus to murder Darius.

X V.

Of THALESTRIS Queene of the Amazons; where by way of digression it is (hewed, that (uch Amazons have beene, and are).



Ere it is faid, that Thalestris or Alinothea, a Queene of the Amazones, came to vilite him, and her fute was, (which shee callly obtayned) That shee might accompanie him till shee were made with child by him:which done (refuling to follow him into India) thee returned into her owne Countrie:

Plutareh citeth many Hiltorians, reporting this meeting of Thalestris with Alexander, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of Alexander hunfelfe to Antipater, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian businesse, may justly breede suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to Lysimschus (then King of 20 Thrace) who had followed Alexander in all his voiage; was laught at by the King for inserting such newes of the Amazons, as Lysimachus himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied Alexander tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought lingle with an Elephant, and flaine it. The King hearing fuch stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of Indus; faying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inferting such fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleeue and know that there are Elephants, though it were falle that Alexander fought with one; so may we give credit vnto writers, making mention of fuch Amazons, whether it were true or falle that they met with Alexander; as Plutarch leaves the matter undetermined. 30 Therefore I will here take leave to make digreffion, as well to flew the opinions of

the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discouerers touching these warlike Women, because not only Strabe, but many others of the feour times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any fuch kinde of people. Iulius Solinus feates them in the North parts of Alathe leffe. Pom. Mela finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River Thermodoon; the other, neare the soline. 27. et 65 Calpian Sea; Quas (faith hec) Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromati- Lib.s. des. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; Certum eff (faith Vadianus, who hath Commented upon MELA) illos proximos Amazonibus fuille; It is certaine that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazones. PTOLOMIE 40 fets them farther into the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines Hippaci, not Pt.16. farre from the Pillars of Alexander. And that they had Dominion in Asia it selfe Alexander. toward India, Solinus and Plinie tells vs ; Where they gouerned a people called the Plinitoc. 30. Pandeans, or Padeans, fo called after Pandea the Daughter of Hercules, from whom all therest deriue themselues. Claudian affirmes, That they commanded many Nati-

> Medis lenibufg, Sabais Imperat his fexus : Reginarumá, sub armis, Barbaria pars magna sacet.

ons: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes This female fexe, and vnder armes of Queene, Great part of the Barbarian Landremaines.

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Diodorus

all fled that could, leaving the reit to the mercie of the Macedonian Swords. Polyfratus a Macedonian, being by purfute of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refrething himfelte with Iome water that he had discouered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded bealts breathing for life, and not able to moue, fearched the same, and therein found Darius bathing in his owne bloud. And by a Perlian caprine which followed this Polyfraius, he vnderstood that it was Darius, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee cast not out his last forrowes vnheard, but that by this Mucedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly 10 with him, recommending their reuenge to Alexander by this Messenger, which hee befought him to pursue, not because Darius had delired it, but for his owne honor, and for the falctic of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Heralfo, having nothing elfe to prefent, rendred thankes to Alexander for the Kingly grace vied towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, deliring the immortal! Gods to fubmit vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, impatient death preffing out his few remaining spirits, he defired water, which Polyfiratus presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best thinges that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath. where-with to delire the Gods to reward his compassion.

### d. XIIII.

How ALEXANDER purfued BESSVS, and tooke into his grace DARIVS bis Captaines.



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T was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their trauells were neare an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when Alexander had knowledge, hee was greatly gricued; for the bounded earth 30 fufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments hee therefore yied to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which

had most strength was, that Bessus, a most cruell Traitor to his Master Davius, hauing at his denotion the Hyreani.:ns, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former traugiles. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leaving Craterus with certaine Regiments of foot, and Amyntas with fixe thousand Horse in Parthenia, hee enters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. Hee passeth the River of Zioberis, which taking beginning in 40 Partha diffolues it felfe in the Caffian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountaines, which bound Parthia and Hyrcania, where hiding it felfe under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then rifeth agains and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zendracarta, the fame Citie which Ptolomico writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region , hee rested fifteene daies, banquetting, and feasing

Phat sphernes, one of Darius his greatest Comanders, with other of his bust followers, submit themselves to Alexander, and were restored to their places and governements. But of all other he graced Artabazus most highly for his approved & constant faith to his Mafter Darius. Artebias us brought with him cen thousand and fine hun- 50 dred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had served Davius : He treats with Alexander for their pardon before they were vetarrived, but in the end they render them felues simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Laced emoniums, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having flaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought,

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L.22.c.7.

Dioson in Stealas hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (faith hee) than those which kept the bankes of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxin Sea neare (Euxalium.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom hee tells vs that the Scythans call Leophin, which is as much as Firstedia, or Men-killers. And that they made incurtion into Alathe lesse, sake Ephesius, and burnt the Temple of Dina, Commethon and Auctimus report, which they performed fortic years after Troy was Emiddia.1.3. That thee came to the

fuccour of Priamus.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting vpon the river of Thermodom, 10 speaking confidently of the Warres they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

Plataré in the life of Theseus, out of Philochorus, Hellanieus, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of Antiopa Querie of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him giuent o Theseus, though some affirme, That Theseus himselfe got her by health when shee came to viit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all consessing, That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of Pompes speakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to aide the Albanians against the Romans, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he shith farther, That these women entertaine the 20 Gele and Lelages once a yeare, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the Albanians.

Butto omitthe many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, Fran. Lopez, who bath written the nauigation of oreland, which he maded down the River of Amazons from Peru, in the yeare 1141. (yopon which River, for the Calculation of the failed ore: turnings, he is failed to have failed like thousand miles) reports from the relation of the failed ore: turnings, the Councell of the makes. That the both saw the East-makes and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-makes.

It is also reported by Plricus Schmidel, that in the yeare 1542. where he failed up 30 the Rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Countrie, called Scherues, inhabiting under the Tropick of Captreerne, who gave his Captaine Ernando Rieffere, a Crowne of filter, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the Mazam in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the Kingdome of Congo, makes relation of such A-mazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breast, and liue a part from men, faue at one time of the yeare, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (slith he) posselise a part of the Kingdome of Manomatania Africa, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Por- 40 tugals know.

I have produced these authorities, in part, to instific mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was delinered mee for truth by an ancient Casica, of Guiana, how von the River of Papamens (since the Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that these women still live and governe, was held for a vaine and unprobable report.

è. XVI.

X V I.

How Alexander fell into the Persians Luxurie: and how hee further pursued Bessys.

Ow as Alexander had begunne to change his conditions after the taking of Perfepsis: 6 at this time his prosperitie had so much ouer-wrought his vertue, as he accompted elemente to bee but bus nesses, and the temperance which he had vsed all his life-time, but a poore and dejected humor, rather becomming the instructors of his youth, tnan the condition and state of so mightie a King, as the world could not equall. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the Gods; hee was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; hee ware the Robes, and garments of the Perstans, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtifans, and Sodomitical Eunnels, that Darius had done, and imitated in all thinges the proude, voluptuous, and deterted manners of the Persians, whom he had vanquithed. So licentious is felicitie, as not with flanding that he was fully perswaded, that the Gods, whom he scrued (detesting the vices of the in-20 uaded) affifted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe contrarie to the religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soener it were, could not be but fearefull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monster than Darius, from whose tyrannie he vaunted to haue deliuered fo many Nations. Yea those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornefull discourse, That Alexander of Macedon was become one of Darius his licentious Courtiers; That by his example the Macedonians were in the end of fo many trauailes more impouerished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the conquered were the baser

20 slaues. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his earcs. He therefore with great gifts fought to pacific the better fort, and those of whose judgements he was most jealous; and making it knowne to the Armie that Befins had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe Artaxerxes, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the Buctrians, and other Nations, hee had arguments enough to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themselues (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pettered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much valike the warfare of the French) having commanded euery mans fardells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, 40 caused all to bee consumed with fire. Certainely, this could not but have proved most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these thinges, which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their bloud; than in the Kings ambition; had not (as Seneca often observed) his happie temeritie ouer-come all thinges. As he was in his way, newes came to him that Satribarzanes, whom he had established in his former gouernement ouer the Arrians, was revolted, whereupon leaving the way of Bactras, he fought him out, but the Rebell hearing of his comming fled to Beffus with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on towards Bessus, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire with the advantage of a ftrong winde, wonne a paffage ouer a high and vnacceffable Rock, which was de-

50 fended againft him with thirteene thousand foote. For the extremitie of the filme and fmoke forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill Warre of France certaine caues in Languedee, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at lalt by certaine bundells of strawler downe

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by an yron chaine, and a waightie flone in the middeft, those that defended it were for fmothered, as they rendred themseliuse with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three yeares before my arriuall in Guiana, three hundred Spaniands well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horfes, by the Countrie people, who did fet the long drie-grafte on fire to the east. When the countrie people, who did fet the long drie-grafte on fire to the east ward of them, (the winder in those parts being alwaise last) so as not with thair flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. Stolin Borrana also, with a hundred English, was in great danger of being lost at Margaria, in the treel-males, by hauing the grafte fired behinde him, but the smoke being time-fully discovered, hee recovered the Sea-there with the losse of intenence of his to men. I remember these thinges, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come inuade any part of those Countries, that they alwaics, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grafte and sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemie than a handfull of straw set on fire, die the death of honnie Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

### Ò. XVII.

A confirmacic against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.



LEXANDER Was after he parted hence no where refifted, till he came
into Aria, to the Eath of Bactria, where the chiefe Citic of that Prouince, called Artasoans, was a while defended againft him, by the re
uolt of Sartibarzanes, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to
mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new fupply of

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fine shoufand and fine hundred foote, and neare fine hundred Horfe, out of Greed, The flate, and other places. His journie out of Persia into the Eparts is very confused, described. For having (as all his Hiltorians tell vs) a determination to finde Besha in Bustria, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of Hyramia; from thence 30 hee wanders Northward towards the obscure Mardi, you the Colpian-Sea, and thence over the Mountaines Corona into Mia, and Dramenna.

At this time it was that the treason of Dimnus brake out, of which Philatas the fonne of Parmenio was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This Domnus, having (I know not vpon what ground) confpired with some others against the life of Alexander, went about to draw Nicomachus, a yong-man whom he loued, into the fame treason. The youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard to foule a matter vttered, beganne to protest against it to vehemently, that his friend was like to have flaine him for fecuritie of his owne life. So constrained by feare, hee made thew as if hee had beene wonne by perfuation, and by feeming at 40 length to like well of the bulinesse, hee was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke; whose names Dinnus (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to Nicomachus. Nicomachus had no fooner freed himselfe from the companie of this Traitor Dimnus, than he acquainted his owne brother Ceballinus with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that Ceballinus (who might with least suspition) should goe to the Court and otter all. Ceballinus, meeting with Philotas, told him the whole bufinefie; defiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promifed to doe, but did not. Two daies paffed, and Philotas neuer brake with the King about the matter; but still excused himselfe to Ceballinus by the Kings want of leifure. This 53 his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused Ceballinus to addresse himselfe to another, one Metron, keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to Alexanders presence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed betweene Coballinus and Philotas, did fully perfuade himfelfe that this concealement of the trea-

fon argued his hand to have beene in the bulinesse. Therefore when Dimnus was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this : Wherein haue I to oftended thee that thou shouldest thinke PHILOTAS more worthie to be King than 1? Dimnus perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded him felfe that hee lived no longer than to give his last groane in the Kings prefence. Then was Philotos called, and charged with the fulpition which his filence might justly breede. His answere was, That when the practife was reuealed vnto him by Aucomachus, he judging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint Alexander therewithall, vntill he might have better information. This errour of his, (if to it were only an errour) although Alexander, for the notorious feruices of his Father Parmenio, of his brother Aicanor lately dead, and of Philotas himselfe, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for affurance; yet by the infligation of Craterus, hee againe (wallowed his Princely promife, and made his enemies his Judges: Curtius gives a note of Craterus in this butinesse; How hee perswaded himselfe, that he could never finde a better occasion to oppresse his private enemie, than by pretending pietie and dutie towards the King. Hercof a Poet of our owne hath given a note as much better as it is more generall in his Philotas.

See how the great men cloathetheir private hate, In thele faire colours of the publike good, And to effect their ends, pretend the State, As if the State by their affection flood, And arm'd with power and Princes jealoufies, Will purthe leaft conceit of different Into the greatest ranke of treatheries, That no one action shall feeme innocent; Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made As acceliaties write ends wijust: And cuent he feruice of the State must lade. The needfull'st undertaking with distrust, So that base vilencife; idle Luxuric, Seeme faite tare, than to doe worthly, &c.

Now although it were so that the King, following the aduise of Craterus, had refoliaed the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very evening of the fame night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotai was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cried out vpon the King in these wordes : O A LEXANDER, the malice of mine 40 Enemies hath fur mounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were viged against him by Alexander himselfe; (for the Kings of Macedon did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when Alexander wrote vnto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that facred Fellowship of the Gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieue for those that should line under such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (faith Alexander) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glorie in despight. See what a strange Monster 50 flatterie is, that can perfivade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those thinges in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas was brought before the multitude to heare the Kings Oration against him he was brought forth in vilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard himfelfe, and his abfent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers

Heer or and Attentor having beene lost in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppress with griefe as for a while he could viter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits as hee sunke under those that led him. In the end the King asked him in what language be would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the alterniby that hee diddained the language of his owne Countrie, and so with-drawing himselfs, left him to his mercilese enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, Iccing the King who had so sharply invaied against him, would not vouchsafe to hearthis excuse. For, 10 not his enemies only were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest having discourred the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other areuments which he vied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest, That when Nicomachus delired to know of Liminus what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) Dimnus named vnto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber, Aicanor, Amyntas, and fome others, but spake not a word of Philotas, who by being commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the partie, and have incouraged Nicomachus. Indeede, as Philotas faid well for himfelfe, it is likely that Dinnus, 20 thereby the better to have heartned Nicomachus, would have named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any fuch practife. And for more certaine proofe that he knew nothing of their intents, that practifed against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforst by torments or otherwise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that aduer litie being seldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as shee rather defires to draw others (not alwaies deferring it) into the fame danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoener it were, to anoide the extremitie of relistlesse and unnaturall torments, deuifed by his profest enemies Craterus, Cenus, Ephelicon, and others, Philotas accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would have slaine him 28 forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laied on flesh and bloud, he was forst to deliver, not what he knew, but what soeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Auz.de Ciuit. Des.L19.c.6. Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding St. Anguisine greatly complaineth as a matter to be bewailed, faith hee, with Fountaines of teares. Divideum in suc easily assistance of the configuration of th

It had been enough for Alexanders fafetie if Philotes had been put to death without torment, the reld would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly fuspected. But Hemolus, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kingsermeltie and delight in bloud the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, Semultim tan must amount ander, faith thus: Crudelites minite humanum milum off; midgmunt am muit ammos forms flarather self graguing gauser of variations, of abstellobemine in slungline animal transfers, Cruelite is not a humane vice; it is envoyed the off omila a spirit. It is can abeafully rage to delight in bloud and wounds, audesting away the nature of man to become a lauge Anoller.

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, Curtius makes a doubt, whether the confession that Philatas made were to giue end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truely, or they that denie falsily, come to one and the same end. Now

while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that Lyncelles, Jonnein-Law to Antipater, who had beene three yeares in prison, should bee flaine: The fame dispatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed Philotas, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings favour as by louing those whom the King fauoured; they were dismist. But Parmento was yet lining; Parmenio, who had ferued with great fidelitie as well Philip of Miceson the Kings Father, as himfelfe; Parmenio that first opened the way into Asia; That had depreil Attalus the Kings enemie; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of to the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leffe prudent in counfell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to say the truth, hee that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glorie and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that he would have dilhonoured his fidel: tie in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten yeares) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flatterie had possess themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. Polydamas was imploied in this businesse, a man whom of all other Parmenio trufted most, and loued best, who (to be short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other Murderers with him, flew him walking in his 20 Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. Hic exitus PARMENIONIS fuit, Lib.7. militie domiq, clari viri; Multa fine Rege prospere, Rex sine illonibil magnerei gesserat; This was the end of PARMENIO (faith CVRTIVS) who had performed many notable thinges without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthie of praile.

### XVIII.

How Alexan der fubdued the Bistrians, Sogdians, and other people, How Bessys was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

Hen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Armie, and Brought vnder his obedience the Arassians of Energitans, he made Armonides (Sometime Davin his Secretarie) their Gouernour; then he fibdued the Arashasan, and less Arnon to command over them.

Heere the Armie, sometimes led by Parmenio, findes him, confifting of twelve thousand Macedons and Greekes, with whom he past through some colde regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine Taurus towards the East, where he built a Citie which he honoured with his owne 40 name, and peopled it with feuen thousand of his olde Micedons, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre, The Arians, who fince he left them were revolted, hee subdued againe by the industrie and valour of Caranus and Erigius; And now herefolues to find out the new King Beffus in Bactria. Beffus, hearing of his comming, prepares to passe ouer the great River of Oxus which divides Ballria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made Gouernour of Baffria abandoned by Bessus; The Micedonian Armie suffereth for want of Water, infomuch as when they came to the River of Oxus, there died more of them by drinking inordinately then Alexander had lost in any one battaile against the Persians. And it may well be ; For (as Clytus did after object vnto him) he fought against weomen, not against men, and not a-30 gainst their persons but their shadowes. He found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materialls, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forst to sow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie; which Bessus

might easily haue diffrest, if he had dared but to beholde the Macedonian Armie a-

L.7.

tarre-ori. He had formerly complained against Darius for neglecting to defend the bankes of Tzer's, and other palliages, and yet now, when this traiterous flaue had thyled himfelie a King, her durft not perfourme any thing worthie of aflaue. And therefore those that were neerest into him, and whom he most trusted, to wit Sprimines, Datyphones, Causaes, and others the Commaunders of his Armic, moued both by the care of their owne safetie, and by the memorie of Bessius his Treaton and crueltie against Darius, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a mastific Doege, and So was dranged along to be presented to his enemie.

In the meane while Assauler was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with 10 Greeks of Miletum, brought thither by Assas, when long before heersturned out of Greece, who hole filtues had well-neere forgotten their Countrie-language. These moit cruelly (after they had received him with great boy) he put to the sworde, and defroyed their Citie. At this place he received Bessian, had, having rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of Oxatres, Darus his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himfelte fecure, some twentie thousand Mountainers affaited his Camp; in repelling whom he received a shor in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foote.

Sooneafter he came vnto Marsanda, which Petrus Peronsinus takes to be Samarchand, the regall Citic of the great Tamerlaine. It had in compaffe threefcore and ten furlongs (Curtins faith.) Heere hee received the Embassadors of the Sozilians (called Ausses) who offered to serve him.

The Baltrians are shortly againe with the Sogdams stirred to Rebellion by the fame Spitamens and Citans who had lately delinered into his hands the Trattor Ressure and Citans were refolicedly defended against him, all which, after vistorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee received ablow on the neck which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while Spitamenes had recoursed Maraesnde, against whom 30 he imployed Maraesnus with three thousand toote and eight hundredhorfe.

In the heate of the feturnults \*Alexander\* marched (on if we may beleeue Curtius and others) jull be came to the River of Tunas; yoon whole banke he built another Alexander's threefcore furlongs in compalle, which he beautified with house within feventeen daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is faid to have bin occasion of a war between him and the \*Aepthans; the \*Septhan\* King perfivating him felle, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him under. I doe not well understand, why the \*Septhan\*, offering warre in such terrible manner that \*Aexander\* was indeed by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ficknesses in make fait for peace; neither finde the reason why \*Alexander\* 42 (not intending the conquest of those Northerne deserts, but only the deserts of some banke) should result to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a vistoric described; in pursuit of which the \*Macedons\* ranne beyond the boundes and monuments of \*Buchus\* hexpedition.

The truth is, That Curtim and Trogus have greatly mislaken this River which they call Tanais. For it was the River of Invaries, that runnes between Sogdians and Seythin, which Alexander past over, while Menclemus was implied in the recovery of Samurchard. But Tanais which divides Ask from Europe is necretwo thoused miles distant from any part of Battrian Sogdians, and the way deserved who knowne. So that Alexander had (besides Invaries) the great River of Folgs and manic others to swimme over, ere hee could recover Tanais; which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploited all the time that he lived in Asia in that travaile.

Where-

Wherefore it is enough to beleeue, that the Assatique Scythians, making some ofter to diturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to give some hudrance
to their exertions, were driven away by the Macedonium; and being naked of defensitue Armes, easily chased some tenue or tweine miles; which is the substance of
Cartus: his report. As for the limits of Buchus his iournie; like enough it is that
Bachus (if in his life time he were as sober a man, a safter his death he was held a
drunken God) went not verie saire into that wait Countrie, where hee could finde
nothing but trees and slones, nor other busines than to set ye a monument.

Threefcore of the Macedons are faul to haue beene flaine, and one thousand one to bundend hurt in this flight, which might eatily be, in pathing a great Riuer, deriended against them by good Archers, Of seythin horfes one thousand eighthundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set downe the numbers of such as pertil in battell: yet Cashr commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hash beene so inquisitione into the greatnesse of their owne successe; that writers have beeneable to deliner such particulars by credible reporte. Thold it not unlawfull to set downe what we finde; especially when it serues to give light to the builtnesse in hand. The small number which the Castecdonian solt; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not visuall in Custius, who forbeares nothing that may so set out the greatnesse of Accander) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make irprobable, that this warre was no better than the repulsion of a few rousing Trians (the like being yearely performed by the Mosemies, without any boatt) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While Alexander was affuring himfelfe of those Septhian bordering upon Jaxartes, herecoined the ill newes that Menedemus was flaine by Spiinmenes, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers flaine, to wir, two thousand foote and three hundred horse. Hetherefore, to appeale the rebellion and to take reuenge of Spiannenes, makes all the hast be can 3-but Spiinmenes flies into Battisia. Alexander 30 kills, burnes, and laies wast all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repaire this loffe he received a great fupply of nineteene thou find Souldiers out of Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and the old Armie, hee recurnes towards the South, and paffeth the River of Oxus; on the South-lide whereof bee built fixe Townes neare each other for mutuall fuccour. But hee finds a new flartvp.Rebell, called frimazes, (a Sogdian) followed with thirtie thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong peece of ground on the top of a high Hill woom when Alexander had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choise of three hundred yong-men, and promifed ten calents to the first, nine forthe fecond, 40 and fo in proportion to the reft, that could finde a way to cheepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the loffe of some two and thirtie of their men, and then made a figue to Alexander, that they had performed his communidement. Hereupon he fent one Cophesto perswade Arimazesto yeeld the place; who, being shewed by Cophes that the Armie of Mucedon was alreadic mounted vp, yeolded simply to Alexanders mercie, and was (with all his kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well described for neglecting to keepe about watch in lo dangerous a time. For the place, as feemes by the description, in the historially haue beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength carnot doe; Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected a Of which 50 I will give you an example in a place of our owne.

The lland of Sarke, joyning to Garnfer and of that gone incent, was in Queene Amies time surprised by the French, and could never hand beene recovered against by strong hand, having cattle and corne enough your the place to lead to many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccossible that it might be a half

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held against the Great Turke. Yet by the industrie of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this fort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one ship of small burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, befought the French, being some thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the French of such commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a knife) the French-men yeelded. Then did the Flemings put a Coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carkaffe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The French received them at their landing; and fearching enery of them so narrowly as they could not hide a pen-knife, gaue them leave to draw their Coffin vp the Rocks with great difficultie; some part of the French tooke the Flemish boat and rowed aboord their ship, to fetch the commodities promifed, and what elfe they pleased, but being entred they were taken and bound. The Flemings on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the dore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin set vpponthe French; they runne to the Cliffe and crie to their companie abourd the Fleming to come to their fuccour, but finding the boat charged with Flemings yeelded themselues and the place. Thus a Foxe-taile doth sometimes helpe well to peece out the Lions-skinne, that else would be too short.

### D. XIX.

### How ALEXANDER flew his owne friends.



Fter these Sogdian and Soythian Warres, wee reade of Alexanders kil-Fter the le Sogdian and Seythian Warres, wee reade of Alexanders kil-ling of a Lion, and other frivolous matter, and that he committed the gouernement of Maracanda, and the Countrie about it, to Clytus, and how he flew him sooneaster, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the sonne, or rather because hee objected to

the King the death of Parmenio, and derided the Oracle of Hammon: for therein he 30 toucht him to the quick, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken banquet. Clytus, indeede, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular faued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, Clytus his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his cups forgat whom hee offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face and forrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswalions of Califthenes, it is thought he would have slaine himselfe.

Wine begat furie, furie matter of repentance : but præceding mischieses are not amended by fucceeding bewailings. Omne vitiumebriet.is & incendit, & detegit, ob 40 stantem malis conatibus verecundiam remouet; vbi posedit animum nimia vis vini, quiequid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebriet as vitia, sed protrabit; Drunkennesse both kindles and laies open enery vice; it remoues out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out : drunkenneffe indeederather discouers vices, than makes them.

Soone after this, Spitamenes, who flew Besius, and had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to Alexander. Spitamenes being taken away, the Dahans also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator Dalaphernes, and delinered him vp. So Alexander being now freed from all these pettie-rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Armic into Ga- 50 baza, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he oft in one Tempest a thousand of his traine. From hence hee inuaded the Sacans, and destroied their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of Cohortanes who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom Roxane, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the Macedonians dildained, yet none of them durft vie any freedome of speech after Clytus his death. From hence hee directed his course towards India, having to increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentie thouland armed men.

In the meane while hee would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the Micedonians, hee imploied two pernitious Paralites, Hagis and Cles; whom Califthenes opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the affembly, he told Cleo, That he thought that dlexander would diffaine the gift to of God-head from his Vaffalls; That the opinion of Sanctitie, though it did sometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest thinges, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the World. He further told him, That neither Hercules nor Bacchus were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by Cleo at a carowling feait) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the Gods. Alexander stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to bee reuenged on Califthenes, who being a man of free speech, honeit, learned, and a louer of the Kingshonour, was yet foone after tormented to death, not for that hee had be-20 traied the King to others, but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one Hermolass and others (which they confest) he caused Callasthenes without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne a funder vpon the rack: This deede, vnworthic of a King, Senecathus censureth. Hoc est ALEXANDRI crimen aternum, quo à nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fælicit às redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Perfarum multamillia: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM: Quotiens dictum erit. Occidit DARIVM: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM. Quotiens dictumerit Omnia Oceano ten:15 vicit, ipfum quoque tentauit nouis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thracia v fg ad Orientis terminos protulit : dicetur, fed CALLISTHENEM occidit. Omnis licet an-30 tiqua Ducum Regumá, exempla transferit, ex his que fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus CALLISTHENES; This is the eternall crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertuenor felicitic of his in Warre shall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall (2), He flow many thousand Persians; it shall be replied. He did so, and be flew CALLI-STHENES: When it Shallbe faid, He flew DARIVS, it Shallbe replied, and CALLISTHE-NES; When it shall be said, he wanne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also he adnentured with unufuall Nauies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the vtmost bounds of the Orient, It shall be said with all; But he killed CALLISTHENES. Let him haucout-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes fo much to his glorie, as CALLISTHENES to his reproach.

of ALEXANDERS journie into India. The battaile betweene him



Ith the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twentie thouand foot and horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where fuch of the Princes, as fubmitted themselves vnto him, he entertayned louingly, the rest hee constrained; killing Man, Woman, and

Child, where they relifted. Hee then came before Nife built by Bacalso, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to Becchus, to whom hee made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards Dedala, and thence to Acadera, SILL Countries

Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victualls raining, he divides his Armie: Provime led one part, Cenon an other, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was Mazage, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yeelded vnto him by Cleophe the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citic heregeined a wound in the legge. After this, 2 ora was taken by Foly/perchon, and a Rock of great itrength by himfelfe: he wannealfo a pallage vpon one Eryx, who was flaine by his companic, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as hee arrived at the River of Indus. Comming to Indus hee found there Ephestion, who (being fent before) had 10 prepared boates for the transportation of his Armie, and ere Alexanders arrivall, had perswaded omphis King of that part of the Countrie to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon Alexanders comming, Omphu presented himselfe with all the strength of his Countrie, and sixe and sittle Elephants, vnto him; offering him his feruice and affiltance. Hee made Alexander know that hee was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named Abialares and Porus; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this disvision to make his owne victorie by farre the more casie. Hee presented Alexander with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and with all four escoretalents of filuer coine, which Alexander not only refuled, but to flow that he was co- 20 uctous of glorie, not of gold, he gave Omphis a thouland talents of his owne treasure. befides other Persian rarities. Abiasares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemie omphis into his protection, refolued to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne firength did but equall that of omphis, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, hee thought it an ill match when Alexander, who had alreadie beaten under foote all the greatest Princes of Asia, should make himselfe a Partie and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but Porus, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from Porsu hee received this maniy answere; That hee 30 would fatisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was refolued to take counfell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolues to passe ouer the Riuer Hydaffes, and to find Porus at his owne home. Porus attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horse. If Pariss had done the like on Tigris, Alexander had furely staid somewhat longer ere he had seene india. The River was foure furlong broade, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well thad owed with wood, and of good capacitie. Alexander fent Ptolomie vp the River with a great part of the Ar- 40 mie, fhrowding the rest from the view of Porus: who by this device being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to Ptolomie, supposing that the whole Armie of Auedon meant to force their passage there. In the meane while Alexander recouers the farther shore without relistance. He orders his troups and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather believes that Abi fares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come ouer Hydaspes to his aide, than that Alexander had pastit. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother Hagis with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vie; for there had fallen fo much raine, and thereby the fields were 50 fo moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The Scythians and Dahans had the Vantguard, who fo galled thefe Indians as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the wagons & those in them. Perdiceas also gaue vpon the Indian horse-men, and the one & the other were forft to recoile. Ports moues forward with groffe of his

Armie, that those of his Vantguard scattered might recouer his Reare: Alexander being tollowed with Epheflion, Ptolomie, and Perdicens, tooke on him to charge the Indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding Cenus or Cenon to invade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus , hee directed to breake upon Porus his battaile of foote, firengthned with Elephants, Porus himselfe being carried vpon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Alscedonian foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the Macedons, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head and ranne over the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduanto tage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulneffe of the Macedonian Captaines, the victorie fell to Alexander, who also farre exceeded Porus in number : for besides the Macedonians and other Easterne and Northern Nations, Porus was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his fword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prifoner to the Conaucror, from whom againe he received his estate with a great enlargement.

How A LEXANDER finished his expedition, and returned out of India.



Forbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a friuolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their trauailes : or of those pettie Wars which Alexander made these their trauaises: or of those pettie wars which zuexanaer made betweene the ouerthrow of Parus, and his failing downethe River of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head and branches there-

of are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of 30 those Kings we could in no fort be perswaded to beleeue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger thinges in the World, than are to bee feene betweene London and Stanes.

Our great traueller Mandeule who died in the yeare 1372, and had feene fo much of the World, and of the East India, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had be an other reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers Guillimms in Liege, where the religious of that place keepe fome thinges of his, Comme pour ho- Guie, in Dife. norable memoire de son Excellence; For an honorable memorie of his Excellencie, saith of the low

The Countries towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Rivers of Hydaspes, Zaradris, Acesimes, and the relt, fall into the maine streame, are now possest by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlane, who commands all that tract betweene Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a thip of London, suffered shipwrack in the yeare 1609, and some of the companie trauailed ouer Land till they came to Agra, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call Nagra, being named of old Diony Jopolis.

Phylostratus in the life of Apollonius Traneus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells vs that those two great Captaines (whom Alex-30 ander fought by all meanes to out-fame) when they indepored to subject vnto them the Oxydrace, a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Hyphalis and Ganges, they were beaten from the affault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainely knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, haue had the yfe of the Cannon, many hundreds of yeares fince, and even fince their first civilitie and greatnesse, which was long before Alexanders time. But Alexander pierst not fo farreinto the East. It sufficed, that having alreadie over-wearied his Armie hee discovered the rett of India by fame. The Indian Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many Nations beyond the River of Ganges, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions : and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Aiexan ier were more inflamed than ever to proceede in this discouerie and conquett, yet all the arthe had could not perfivade the Souldiers to wan- 19 der ouer those great desarts beyond India and Ganges, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswassue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sca, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of indus was their infallible guide. Alexander feeing that it would bee no otherwise, deuised a prettie trick, where-with hee hoped to beguile potteritie, and make himfelfe feeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher mangers than his Horses could teede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to bee made larger than would ferue for vse; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Campe, to 20 bekept as reliques, and wondered at by the fauages. Proportionable to the se heraifed vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a readie way to encre the the fame of his bigneffe; to his greatneffe it could adde nothing faue a suspition that it was lessethan is thought, seeing he strone so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned agains to the banke of Acosines, and there determined to fet vp his fleet where Aces and Hydaspis incounter, where to testifie by a surer monument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one hee called Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, after the name of his beloued Horse Bucephalus. Here agains her received a fourth supply of fixe thousand Three 20 cian Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at Babylen live and twentiethousand Armours, garnished with filuer and gold, which bee distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wanne many Townes, and committed great flaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the Oxidracans, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of Benis of Sonthampton, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in Baétria, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embaffadours from a King of India, who submitted himselfe vnto him. He feafted these Embassadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all 49 the sumptuositie that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch returned againe with a prefent of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Wagons, and to each foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other thinges rare and rich.

Their entertainements ended, he failes towards the South, paffeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he tooke in this paffage, Samus was one, the Inhabitans whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which Ptolomie (afterward King of Agree) was wounded, and cured by an hearbe which Alexander dreamt that he had feene in the 50 mouth of a Serpent,

When he came neare the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a fuddaine shuffled one upon an other by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the fandie bankes of the Ri-

# CHAP. 2. \$.226 of the Historie of the World.

ner, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed, but after hee had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, he patt out of the rivers mouth some few miles. and after Sacrifices offered to Neptune returned : and the better to informe himfiftes hee fent Neurobus and Oneffectus, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of Europeates: Arrianus in the beginning of his fixt Booke hath written this paffage downe the River of Indus at length, with the manner of the Veffells, in which hee transported his Armie, the Commanders that were yied therein, and other the maruailous prouisions made.

Nearethe out-lets of this River hee spent some part of the Winter, and in eighto teene daies march from thence recourred Gedrolia, in which paffage his Armie fuffered such miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which hee carried into India, not the fourth part returned aliue.

### d. XXII.

Of ALEXANDERS Riot, Crueltie, and death.

Rom Gedrafia Alexander led his Armic into Carmania, and so drawing neare to Persia, hee gaue himselfe wholly to seasting and drinking, imitating the trium phs of Bacebua. And though this Swinish vice bee hatefullenough in it selfe, yet it alwaise instanded this king to Crueltie. For said the must be strong must followed the feest, for ASPASTES one of his Provincial Governours he commanded to be flaine, fo as neither did the exceffe of voluptuou, nelle qualific his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuoulnelle.

While he refreshed his Armic in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foote and a thousand horse, was brought him by Cleander, and his fellowes, that had been imploied in the killing of Parmenio. Against these Murderers great complaint was 30 made, by the Deputies of the Provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were fo outragious, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of Incia, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him whom they had flaughtered. The end was, That Cleander and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Soundiers by them imploied, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laft executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Acarehia and Oneffectus were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange thinges; whereupon they were commanded to make form. farther disconcrie : which done, that they should enter the 40 mouth of Euphrates, and finde the King at Babylon.

As he drew neare to Babylon he vitited the Sepulchre of Cyrus in Palargada, now Arrianus hath called Chelquera: where he was presented with many rich gifts by Orlines, one of the Princes of Perfis, of the race of Cyrus. But because Bagons, an Eunuch in especial fa- crus lombe. nour with the King, was neglected, he not only practifed certaine loofe fellowes to witnesse against Orines, that he had robbed Cyrus Tomb, for which he was condemned to die, but hee affifted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradates to be flaine, suspecting his greatnesse. Capera! (laith Cva Tivs) effe praceps ad reprafentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora creamin : He beganne bead-longly to fleed bloud, and to believe falle reports. It is true, that 50 he tooke a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, feeing crueltie is more fearefull than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is faid that Calanus the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had hard threefcore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an Indian, Or fought to preuent the griefe and incommoditie of

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cider age, it is vincertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-feeing and forethewing Alexanders death, he promited to meete him thortly after at Babylon.

From Pajargada hee came to Suja, where hee married Statira, Darius his eldest Daughter, giving her yonger fifter to his beloued Ephestion, and fourescore other Perfan Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests inuited to the fealt, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thoufand yong fouldiers out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the Macedonians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his Treasurer in Babylon having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fine thousand talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers, but he was rejected in Greece, and there flaine. Alexander greatly rejoyced at the fidelitie of the Greekes, whom Harpalus with thele forces and treasures could not fin re-yet bee fent commandement that they should againe receive their banished men, whereunto (fearcfull of his indignation) all submitted themselves, (except the Athenians jthough they refolued that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruailous disconcentment in his Armie, because he had resolved to send into Macedon all those old Souldiers which could no ion, crindure the travell of Warre, and to keepe the reft in A/a. He vied many Orations to fatisfic them, but it was in vaine during the tempest of their fune. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine threed, when they have tumbled a while, to are the viconfiderate multitude easily conducted when 20 their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent Craterus, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of Mace. on, The false, and I hace, which Antipater had held from his first departure out of Europe, who had beaten the rebellious Greeker in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fidelitie, and fent him to many strong supplies into Afa from time to time. Certainely, if Alexander had not taken counfell of his cups, hee would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given Antipater a thronger reason for his remove, than to have imploied him in the conduction of a new furply to be brought him to Babylon, the warre being now at an end. For Antipater faw nothing withis remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this Antipater, 20 the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not fland in doubt of every man ill-affected though valiant; but there is a kinde of Kingly courage, compounded of hardineffe and vnderstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After hee had fent for Antipater, hee made a journic into Media to fettle thinges there; where Ephestian, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King accerding to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Philition; and beflowes upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which hee returnes to Babylon. Thither Antipater came not, but fent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to 40 free himselfe. For if we beleeve Curtius (whom Piutarch and others gaine-fay) Antipater by his Sonnes, Caffander, Philip, and 16 la, who waited on Alexanders cup, gauc him poison, Theffalus (who was of the conspiracie) having inuited him to a drinking feaft of purpole. For after he had taken a caroufe in Hercules his cup, a draught of -drinke (tronger than Hercules himfelfe, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World have feldome found good by making their ministers ouer-great, and thereby suspitious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to bee a debt, but is perfuaded that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vaffalls, will neuer pleafe himfelfe with the price given. The only reftoratine, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his 50 liberalitie makes it more diligent; fo as proportion and diffance be observed. It may be that Antipater having commanded two or three Kingdomes twelve yeares, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than Cafar did, after he had so long a time gouerned the Gaules, where he etterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruell

and vngratefull traitor Antipater was, if Curtius doe not belie him: For though hee feared some ill measure upon his remoue (the Tragedies of Parmenio, Clytus, and Callithenes, having beene so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had refolued to have given him some other great government in Afix: the old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance defired to be governed by Crateries, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

### XXIII.

Of ALEXANDERS Perfon and qualities,

Owlocuer it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot bee excused, no more than his vanitie to be effected the fonne of Jupiter, with his excelline delight in drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his seuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterprifing, and gricued to confider what hee should doe when hee had

conquered the World, Augustus Casar found just cause to deride him, as if the well governing of fo many Nations and Kingdomes, as he had alreadie conquered, could 22 for have offered him matter more than aboundant, to buffe his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sr Franeis Bacon, in his first booke of the advancement of learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praife, because it exceeded proportion. It is faid, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was guen, did out of modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune : to whom Alexander replied. That hee did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which SENECA; Animola von videtur & regia, cum fit Itultifima. L.z.deBin.c.i. Mildenim per je quemquam decet. Refert quid cui quando quare, vbi, &c. sine quibus facti rationon conflibit : babeatur per fonarum & dignitatum proportio & cum fit vbig. virtutis 2: mo.lus, eque peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit; It seemes a braue and royall speech, whereas indeede it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe beseemes a man. Wamuft regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which confiderations no act can be approued. Let honours bee proportioned unto the persons : for whereas vertue is ouer limited by measure, the excelle is as faultie as the desect.

For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a dispositiontaken by it feife, not much to be admired; For I am refolued that hee had ten thousand in his Armie as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended fimply, wee should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Thecues, Ruffians, and mastife Dogges. For certainely it is no way praise-worthie 40 but in daring good thinges, and in the performance of those lawfullenterprises, in which we are imploied for the feruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who have bought their glorie with fo great destruction, and effusion of bloud, I thinke him farre inferiour to Cefar, and many other that lived after him, feeing hee never undertooke any warlike Nation, the naked Scythians excepted, nor was euer encountred with any Armie of which he had not a most mastring advantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captaines by farre exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may vse those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, 50 both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the voke, and Kingdomes that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, wee will agree with Senees who speaking of Philip the Father, and Alexander the Sonne, gives this judgement of them. Quod non minores fuere peffes mortalium quam inundatio, qua pla- Natural quet. num omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; That 1.3.9.1.

they were no leffe plagues to mankinde, than an ouer-flow of waters, drowning all the leuell, or some burning droughth, whereby a great part of lining creatures is scorched up.

# CHAP. III. The raigne of ARIDEVS.

ò. I.

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.



HE death of Alexander left his Armie (as Demades the Athenian then compared is in fuch cale, as was that monitrous Giant Polyphenne, hauing loft his only 20 eye. For, that which is reported in tables of that great Cyclopy, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vneffeduall, and harmefull chiefly to themfelues. The causes whereof (vnder the duine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetic of Title to fueceffion in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the fluborne pride of Mecander himfelfe, who thinking none

worthie to be his Heire, did refufe to eltablish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who ail had 39 learned of their Master to suffer no equalls; a lesson some taught into spirits reflecting woon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly berne thewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) gouering in Macedon as Protector, aflumed vito himfelfe the Kingdome, not rendring it
vito Ampitas. (the Sonne of his elder brother Perducas) when he grew to manseflate; but only beftowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne; by which
bond and much more by his proper firength he affured the Crowne vito himfelfe:
Ampitas neuer attempting ought against Philip; though (with price of his life) he
did against Alexander in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore Empited the fole
iffue of his marriage, ought in realon to have been eaknowledged Queene after 40
Alexander, as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or Philip bad, when they
lived, yield (peraduenture) fome Law of that Nation forbad the raigne of women.
But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had veterly defaced the right of all
Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and og great were their conquests,
that CAleedon it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way
deserving to be lated in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left
any able to make challenge of the Roiall sette.

Alexander having taken many wives had iffice by none of the principall of them.
Brifine the Daughter of Artabasia a Perfan had borne vinto him a yong Sonne; and
Rosane the Daughter of Osyantes (whom he had more foleminely martied) was left yo
by him great with child. But the bafeneffe of the Mothers, and contempt of the
conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by
fome that would (perhaps) have wrought out their owne ends, vinder the name of
Mexanderschildren.

Cleopatra

Cleapatra the filter of Alexander, widdow to the King of Epirus, and Arideas his base brother (Jonne to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Ladie Europtic before mentioned, were next in course. Of Cleapatra there was no speech, which may give sufficient, that either Law or Custome had made that sex vacapable of the Soueraignette: Arideas (betides his bastardie) was neither for person nor qualitie fit to rule as King, yet vyon him the election fell, but slowly and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsailors having ouer-laboured their disagreeing wits in deufing what was belt, were content for very wearingle to take what came next to hand.

mention of the halfe-Perfun broode, King Mexanaers children, was of opinion, that the rule of all thould be given to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them (hould be decreed: (6 tarre was hee from acknowledging anyone as true Heire to the Crowne.

This Prolomic was called the fonne of Legin, but reputed of Philip: who having vied the companie of Lagins Polomeis mother, delivered her in marriage to Lagins being great with child. Therefore, whether it were fo, that he hoped well to work his owne fortune out of those differences, which are incident vinto the confultations of many amotitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their oquiet with subjection to one, describing regard by his boud, and trust for his even carriage, or whether hee delired only to get a share to himselse, which could not have come to pisse had all beene given to one: plaine enough it is, that beethought not on preferring Articles before himselse; and therefore gaues such counsilie as stretch is owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deutife of his tooke place in deede; though not in forme as hee had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at Alexandres emptie chaire, as Prolomie had conceived the forme of their consistations, or to set in the chaire such as Kridense, no wifer then the chaire it sisse. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines, by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puillance.

30 But as these counterfait shewes of diffembling aspirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: so was it like to have fared with Ptolomic and the rest, when Aristonius, an other of the Captaines; interpreted the wordes of Alexander; laying, That hee left his Kingdome to the worthieft, as deligning Perdicens, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee delinered his ring. It feemed good in reason, that Alexander should bee disposer of his owne purchases; and those tokens of Alexanders purpose appeared plaine enough, follong as no man would interpole an other construction : every one being vncertaine how the fecret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not be of the latest, vrged Perducas to take 40 vpon him the citate Roiall. He was no stranger to the Roiall bloud; yet his birth gauchim not fuch reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had beene very inward, and that especially since the death of Ephestion (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his owne worth hee might well bee commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had given much proofe of his prinate valour. But very furly he was: which qualitie (joyned with good fortune) carried a fliew of Majestie: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the prefent bulineffe a foolish ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happineffe to haue fucceeded "Messander. For not content to haue the 50 acclamation of the Souldiers, approxing the funtence of \*misloms\*, he would needs counterfait modellie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would bee the less enions the more folemnitie he wied in the acceptance. It is truely faid, He that faineth himselfe a sheepe may chance to be catten by a Wolfe. \*Melerge\*, (a man by nature en-

nious

uious, and bearing a particular hatred to Perdiceas) tooke advantage of his irrefolute behauiour, and very bitterly inueighed against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that who socuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing flow, to share it. This diffurbed all the Confultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without confent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about Meleager.

The election of ARID & vs, with the troubles there-about arising; the first dualion of the Empire.



Vring this vp-rore, mention was made of Aridaus by fome one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. Ateleager having with drawne himfelte tumultuously from the companie of the Lords, was glad of to saire an oc-cation to make himselfe great; therefore he produced Arman, com-

mended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name Alip, and 20 brought him into the Palace, inuciting him in Alexanders Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles with Hood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolue what course to follow, rejecting this. Only Python, a hot-headed-man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of Alexander by Roxane, according to the counsaile which Perdiceas at first had given, appointing Perdiceas and Leonatus his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of Pythen vaine. Finally, Perdiceas with fixe hundred men, and Ptolomie with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where Alexanders bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by Meleager, who carried the new King about whither he lifted, eafily brake in vpon them, and inforced them to accept Aridam for their Soueraigne Lord. 30 Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither fide faithfully meant.

Leonatus who was of the Roiall blond, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iffued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horfe, which confifted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. Perdicas abode in the Citie (but flanding vpon his guard) that he might be readie to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infantrie. The King (who was gouerned by Meleager) commanded or gaue leaue to haue Perdiceas made away; which attempt succeeded ill being neither fecretly carried, nor committed to fure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected : and they were by Perdice as rebuked with fuch granitie, that they depar- 40 ted honester than they came; being sorrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King leeking to pacific wanted authoritie, as having newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe affoorded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harme was done, for Perdiceas was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hec imputed to Meleager; abandoning the furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appealed, untill the King by offering to refigne his estate unto them, renued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moved them to fet him vp at the first.

Perdices having now joyned himselfe with Leonatus kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victualls from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies pasfing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition given vp into their handes; the King, that Meleager might bee joyned with CHAP.3. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Leonatus and Perdiccas, as a Third in government of the Armic) things were comnounded according to the Kings defire. Meleager should have done well to confider, that fuch men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacheric lurked under their great facilitie. Generall peace wastenewed, and much lone protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had beene in Alexanders time : but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windie spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of Persicess, tending to his owne to diffrace, but in fuch termes as might feeme to have proceeded from Meleager: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injurie done to himfelfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of Peráceas, that such authors of discord might beepunished. Perdices (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be emade, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was mischieuously laied: Had Meleager given way to feditious rumours, he must needes have incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of diffention; and thereby with publike approbation might have beene cut off, as having often offended in that kinde: his Prince being 20 too weake a Patron. Now feeking redreffe of these disorders, he hattened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practifed with many ceremonies, as for cleanling of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitic fet in array, a-part from others, as if they had beene of fundrie forts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmith (as by way of exercife) according to direction of their feuerall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the Phalanx, led by Meleager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disaduantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to give charge vpon them, was such, as discouered no je-30 fling pallime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horsemen: of which custome Perdiceas made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For Aridaus was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before hee had fought the death of Ferdicass at the infligation of Meleager: now he rides with Perdicess vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all fuch as Perdice, as required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them flaine, in the presence of the King who should have defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punish-

ofthem his especial friends. Having therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when hee faw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he sled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanétuarie: for thirher they fent and flew him. The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to Arideus the office of a Visitor, and yet making Perdicess his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funeralls of Alexender thought vpon; whose

ment Meleager had expected: they were fuch as had followed him, when he diftur-

40 bed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some

30 bodie hauing beene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no ligne of poison appearing, how great socuer the suspition might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to Arideus : one of the Captaines, who was two yeares preparing of a great and coftly show, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laied; many coarses of his friends being laied in the ground,

before that of Alexander was bellowed in Alexandria, a Cittie of his owne building in Egypt.

### ò. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.



Hileft these thinges were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Craterus, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of Alexanders followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a Warre, which the Athenians more brauely than wifely had begunne in Alexanders life, but now did profecute more boldiy than

before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. Alexander, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be reflored vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the Gracian Estates, and therefore thought so to prouide, that in every Citie hee would have a fure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wanne by this proude injunction. His pleafure indeede was fulfilled; yet not withoutgreat murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannie. The Athenians greatly decaied in effate, but retaining 20 more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; fo did also the Atolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but feemed to bearethemselues, as men that had done no more then they might well justific by reason: neuerthelesse to preuent the worst, the Athenians gaue secret instructions to Leofthenes a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leavie an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for Leafthenes to doc : great numbers of Greeke Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of Alexan- 30 ders death: at which time the Citic of Athens declared it felfe, and more honorably than wifely, proclaimed open Warre against the Macedonians, for the libertic of Greece. Hereupon Leofthenes drew in the Etolians, and some other Liftates, gane battaile to the Baotians, who fided with Antipater, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That Antipater (arrang in all haft, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Ashato Crastical for

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, thunning or purfuing their destinies a-farre off, which deceive all mortall wisdome, even when they seeme neare at hand. One moneth was feareely paft, fince nothing to heavily burthened 40 the thoughts of Antipater as the returne of Craterus into Chaceden; which hee then feared as death, but now defired as the most likely assurance of his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conneigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to fucceede Antipater in the government of Macedon and Greece. The fuspitions were strong that hee had a privile charge to put Antipater to death : neither did that which was commonly published found much better; which was, That Antipater should bee fent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to bee leavied in Europe For Alexander was much incenfed against him by his Mother Olympias : and would fometimes give out speeches testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him ; but 50 yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few ef Alexan lers Lieutenants bad escaped with life : most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings ri-

gour was fuch, as could finderebellious purpofes (for fo hee interpreted even lewd gouernement) in bate persons; little might Antipater hope for, who having sitten Viceroy ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the prefence of fo fell a Master, and the enuic of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiors, which would now repine to fee him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, given by his Son Islaus, Alexanders cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne Callandar : great cause of much feare he had, which I note in this place as the ground

10 of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present Crate us was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neare, follicited to make haft. Not without cause. For in Macedon there could not at that time be raifed more than thirteene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into. Asia. The The falians indeede who had long stood firme for Philip and Alexander, who also were the best horse-men of Groece, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of Greece. With these forces did Antipater in Thesalie trie the fortune of a battaile with Leosthenes; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase 10 of his enemies power and rebellion of the Greekes, (were they not checkt at the first) than prefuming on his owne strength. For Leofthenes had of Athenians, Atolians, and Mercinaries, two and twentie thou fand foot, befides the affiftance of many pett Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the The flalians had revolted vnto him. So wontipater loft the day : and his loffe was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retrait into hisowne Countrie: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all thinges necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did Leosthenes follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusall close vp the 30 Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will wee leave him for a while, trauailing in the last honourable enterprise that euer was under-taken by that great Citie of Athens.

### ø. IIII. How PERDICCAS emploied his Armie.



Ing Aridaus living under the rule of Perdiceas, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vie of him. Perdiceas had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to

be welcome to any whom hee should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnsetled condition of thinges to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of Cleopatra, the sifler of Alexander; yet about the same time he either married Niese the Daughter of Intipater, or made such love to her as blinded their eies, who did not somewhat narrowly fearch into his doings.

10 Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faithfull to the Persian Empire as long as it stood : following the example of his forefathers, cuen from Pharnaces the first that raigned in Cap-Padocia, who married Atoffa lister to the great Cyrus. Some of his Ancesters had (indeede) beene oppressed by the Persians; but what Fortune tooke from them at

one time, Vertuerestored at an other, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all: But now in the strall Period of to great an Empire, with much wisedome, and (Darue being slame), wish sufficients honour, he might have acknowledged the Assessment unthe Persons. To shee did not; neither did Alexander call him to account being occupied with greater cares. But Persiceas, who had no greater butiness wherein to entertaine his Armie, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in land Kingdome, surrounded with Provinces of the Meterotic and to this owner particular to have one opportune place of sure retrait, vader the governement of a steedish friend. Therefore he entred Cappa'seas, tought with Arwathes, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and to sifteen thousand borfe (astrong Armie, had it not incountred astronger, and better trained). Wanne the victorie; and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light ypon; and so delivered that Provinceto Emmens, whom of all men living be trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to Python; rather as to the most honourable of fuch as remained about him, than as to the most affured. Python was to subdue the Greekes, rebelling in the high Countries of Afa. Aboue twentie thoufand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by Alexander, to bridle the bai barous Nations, were soone wearie of their 20 unpleasant habitations, and therude people, among whom they lived and therefore tooke advantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these Python went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to deftroy them: which intent of his Perdiceas discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebells to the sword, giving the spoiles of them to his Souldiers. and further enjoyned it vnto Pythons Captains (his owne creatures) that they should fee this command executed. These directions for vse of the victorie might haue proned needleffe; fo vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebells commanding over three thousand, corrupted by Python, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a Hill not farre off. This dif 30 maied the rest, and gaue the day to Python: who being farre enough from Perdiceas, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their lines and libertie under condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies hee might well have a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselse as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand soot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needleffe feare without great loffe had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof Python might thinke himselfe assured, was ( and soone appeared to be) inherent in Perdices. For by his command were ten thousand foote, 40 and eight thousand horse, of those which followed Python, leavied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obaying the letters of Perdiceas, by which they were enjoyned to give affiftance to that bufineffe; and by vertue of the precept given vinto them by Perdicess, did the Macedonians cut in peeces all those poore men who had yeelded themselues; leaving Python as naked as hee came forth to returne vnto his

Now was Perdicess mightie aboue the mightie, and had faire leifure to purfue his hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and thereby to make himfelfe Lord of all: but this muft be feeretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the Lawiss warre taketh ending.

Q. V. The processe of the Lamian Warre.

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E left Antipater hardly belieged, wanting meanest offee himselfe with out succours from his friends in A.ia. Those helps not appearing so soon cas he expected, he came to parle with Legithers, & would have yeelded wito any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed hope of victoric doe seldome limit their desires. Legithers willed him

without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him fuch a difto honorable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, Antipater prepared for the detence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victualls. In this lingring war, the Atolians (whether wearie of fitting still at a fiege, or having bulinesse which they pretended at home) tooke their leave, and returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches fo thinly manned, that Anipater found meanes to fallie out vpon his enemies to their great loife: for many were flaine, and Leosthenes himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieued, their victualls wasted, and they were not firong enough to deale with the Greekes in open fight. Craterus was long in com-20 ming. Ly/imachus who was nearest at hand in Thrace, had work too much of his owne leading no more than 4000, foote, and 2000, horse, against Seuthas the Thracian King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though Lyfmachae, not without loffe, had gotten one victorie, yet the enemie abounding in multitude felt not the blow fo much as might abate his courage. Therefore Leonatus was earneftly follicited by Antipaters friends, to make all hast to the rescue. He had the gouernement of Phrygia the leffe, and was able to raife an Armie of more than 20100 foot, and 250c. horse, whether leauled out of his Province, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journie into Greece, than Antipater was to have him come.

30 For Cleopatra had written vnto him, defiring his presence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Maccdon, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not folosis that beene requisite; and therefore brought himselfe into great suspinion, that soone ended with his life. \*Antipollus, chosen Generall by the \*Athenians in place of Leophenes, hearing of his approach for sook the steepe of \*Lama, and tooke the readie way to the segreat Conquerors of \*Assa.\* with purpose to give them an euill welcome home, before \*Aripater\* and they should joyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the \*Assa.\* the advantage of \*Leonatus\* in horse, by the ods of \*200. Telessians\* in other things he was equall to him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued so: for he wan a great victoric (chieff by

49 vertue of the The [filins] which appeared the greater by the end of Leonatus himfelfe, who fighting valiantly was driven into a marish peece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had sought among the Inciuns, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his nativitie. He was the first of Ackanders Captains which died in battell, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day the Athenians slid never any thing surable to their ancient glorie.

The vanquilhed Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, & too proud to file. They be took e them felues to high grounds, wrift for fervice on hore-back, and fo abode in fight of the enemie that day; the day following Antipater with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their of frength to be at the greatest, and fearing left that of the enemie should increase, did camelly seeke to determine the matter quickly by an other battalle. But fill Antipater kept him lesses on many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemie to be variquished. This rechlesses (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

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was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much defaced by loffes at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to have made themselues once againe Malters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captiuitie of Greece came on, of which shee neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. Craterus with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from Cilicia, pailed ouer into Europe, and comming into Theffalie joyned himselfe with Antipater. The forces of Leonatus, Antipater, and Craterus, being joyned in one, contained fortie thousand waightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiftie thousand horse; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thousand and fine hundred in horse, in foot eighteene thousand. Carefully therefore did Antiphilus 10 labour to avoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so flow in comming, and Antipater so vegent vpon the Greekes, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the Thessalans had the upper hand, and held it, untill such time as they perceived their battailes (ouer-laied with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fine hundred enemies. Yet hercof was 20 great vse made. For the Greekes, as not subject vnto the full command of one Generall, and being eueric one defirous to preferue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatic of peace with Antipater; who being a fubtile artificer, & well vnderstanding their aptnesses of division, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed euery Citie to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuise was so apparent, that it was rejected; the Greekes chooling rather to abide the comming of their Alfattants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betraied the cause. Antipater and Craterus belieging & winning some townes in Thessalie, which the armie of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne affured and prefent calamitie. 20

Of the peace granted to Athens by ANTIPATER. Of DEMOSTHE-

NES his death.



He The Salians falling of, all the rest soone followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward inviting fuch as were flack. Only the Athenians and Atolians held out. Little fauour could they hope for, having beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the feate of the warre being farre from

them. But the celeritie of Antipater confounded all their imaginations; who fate 40 fill at Athens, denifing upon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their confultation could finde iffue. He was readie to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to relift, and were as heartleffe as friendleffe. All that remained was to fend Embaffadors defiring peace upon fome good termes: necessitie enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. Phocion, with Demades the Orator, and Xenocrates the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassige; Phocian as the most Honorable; Demades as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by Intipater) and Xenocrates, as one admired for wisedome, graunic of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of leffe regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Intipater calling to minde the pride of Leoshbenes, required of the Athenians that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing CHAP.3. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

the gonernement of the Citie to those of most wealth, deprining of the right of suffrage all fuch as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, ail men of good subitance, to whom the adminiltration of the Common-wealth was given, a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Lemocratie. But the rafcall multitude of beggarly perfons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from hearing offices and giving their voices, cried out that this was a meere oligarchie, the violent viurpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King Philip had beene wont to fay, That warre to them was to peace, and peace warre) Anipater planted in Thrace, and gaue them lands to manure; leaning as few of them as he could to moleft the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) hee caused Lemosthenes and Hyperides famous Orators, with some others to bee slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of Demoji henes, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very milde; whereas now all fach, as either are delighted with the Orations of Lemosthenes, or have fur-rendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudie tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the e-20 uill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemilh any action, how good focuer otherwife it be, or honourably carried.

Lemoghenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of Neptune, in the Isle of Calaria; there did Archias (fent with Souldiers by Antipater for the purpose) finde him, and gently perfuade him to leave the place, but not fo prevailing he threatned violence. Then Demofibenes, entreating a little respit as it had beene to write fomewhat, secretly tooke poison which he had kept for such a necessitie, and so died; rather chooling to doe the last execution upon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of fuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in batgotaile, howfocuer valiant in perfuading to enterprifes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paffages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great fummes given him by the Perfian, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Ascedonians at home. Neither did hee ill (me thinke ) in taking from the Persians which loued not his Countrie, great rewards, for speaking fuch thinges as tended to his Countries good; which hee did not ceafe to procure; when the Persians were no longer able to give him recompense. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of Antipater, may (if they can) beleeue Lucian, who tells vs, That it was Antipaters purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemic to the 40 Macedonisms; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the handes of Phocion, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrie, yet applying himfelfe to the necessitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citic much good, and now procured this peace, which (though gricuousto free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquilhed ) hee endeuoured carefully to preferue.

Tttt 3.

d. VII.

). VI

How CRATERYS and ANTIPATER were drawne from their Ætolian
Warres into Asia. The grounds of the first civill Warre
betweene the Macedonian Lords.

Mripater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they firengthned their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking Philade, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wise.

Shortly after they went against the Atolians, whose pouertie was 10 not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conneied such of their goods as they most circemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre : with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the Macedonians. whom they manfully refifted. With great obstinacie did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Atolians made good as long as their victualls held out. But when Craterus had thut vp all paffages, and vtteriy debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their frong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or to en- 20 dure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselves to the Macedonians : who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborne enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt confideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These Leolians did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molefled them : wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gratious to their courage. For fuch newes came out of Asia into the Macedonian campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke every houre a moneth, till they had rid their handes of these Atolians, 30 giving them what socuer conditions they would aske; yet with purpose to call them to seuere account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captiuitic, when once they should have settled the affaires of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Councell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a trouble some barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it served meerely as an introduction to all the civill warres

The grounds of the Assistance expedition, which did set the World in an vp-rote, were these. Antipater and Craterus were of Alexanders: Captaines the mighties in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of Alexander and of the whole Armie. Next vnto the shad most respected, both of Alexander and of the whole Armie. Next vnto the shad reduction of the shad per discuss beene; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did mass equal, or superior to the order of the shad per discussion of the shad partner in the government of all: to which purpose here entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipater Daughters. But seeling in short space the 50 strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quire an other way. Aridans was a very simple man, yet served well enough to weare the title of that Majestie, whereof Perdicas being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practise was more seuere than had beene in the daies of Alexander.

under: the delire to feeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferring themselines from contempt, and of giving such a frie lustre to their actions, as may dazell the cies of the beholders. How cruelly the poore Greekes in the higher of a were all put to the sword; and how tryannously the King and Princes of Cappaderia were crucified, hath alreadie been eshewed. The Psscains were the next who felt the wrath of these counterstait alexanders. One Citie of theirs was vtterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The Islamins by this example growne desperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themselines whale to continue the desence, lock themselines in their houses and set the Towne on fire, into the slaue whereof the yong-men did throw themselines, after that they had a

while repelled the Macedonians from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to lift the aines of the burnt Citie for gold and filver; but Perdieurs had bufine, e of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to fit fill without imploiment : letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileft cthers grew great, and tooke deeperoote in their feuerall Prouinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the feate of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings 20 presence would make the offices of his Viceroies (during the time) actually voide; Intipater with Craterus being once in case of private men, and only Perdice as holding authoritie, the match with Cleopatra might easily bee made. So should greatnefferencete with agood title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of Ptolomic might giue, who held Egypt, well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia. like enough it was that either Ptolomie would follow of himselfe, or bee driven to come to reason. Antigonus likewise then gouerning in Phrygia, a busic-headed man, and ill affected to the fide, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought Perdiecus; and was deceiued in so thinking. Antigonus 30 wasasgood a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great vn dertaking, as any of Alexanders Captaines. His imploiments had been eleffe than Sincof theirs, which made him also the lefferespected. But his thoughts were as promus theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched Perdiccas, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For Perdiceas haunt with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonus, and finding him no at for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to tab away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This denise and gonss would not feeme to perceive, but prepared himfelfe in shew to make an-40 facte, indeede, to make escape, which casily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne Le netrius aboord of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden with fuch tidings, as finished the Atolian warre before mentioned.

As the comming of Antigonus made Craterus and Antigater manifestly perceive that owned anger: to his flight gaue Perdiceas to vinders and that his intentions were lived open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as saft after could not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. Ptolomie being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearely they concerned him, sided with Antipater. To his government of Expythe had annexed to the Dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middless of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of Mexander with great solemnite, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, not withstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming against him.

VIII

### D. VIII.

PERBICCAS his voiage into Ægypt, and his death.



ERDICEAS, vincertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resoluted to let vpon Ptolomie; leaving Eumenes to keepe to his vie, against Craterin and Antipater, the parts of Ajia bordering

It may feeme ftrange, that hee did not rather make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men to than Piolomie could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with Ptolomie: or believed that Craterus would not be readie for him foone enough. Sure it is that

he tooke a bad courfe, and made it worfe with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his fweet behauiour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. Per auc. w contrariwife was full of infolencie, which never faileth to beerewarded with hacred; that is truely defined. An affection founded upon opinion of an virguilt contempt. The whole storic of his proceedings in segret is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Towne, called the Camels Wall: thither hee marched by 20 night, with more half than good speede; for Ptolomie preuenting him, did put himfeire into the place, where behaving himfelfe not only as a good Commander, but as a flout Souldier, hee gave the foile to Perdices, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, affault continued one whole day. The night following, Perdiccas made an other journie, (which was his last) and came to the divisions of Milin, ouer against Memphis. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants about the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take up fuch as were carried away by fiviftnesse of the water. A great part of his Ar- 20 mie being arrived on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; fo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chinne, they who should haue followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rifing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of fo manie Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed must repaffe againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieued by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished. a thousand were denoured by Crocodiles; a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; fuch as were firong and could fwimme recovered the Campe; many 40 were carried downe the streame, and driven to the contrarie banke, where they fell into the handes of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giving libertic to their tongues which long time had concealed the cuill thoughts of their hearts. AVhile they were thus murmuring, newes came from Ptolomie; which did fer themin an vp-rore. Ptolomie had not only thewed much compatition on those who fell into his handes aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcafes, which the River had cast upon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to bee interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fail to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so 50 vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vling them like flaues. The fedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. Python was there, who inwardly bated Perdicas, for the difference which hee had fuffered by his procurement, after the victorie vpon the rebellious

Greekes. Python had lived in honourable place about A'exander; he was in the divifion of the Prouinces made Gouernour of Media; hee had followed Perdiceas, and being in all thinges (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuerthelesse beene scornefully vsed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the foot-men having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of Perdicas, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgouerning authoritie of Perdicess. Hee might have lived as great as any, could be have fuffered any as great as himfelfe; yea, peraduenture ma-10 fter of all, had he not beene too masterly ouer those which were a readie his.

The next day Ptolomie came into the campe, where he was joyfully received; he excused himselfe of thinges past, as not having beene Author, or given cause of the Warre, and was eafily beleeved: the favour of the Armie being such toward him, that needes they would have made him Protector in the roome of Perdiceas. But this hee refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. Ptolomie was well enough alreadie; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deferuing of him hee procured that honourable charge to Python, and to Arideus the Captaine, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the folemnities of Alexan-

20 ders Funeralls, did with them adhere to him against Perdiceas.

In the middett of these bulinesses came newes of two great victories obtained by Fumenes; which newes, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had beene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given fuch reputation to Perdiceas, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and hisopen enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the cares which would have giuen them well-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

# Victories of EVMENES in the lower Ala.



Efore wee proceede in the relation of thinges, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesses in the lower A/a, which were handled by Eumenes with notable dexteritie, whilest Perdiceas was occupied in the Agyptian warres. Aleetas, the brother of Perdiceas, and Reoptolemus, had received command

from Perdicess to be affistant to Eumenes, and to follow his directions. But Alcetas made flat answere, That he would not; alleaging the backwardnesse of his men to 40 beare armes against so great a person as Antipater, and a man so much bonoured as Craterus. Neoptolemus was content to make faire flew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedencie given to Exmenes, as thinking himselfe the better man. Eumenes discovering, through the counterfaited lookes of Neoptolemus, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely diffembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hee might stand vpon his owne strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about fixe thousand horfe, giuing many privileges to fuch as were feruiceable, and training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations 50 made by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly passed the Helle [pont) for the inua-

fion of his Provinces, hee willed Neoptolemus to come to him with all his power, Neoptolemus did (indeede) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprouoked, presented him battaile. Neoptolemus had secretly couenanted with Antipater to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, he

was thamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all Macedonians had much the better, and prevailed farre vpon Eumenes his battailes; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men, to bee charged by Eumenes, who forced them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes they cried for mercie. and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull feruice. Antipater and Craterin endenoted with many goodly promifes to draw Eumenes into their focietie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betweene Perdices and Craterm, whom he dearely loued; profeshing with all his hatred to Antipater, and conflant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, Neoptolemus came with his broken crew to Antipater, and his Affociates, vilifying Eumenes, and calling him a scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of Craterus (as well hee might) with high commendations; affuring them, that it Craterus did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any Olicedonian in Eumenes his Campe, the vietorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with revolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he defired them to give him aide against Eumenes, and especially requested that Craterus might haue the leading of the Armie to be fent. Their owne affections did ealily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of Craterio might prevaile as much, as the force which hee drew along, 20 For he had in the middelt of A'exanders vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the Per/ian falhions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian forme of behaviour, and apparrell; whereby hee became verie gratious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia, with discontented eies, as reproachfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So Antipater tooke the way toward Cilicia, to hold Perdiccas at bay, and to joyne with Pool mie. Craterius vied great celeritie, to haue taken Eumenes reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common falhion of Captaines after a great victorie. But hee had a warie and well aduifed enemie to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wifedome forefaw all that was to bee feared, and the 32 meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that Craterus was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was fuch as much exceeded his owne in footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vnealic to keepe the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a ftrange peece of worke, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wife managing, prosperously accomplished. Hee gaue out reports that Acoptolemus was returned with fuch companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten Pigres (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not sarre ost) to joyne with him. Ha- 40 wing animated his men against Neoptolemus, whom hee knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquithed by some of them, and for saken others in plaine field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrell ) hee tooke great care to keepe them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Meffenger nor Trumpetter should bee admitted; and not herewith fatisfied, he placed against Craterus no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he beene knowne : but Thracians, Cappadocions, and Persians, under the leading of such as thought more highly of none, than of Perdiecas and himselfe. To these also begaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne upon the enemie, and giue him no leistire to 50 fay or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to Neoptolemus, who (as nec understood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie lide, hee held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and readie to

CHAP-3. S. 20 of the Historie of the World

charge the enemic asthorage as the diffance would sine leave. A rifing peece of ground lay between them, which having afcended, the Armies discouered each other; but that of Eumenes enery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journes, which ouer-hastily they had made, feeking the deceitful iffue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for Craterus (hauing failed in furprifing them as enemies), to discouer himselfe to his old friends and tollow fouldiers; of whom hee could be none. Thence Triban and Arthream a ler fun, had the leading of that ide, who mindfull of their instructions beganner o give voon him, with such counide who mindfull of their instructions beganner o give voon him, with such counide. renance as told him his errour; which to redeeme, he bad his men fight and winne to theday, and take the apollero themselves. But the Bears whose skinne hee fells is not you caught. The ground whereon the bastaile was fought gave most advantage to this borle, who encounted very roughly on all parts; especially about Eumenesand exceptolemus who as loances they had discoursed one an other could not contains ships clues but with greatings met bodie to bodie, and letting los fetheir bridlesgrappled to nidlentlying other, that their nortes ranne from under them, leaune both of them tumbling on the ground. Neeptelemus rolefieltyp, bur Enmenes had his (word first crawne, where with bee houghed the other; cauling him to fall downcand hight vportione knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but Newhielermes gruing flight ones tooke fuch as were deadly, by which hee died in the 20 place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) stripped by his mortall enemie; whose rendings hee required, lying even at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of Neoptolemus caused his followersto runne away ypon the fourre, and fecke helter behind, the battailes of their foot, They were nothing hotly purfued. For Eumenes pained himfelie to carrie fuccout to his left wing, which he suspected much sabe distressed but found accompanied with the fame fortune, that had affifted bine when he fought in person , Graterushad gallanely borne himsele a while, and sustained the impression of artabasus and Phenix, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when hee was charged by men of lattle offi-30 mation or note. Otherwise it is not volikely, that he might have either carried the day, of profermed himselfe to a better aduenture by giving ground, as the reft(when heand Meaptolemus were flaine) did. But whilest he sought to preserve his reputation, he loft his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many thatknew him not, and so perished vnknowne, till it was too late to know it, Eumenescomming to the place where hee lay madegreat lamentation, as having alwaies loued and honoured Craterus, of whose death hee was now become the instrument.

The vanquilhed Armie entertained a Treatic of peace with Eumenes, making shew of willing neffe to become his followers, but their intent was only to refresh them-40 selues, which (by his permission) having done, they stale away by night, and sted toward Antipater.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former wanne to Eumenes more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers tooke the death of Craterus heavily: and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incenfed men against him, besides the death of Craterus, whereof it manifeltly appeared, that hee was as forrie as any that pretended greater heautnelle. His Armic wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wifely amended, by giving to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-affected to him. So hee redeemed the loue of his owne men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him 10 aguard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to Perdicess hated him for his faithfulneffe, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their fallhood; neither found they any fairer way of exculing their late revolt, than by acculing and condemning the lide

which they had for faken. Wherefore they proclaimed Eumenes a Traitor, and

condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

X

Quarrells betweene Evaydic i the Queene, and Python the Protector.

Python resignes his office, into which Antipa
tea is chosen.



YTHON and Aridam being chosen Protectors of King Aridam, and the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of the Set way Python was the greater in reputation, yet faire too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydia, with to King Aridam, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she ewas or should

be, and thinking her felfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied upon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother Cyma, sister to Mexander by her father King Philip, was married (as hath beene showed) to Amyntas, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only sonne of King Perditus, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true fifter of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her felfe, had flaine her. Shee brought vp this Eurydice in the fame vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were so that Python had some purpose to advance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only defire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did. which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie having shaken off 20 fuch a ranke-rider as Perdiccas, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. Python bearing himselfe vpon his office took vpon him to give directions in the kings name, which the Queenedid oftentimes controll, vling the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, feeing this, would needes refigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and have his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. Eurydice was nothing sorrie at this course; for now shee thought to manage the affaires of the Empireat her owne wil, being freed from the 40 troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the only powerfull man of Alexanders Captaines, then living, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue only the King their Soueraigne. Yet flee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three thinges: the apparent weakeneffe of her hufband : the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightineffe of Antipater, who commanding a great Armic neare at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her selfe content. Intipater was 50 of fuch power that hee needed not to worke by any close denifes, as Perdicens had done; he had no concurrents; all the Gouernours of Proninces that remained aliue acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

along with him into Macedonia, leauing Antigonia Generall of the Royall Armier to whom for his good fertices done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gape the rule of Sulfana, betides his former Proninces, and committed into his hands the government of Mix during that warre.

### δ. X I.

Antigonvs Lieutenant of Alaxinnes a battaile of Evmenes, and befreyet birn in Nora: the vanquisheth other sollowers of Peadicas,



Sere beginnes the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in sew yeares ouergrowing the rest wanted little of spreading it sells ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon Lamenes, Aleetus the brother, and Attalis the brother in-law to Persistant; worke enough to keepe his Armie imployed in the publishe service, it such as it is a first of the best of the service of the service in the publishe service.

keepe his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as hee might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which hevidertooke was Eumenes, with whom Alcetus and Attalus refused to joyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. Eumenes had an Armie strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; 20 but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practife failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hashily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. An other follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in companie with Antigonus) kept his treacheric fecret, referring it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this false man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus 30 presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heave wherof Apollonises, Generall of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrarie fide, with fuch as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose companie he defired not. Eumenes, perceiuing the irrecouerable mischiese which this traiterous practise brought voon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thruit himselfe into the troupes of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eurocenes in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him veterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a fafe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amafed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonia himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession 40 on of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilest Antigonia held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compaffe returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and affies of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, railing vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit : so the newes which Atenander (who was set to looke vnto their cariages) brought and published among them, entired them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, carcleffe, as afteranaffured victorie, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of 50 their long seruice; all which he might have taken: but fearing least such a purchase

their long feruices all which he might haue taken: but fearing leaf fuch a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope contilled in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to Mexander to flie to the mountaines, whiles the detained his men (whom authoritic could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonisms extolled him for this courteste, as a

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noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strippe them out of all their wealth, and make their children flaues, and to rauish their wives: but Antigonue told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtiltie had anoided those precious fetters, which would have hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For Eumenes did not onely thinke all carriages to be ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than availeable, in his intended courfe. Wherefore he fent them from him, as fast as he could, withing them to shift for themselves; and retaining onely five hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When hee had wearied Antigonus awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to North where againe, keeping no more a- 15 bout him, than necessitie required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a litle Fortresse in the borders of Lycaonia & Cappadocia, so strongly lituated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualed and stored with all neceffaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did Antigonus followe him, with more delire to make him his friend, than to vanquilh him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas Intigonus offered him pardon, and his love; Eumenes required restitution of his Provinces. which could not be granted without Antipaters consent. Then was Nora closed vot where Antigonus leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iournic into Pissidia against Alcetas and Attalus, with whom hee made short worke. 29 He came vpon them vnexpected, and feifed on paffages, which wanted not men, but fuch a Captaine as Eumenes, to have defended them. Alcetas and Attalus, as they had beene too secure before his comming, so were they too aduenturous in fighting at the first light, upon all disaduantages: and their folly was attended with sutable euent. Attalia with many principall Captaines was taken; Alcetas fled to the Citie of Termesus, where the love of the yonger fort was toward him so vehement, that stopping their cares against all perswations of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countrie in his defence Yet this availed him nothing. For the Gouernours of the Towne, having fecretly compounded with Antigonus, caused the yong men to fally out; and vsing the time of advantage, they with their 20 feruants did fet vpon Meetas, who vnable to refilt flew himselfe. His dead body was conucied to Antigonus, and by him barbaroully torne was call forth without buriall. When Antigonus was gone, the yong men interred the carcasse with solemne funerals, having once beene minded to fet on fire their owne towne, in revenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great focuer, is insufficient.

# Q. XII. PTOLOMIEWINNES Syria and Phanicia. The death of ANTIPATER.

🚙 Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Gouernments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely Ptolomie looking abroad, wanne all Syria and Phanicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumstance in the mannaging. He sent a Lieutenant thirber

with an Armie, who quickly tooke Laomedon prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of Antipater, and formerly of Perdicess; but (as may feeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farre from affiftants, and vainely relying vpon the authoritie which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with feeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and fickely, defirous of rest, and therefore contented to let Antigonus pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. Hee had with him Polysperchen, one of the most ancient of Alexanders Captaines, that had lately supprefied a dangerous infurrection of the Ætolians, which Nation had flirred in the

# CHAP. 2. S.12. of the Historie of the World.

quarrell of Perdicess, prenailing farre at the first, bot foone loofing all that they had ; gained, whileft Antipater was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this Poly/perchon, Intipater did repose great confidence; so farre foorth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne Caffander of infufficiencie in fo great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of Mucedon and Greece, together with his Office of Protect orfhip. So Antipater died, being toure-score yeares old, having alwavestrauailed in the great affaires of mightic Princes, with fuch reputation, that Alexander in all his greatnesse was icalous of him, and the successours of Alexander did either quietly give place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. to In his private qualities he was a fubtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaulour, not valearned, as having beene Scholler to Ariffolie, and written some Histories. He had beene much molested by Olympias, Alexanders mother, whom after the death of her Sonne hee compelled to abiliaine from comming into Micedonia, or entermedling in matters of citate: yea, at his owne death he gaue efpeciall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was foone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forrowfull experience approued to have beene found and good.

of POLYSPERCHON who fucceeded anto ANTIPATER in the Protector-fing. The infurrection of CASSANDER against him.

OLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre, having long time beene Apprentife in that occupation; other qualities, requilites in fo high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He mannaged his builtieffe more formally, then wifely, as a man of a fecond wit, fitter to affift,

than commaund in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage hee called to coun-30 faile all his friends, wherein, for waightie confiderations (as they who waighed not the contrariereasons held them) the Queene Olympias was remoked out of Epirus into Mucedon, that the presence of Alexanders mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or casie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all maiestie, that might give authoritie to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard contains within the bounds of duetic fuch as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

49 Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of fight, whilest present mischiefe laie vnregarded in their bosomes. Cassander the Sonne of Antipater, was not able to discouer that great sufficiencie in Polysperchon, for which his father had reposed in him so much considence: neither could hee discerne such oddes in the qualitie of himfelfe and Polysperchon, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captaine of one thousand, which Office by practise of those times was of more importance, than the title now feemes to implie. He should thereby have beene as Campe-mafter, or Lieuetenant generall to the other: a place no way fatisfying his ambition, that thought himfelfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had 50 relied on his Father were his owne affured, especially such as commanded the Garrifons beflowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales,

whose formes had beene corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the fide, and drawe in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular Vauu 2

to adhere vnto the Captains by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obaying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, Cassander had the secret loue of Queene Eury. dice, who had in private rendered him such courtetie, as was due only to her hufband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebeilion; because hee saw Polysperchon much reuerenced among the Macedonians, and itrong enough to suppresse him before he could have made head. Therefore he made thew of following his pleasures in the countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, adulfed 10 with them upon the fatelt course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie was apparant of railing an Armic, before the bufinefle were fet on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. Ptolomie had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his gouernement of Agypt and Cyren . this was too much either for the hing to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus vpon the first newes of As ipaters death, beganne to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such fort that hee manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Ala. These two therefore stood in neede of a civill Warre; which Callander well noted, and prefumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his Father and them, would availe him formewhat. Whereupon hee fe- 20 cretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conneied himfelfe on a fodaine ouer the Helle pont, that he might in person advance the businesse with greater speede. Muco persivation is needlesse in winning a man to what he defireth. Antigonius coueted nothing more, than to finde Poly/perchon worke by raifing some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) Caffander did very carnelliy presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to affift him in this enterprise; telling him that Ptolomie was readie to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. Intigonus on the other side repaied him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to give him all manner 20 of fuccour. Having thus feafted one an other with words, they were nothing flack in preparing the common meanes leading to their feuerall ends.

The unworthic courses held by POLYSPERCHON, for the keeping downe of CASSANDER.



Reat necessitie there was of timely prouision. For Polysterchon necded no other instructions to informe him of Cassanders drift, than the 40 newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition, which might be found in Antigmus and Ptolomie, to the strengthning ofrebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of Casiander

was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Gracian Estate. Therefore (louing to work circum (pectly,) he called an other Councel, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of government should be creeted in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose handes Antipater had committed the supreame authoritie, should forthwith bee cither flaine or banished. This was a fure way to diminish the number of Cassanders friends, and to raife vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was difelo- 50 fed both an vnthanke full nature in Poly/perchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could be be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had inabled him to doe it? or what could bee faid in their defence, who fought to destroy

many worthic men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from ftirring against the Macedonians; and in opposition to their private Enemie, canethe rule of thinges to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the I mpire? But as in mans bodie, through finnewes newly iffuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any diffemper in the contrarie hand : fo in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdinided in faction, are more inraged by the difagreeable qualities of fuch as curbe them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to passe, that conto traria religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemics drawne in; to take part in civil warres; and ancient hatred called to counfaile against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; thee hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head : they are deprayed mitetions, which render men fensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily difcerne, that Polysperchon had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as Poly/perchon gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it 20 contained fuch a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sodaine from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it felfe too base and unfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subjects, and often-fubdued Rebells.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by POLYSPERCHONS decree. The death of PHOCION.



Euertheleffe the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happie-feeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called Munychia, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was

pleating to their haftie defires. Nicanor, as a truftic follower of Callander, was by him shifted into the place, and Menilles (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when Anipater was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who foone after hearing the newes of Intipaters death, cried out vpon Photion, faying, That he 40 had fufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by advertiling them in due time have put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Farre more gricuoufly would they have beene offended, had they knowne the infructions, which Cafander had given to Wieaner, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retaine Munychia, any injunction to the contrarie not withflanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into Piraus, and fortific that also, which was the principall Hauen, againfithe high-Towne. How to accomplish this herather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the Athenians were not long in giving him fuf-50 ficient cause to doe that, which he would have done without any cause given. They defired him to come vnto their Councell, affembled in the Pricus, there to confider of the Kings Proclamation; whither vpon Phocions word and fafe conduct he came, and carneftly preffed them to hold with Caffander in the warre which was readie to breake forth. Contrariwise they viged him first of all, to make them Masters of Vuuu 2

their owne, which how to vie they might confult afterwards. Each of them refufing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies meafure juttice by profit, yet seldome thriued by that course) practised with Dereyllus. a Captaine following Poly (perchon, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take Autonor prisoner. But Photion who then governed in Athens, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with fuch a trick of politique difhoneitie, did quietly fuffer him to depart and fane

A teasor hereupon beganne to deuife vpon taking Piraus; not as following now the project of Callander, but profecuting his owne just reuenge. He leavied as many 10 Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munychia; which done, he iffued into Piraus, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein : to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, faw him now Mafter of both. Aexander, the sonne of Polysperchon, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouring all, and addreffed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe. which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epiftles of his Father, and of Olympias the old Queene. Olympias taking upon her to command, before thee durit well adventure to returne into Macedon, had peremptorily charged 2/ teanor to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held : but hee would first consider 20 more of the matter. Polyberchen had further ordained that the life of Samos thould be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) fo farre from purpoling to let them have Sames that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne handes, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in Cassanders. His sonne Alexander not ignorant of this, made faire flew to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with Nicener, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to entermeddle with the builnesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceiued against him they powred out vpon Phocion depriving him of his Office. This 20 was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the affembly of the Citizens, who distracted with fundric passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought enerie one that best could inueigh against thinges past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the cuill threatning them. In this hurlie burlie was Alexander deniting how he might come to fome good point of composition with Nicanor, and held much prinic conscrence with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was fo farre increased, that Phocion with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seeke saueguard of their lines by slight. So they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commen- 40 dation to his Father, defiring him to take them into his protection.

Poly(perchon was in the Countrie of Phocis, readic to enter with an Armic into Attea. Thither came Phocion with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deferts, ( having alwaies beene friends to the Macedonians, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, Dinarchus a Cos inthian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promifed to himselfe and them great fauour by meanes of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon was an unftable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily so changing his intended courses, and doing thinges by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good fucceife. For feare of Caffander, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians; this had caused them to love him : out of their love hee gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his minde, and fecke

how to get into his owne handes those keies, with which Casander held them fall lockt vp: linding himfelfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a talledifbonourable man, hee stood wavering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athemans perforce at his denotion, would indeede have done well : but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in Greece beganne to call their eies ypon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wifelt way to redceme their good opinion, by giving all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growne to be Matter of that Citic. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian 10 Embaffadours come, treading (as one may fay) vpon Phocsons heeles, whom they were fent to accuse. These had solemne audience given to them in the Kings prefence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oftentations fake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of majestie; yet all too little to change Aridew into Alexander : for heedid nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee faw others doe. For beginning of the bulinesse Polysperchen commanded that Dinarchia should be tortured and slaine: This was enough to testific his heartie assection to the Commonaltic of Athens, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their lake: whose Embaffadours he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answere to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, Photion and the rest 20 were pronounced guiltie of treason; but to give sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours fake) referred vnto the ( itie of Athens, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to Athens, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of Photion, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Fine and fortic times had hee beenechofen Gouernour of the Citic, neuer fuing for the place, but fent for when he was ablent : fo well was his integritic knowne, and fo highly valued cuen of fuch as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, 30 and neuer unfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of having followed his counfaile: nor any private man of having trufted his word. Philip of Alacedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did Alexander, who (besides other signes of his loue) fent him two hundred talents of filter, and offered to bettow you him of four Cities in Africany one which hee would choose. But Phocion refused these & other gifts, howfocuer importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest pouertie: wherein he lived above fourescore yeares, and then was compelled by the vnjust judgement of wicked men to drinke that poifon, which by just judgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of Athens, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthic man resembling the vertue of their 40 Ancients.

### A. X V I.

of POLYSPERCHON his vaine expedition against CASSANDER.



Ot long after these things were done, Cassander with such forces as Antigonus lent him, entred into Piraus; which newes drew Polyfperchon head-long into Attica, with a great Armie, but so ill victualed, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only hee had giuen some impediment to the enemie; who not contented with defending what he held beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abrode. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to drive Caffander out of Athens, hee left his sonne Aexander, with fuch number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victualls,

to withstand his further incroching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into Pelaponne us, to make the Countrie fure to himselfe, wherein Cassander had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponnefus were fuch, as they had beene in other parts of Greece. First, he beganne to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratie, or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by Antipater beene made Rulers, should be either flaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: the vulgar fort being very readie to feale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in fubiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which withed well to Cassander, especially they of Megalopolis, on whom Poly (perchan meant to inflict an exemplaric punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. Megalop lis had in it fifteene thousand seruiceablemen, well furnished of necessaries, and resolued to endure the worst. And neede there was of fuch refolution. For Polysperchon comming thither with all his powerdid so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raifed up an inner wall, to beare out the next affault. The Affailants having failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, 20 and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townssimen perceiping their drift prepared boards driven through with long nailes, which they yled as gall-throps, bellowing them fleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beafts were to paffe. Neither did they fet any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine fight-armed men to beat upon their fides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were inftructed by fome that had learned the manner of that fight in the Afan Warres. Of these prouisions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trufted) either forely hurt, or driven back vpon the Alacedonians, whom they trampled vinder fect. Poly/perchon came as ill fur-nisht for long abode to Megalopolis, as before to Ashens. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee for fooke the fiege, with fome loffe, and much dilhonour; leaning fome part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this he fent Clittee, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with Arideus that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut off all fuccour which might come to the enemie out of Alia. Callander also sent his whole Fleet under Nicanor, who taking along with him some ships of Antigonus, came to the Proportis, where hee fought with Clium, and was beaten. But Antigonus hearing of the ouer-throw gathered together the thips that were escaped, and manning them very well fent out Niemor againe, affu- 40 ring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee fent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee wasted over the Straights in small Veffells by night; these before day-light setting upon Clitus, draue his men, that lay fecurely on the Land, head-long into their ships ; in which tumult Nicanor arriving did affaile them fo luftily, that few or none escaped him.

This loffe at Sea, together with his bad fucceffe by Land, brought Polyfperchon into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudie decrees; but when the execution was referred to his owne fword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themfelues, and was not able to give them protection against the enemie which lay in 50 their bosomes, came to agreement with Cassander; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all thinges to the same state wherein Antipater had left them. The like inclination to the partie of Casander, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly revolted vnto him; as to an industrious

CHARA . S. 17. of the Historie of the World.

man, and likely to prequire in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie fet in a combultion, vicalie to be quenched; which prefented vitto Antigonus an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselie Lord of Alia.

### A. XVII.

ANTIGONVS feekes to make him felfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treates with EVMENES, who difappointeth him. Phrygia and Lyata Borneby ANTIGONYS.



NTIGONVS had in Antipaters life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himfelfe the vtmoit benefit that hee might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire feafon for advancement of his purposes came the newes of Antipaters death; euen then, when all

the busines in Pifelia was dispatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, faue onely the continuance of the flege of Nora; a small thing of it felfe, butas hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. Eumenes lay in that Fort of Aora, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manitelly lubicit, would in continuance of fome yeares (which hee might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Caltle, his men and horses might grow fickly and unferuiceable: which made him to practife many denifes of keeping them in hearth and luftie. But when he had continued thut vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good paffe, and he was cafed of his cares by Antigonus himfelfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonia knowing the great infliciencie of Eumenes, and confidering his fidelitie she wed ynto Perdice, is, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in mannaging those high designes, wherein he doubted not 30 that hee should bee withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to Eumenes by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promiting to make him a greater Lord than ever hee had beene, and the next man to himfelfe, if things fell out as hee defired : in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, hee might at his good pleafure iffue fafely out of Nora, and enjoy his perfect libertic. Eumenes perming the forme of the oath perceived the meaning of Antigonia; which was rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the Decorum, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding wordes and fumme of all 40 the rest were such, as tied him fast onely to Antigonis, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vafeemely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the mastrie; and being assured that his voluntaric affiftance, which way focuer hee gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would be not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of inlargement which might perhaps beelong in comming; but feeming to bee well agreed with Antigonus thee prepared to give vp his Holde and depart. As for the oath it felfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough for fuch personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in te-50 stifying their Allegeance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Wora, liked his wordes, and gaue him leaue to put in Olympias, and the children of According binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and so he de-

Antigoniss had taken upon him, as foone as hee came downe to the Sea-fide, to

remone some of the Governours of Provinces, behaving himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had received of Antipater, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to instifie his proceedings. For if Polyperchen might lawfully hold the Protector flip, which the old man doing on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, asalegacie, without confent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not hee himselfe aswell retaine the Leiutenant flup of Asia. that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by Antipater, who had power to ordaine what should seeme convenient whilest hee lived, not to dispose of thinges that should happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: 10 if any were not herewith fatisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thoufand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answere them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to refish him, was Arideus Gopernour of Phrygid; who fortified the Townes of his owne Province, and fought to haue wonne Cycless, a faire Hauen Towne, and feated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon Antigonus tooke occasion to commaund him out of the Countrie. Aridam was so farre from obeying him, that he feht forces to releiue Eumenes. Neuerthelesse finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long relitance, he tooke such companies as hee could draw ealong with him, and so passed over into Europe, to complaine at the Court. The like for- 29 tune had Clitus, who ruled in Lydia, and fought the like remedie of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good wordes) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath alreadie beene declared.

### a. XVIII.

ANTIGONVS pursues EVMENES, EVMENES having authoritie from the Court raifeth great warre against ANTIGONVS in defence of the Rotal boufe.



NTIGONV shauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of Asia the leffe, was able to have entred Macedon, and feifed upon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may feeme) for some of these reasons. It would have bred as much icalousie in Caffander, as feare in Polysperchon, which might have brought them

to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the Protectorship was fuch, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to flunne, then to purfue. Befides all this, it was 40 manifest that Eumenes would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Roiall house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not stand well affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and withan Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great hast toward cilicia, hoping to suppresse him before hee should bee able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dad master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commiffion fent vnto him from thence to raife an Armie, and ma'e warre vpon Antigonus, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouer- 50 nours of Prouinces, requiring them to give affiftance to Eumenes, and bee ordered by his direction : especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the Argyrastides, or filter-theelded bands, commaundement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and suc

hundred horse, before this authoritie was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight with Antigonus in defence of the Roiall bloud. Olympias had written to him, deliring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the sonne of Alexander; and in the meane time to give her his advice, in that which Poly/perchon required of her: for shee was desirous to returne into Maredon, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. Eumenes therefore counfelled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till fuch time as he could bring the warre to a good iffue; which done, hee promifed that his faith and care should not bewanting to the feed of Alexander.

Strange it is to confider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could bee found among the Noble-men, in whom Alexanders mother, wives, and children, might repole firme confidence, fauing onely this Eumenes, a stranger to the Macedonian bloud, borne at Cardis, a Citie of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to trauaile as farre as Persia, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to resist

the enemies that purfued his hecles.

XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes ARIDEVS and EVRYDICE, whom shee cruelly puts to death.



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Ow, forasmuch as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in ces didentermedale; and great attention berget the parts of Asia, but Macedon it felfe, which brought a new face vnto the parts of Asia, but Macedon it felfe, which brought a new face vnto the parts of Asia, but the extinction of the rotal house of Philip and Alexanthe State, by the extirpation of the roiall house of Philip and Alexander: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the parti-

30 culars of the warre it felfe, to shew breisly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what pallions they were drawne into those courses, which ouerthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in Macedon it selfe, about the maine controugrife of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have beene depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bid-

Polysperchan, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome, and become Gouernour to a King 40 of his owne making.

Eurydiee the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her hulband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme, till another were growne old enough to lit in it, grew acquainted with Cassander, who hated the memory of Aexander, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in mind, the danger wherein his family had beene through Alexanders malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by Alexander, who knocked his head against a wall, for deriding one, that adored him after the Persian maner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him resolue, both to suppresse the linage which hee hated, 30 and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weake husband, or

by taking her to be his owne wife. The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who raigned over all, so as they might raigne in their feuerall Countries, and establish their authoritie in such wife, that it might not be taken from them.

Among

Among these, Prolomie and Antigonia were well enough alreadie, if their ambition would have fuffered them to lee it.

Pitho and Seleucus lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, Pencestes and some others with much adoe hardly made relittance, vntill fuch time as Eumenes came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with flepdames) hated the children of her hulband by his other wives. It was thought that shee had given poylon to Arideus, which failing to take away his life had much impaired both his bodie and wittes. Now the confidering, that Eumenes was too full of businesse to come home 10 fo foone as the withed that he thould; and that Cassander daily prevailed in Greece; thought it the best way to ioyne with Poly/perchon, and set vp, as King, her Nephew Alexander, the sonne of Roxane, removing Arideas before Cassander were able to defend him. To this intent the procured men among her kindred in Epirus, and fo tooke her way towards Polyffer chon, who ioyning with her entred into Macedon,

Eurydice hearing these newes wrote veric carnellly to Cassander, praying him to fet alide all other bulinesse, and come to succour her. Shee herselfe by entreatie, gilts and promifes, grew to her partie as many of the Macedonians as flee could, vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her went boldly forth against olympias, and the Traitour Polysperchan.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their owne hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the renolt of those who followed Eurydice. For as foone as the Macedonians beheld Olympias; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. Eurydice finding herselfe thus for saken, sled towards Amphipolis, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

O'ympias having obtained this victoric without bloud, thought that all thinges would fucceed as callly, and that vpon the same considerations for which they had tefused to beare Armes against her, the Macedomans would not sticke to maintaine her, what soeuer her proceedings were. Having therefore that vp Arideus and his 30 wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, sheefed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare least the people should haue commiferation of him, that had raigned almost live yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she delivered Arideus to some barbarous Thracians, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to Eurydice shee sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poylon, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like prefents might one day bee fent to Olympias, yeelded her necke to the halter, having spent her last curses not invaine. Nicanor the brother of Casimder, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did olympias then choose out, all whom shee commaunded to be flaine. His brother Iolans that was alreadie dead and buried, flice 40 accused of poyson given to Alexander; and thereupon caused his Tombe to bee throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroade. The Macedonians wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contrarie to Antipaters charge giuen on his death bed, called this outragious woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

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X X.

How CASSANDER Wasrenenged upon OLYMPIAS.

The great expedition of CASSANDER. OLYMPIAS thuts her felfeinto Pydna, where CASSANDER beslegeth her. ÆACIDES King of Epirus, comming to Juccour OLYMPIAS, is forfaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.



ASSANDER at that time laic before Tegea, in Peloponne [ue; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, hee never staied to take the Citie, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though Alexander the sonne of Posysperchon were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of Tegea, hee willed his af-

20 fociates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne, and so in all hast he tooke his journie toward Macecian, carried headlong with the greedie delire of justreuenge. The Atolians had taken the Straights of Thermopyle, in favour of the Queene and Polysperchon, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which hee transported his Armie into Theffalie. There hee divided his companies, appointing fome under Callas, a fubtile Captaine, to hold Polysperchen builed, who then lay incamped neare to Perbabia; with the rest he marched directly against Olympias. Shee, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignitie, tooke more care now to appeare Maiefficall, than to make herfelfe strong. To this end 30 shee made a solemne progresse to Pydna, a Sea-towne, and well senced, having in her companie all the flowre of the Court especially the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, and her yong fonne Alexander, heire to the great Alexander, by his grandmothers designement: who, during his minoritie, kept the Soueraigne power inher owne handes. But all this pompe ferued to little vie, against the violence of the enemie, that foone presented himselfe before the wals; onely it fed the befored with a vaine hope of fuccour, that would from all partes arrive, to refeue persons of their qualitie. And hereof there foone appeared faire likelihood, which as foone vanished, and went away in smoke.

For Lacides King of Epirus, made great hast to bring succour to Olympias, his co-40 fen, with whom Deodamia his daughter was also thut vp. Neuertheleffe, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine paffages taken in the way by Cassanders men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed and the obstinate refusal of the Armie, brakeout at length into fuch termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the multitude; his authoritie, with which he thought to have prevailed your them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to for fake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries, a banished man; his people ioyning with the

enemie, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was closed up straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that 10 neither any could iffue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe bee conucied into it; but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable feruice being done there, whilft great actions were mannaged abroade.

t. 11

A continuation of OLYMPIAS her storic. POLYSPERCHON defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS yechsto CASSANDER.

 $N_{\it Eumenes}^{Ow}$ , though order of time require it, that wee should rehear se the doings of  $\it Eumenes$  and  $\it Antigonia$  in this place, leaving Olympus yet a while to the hower of her destinie, which growes the fatter you her, because thee may discerne it comming; yet that we may not bee compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, 10 by inferting her Tragedie in the midft of things, not manifefully coherent with it; we will heere (as elfewhere wee have done and elfwhere mult) continue to an end one Historie, that we may not be therewith distracted, when wee shall come to the rela tion of another. All the hope of the befeiged, remaining in Poly/perchen, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had beene, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirot. For Callas, who was fent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with monie, leauing him within a little while so flenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other bulinesse of warre, than a swift retrait. When famine had so farre prenailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead careasses of their fellowes, 20 and fawdust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the souldiers obtain ning the Queenes leaue; (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, vecided themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Countrie. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wel-willers, that fuch as had referred themselves to the cuent, came in a pace and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortality was so great in the Towns, that the living were such poyloned with the noylome lent of the dead; Olympias bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that shee had: wherein her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be evnto her as a house of torment, and a laile, 3% out of which thee thould not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kinde of life, shee offered composition; and with much labour hardly obtained of Gasander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, Pella, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to Caffander. Amphipolis did fland out: for Ariflonus, to whom Olympias had giuen charge of fuch forces as were left abroad in the Countrie, taking courage from the fuccesse of some pettic services wherein hee had prevailed, beganne to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But Olympias, to winne Cassanders fauour, very ear- 40 neftly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. Hee did so; and prefently after was killed by his private enemies, that were fet on by Caffander, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke in

#### † III.

The death of OLYMPIAS, and her Condition.

Hen Opmpin had now heard for rowfull tidings of all her friends, thee har 50 felfe was called into queftion, and accufed in an affembly of the Office is mans, for the murthers (they were fo filled in her affliction, which in time of profession for the fell diplice) by her committed. There was thee, (being not heard nor called to fpeake) condemned to die. The futte was commenced and profession

red against her, by the kindred of those whom she had flaine. But it was at Casander initigation; who (to halten the execution) fent her word that he would furnish her with a thip and other necessaries, to saue herselfe by flight: which when she retuled, faying that thee would plead for herfelfe, and tell her owne tale; hee diffembledno longer, but fent vnto her fuch men as hated her most, who tooke away her miferablelite. Shee was daughter and fifter vnto two Kings of Epirus, wife and mother vnto two the mightielt Kings of that or many other ages, a ftout Ladie, and of vnreproueable chastitie, but her ambition was boundlesse; her hatred vnappeasable, and her furie in reuenge most vinwomanly. Her peruer se conditions made her hulband feeke other wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and 10 them. She was thought prinie toher husbands death; after which, very cruelly the flew his late wife Cleopatra, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaftly furie broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her some Alexander (otherwise louing her well) forbad her to meddle in the gouernment of Macedon. But God, more seuere vnto cruell Tyrants, than onely to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue and fulfil the rest of her wickedneffe; (which was his justice upon the adulteries of Philip, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which hee rewarded her malice by returning it vpon her

#### t. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funerall of ARIDEVS and EVRYDICE; and feckes to make himselfe King of Alicedon.

A Fter her death, Callinder gaue honourable buriall to Aridem and Eurydice, among their Progenitours, Kings of Assedon. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatneffle, he married the Ladie Thefidonica, whom he had taken at Pydas, being the daughter of King Philip by an other of his wives; that by her hee might have some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed Roxane, and heryong sonne, to close prison, remoning thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his same, and purchase love, hee built a Citic, called by his owne name Callindria, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He readined likewise Tables in Greece, and reforced it vnto the old jinhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeares wast, being vtterly razed by Alexander. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of Tables, whereunto all Greece voluntarily contributed, he grew so fit ones, that few remained enemies vnto him, and they, with much labour, hardly could ress thim. Leauing him therefore daily prevailing in Greece, we will returne to them, who contended in Assa

greater forces.

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CHAP.

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Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS got in Afia.

ð. I.

The journie of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with thofe that toyned with him.



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MENES, having joyned vnto his companie the Argyra/pides, made haft into the Eafterne parts to take polleffion of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against antigenus. He tooke his journey through Calefyria and Phanicia, hoping to reclaime those Prouinces, vsurped with the reit of Syria (as hath beene shewed) by 20 Ptolomie, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haft of his paffing forward was too great, his Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides

all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leffe effectuall. The Captaines of the Argyrafiides were fo froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their sidelitie was fo vniteadie, that he might have more easily dealt with open Traitours. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authoritie by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee 20 fained, that Alexander had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely in a rich paulion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if Alexander himfelfe had beene prefent at their confultations. Thus hee freed himfelfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no affurance. Yet when Ptolomie requested them, & Antizonus bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without confidering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, fending before him the Kings warrant; which Pytho and Seleucus refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authoritie, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Armie, for the death of Craterus, Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to relie vpon their affistance, who flood otherwise af- 40 fected than his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perfivation, fought passage by strong hand, through the Countrie of Babylon, in such wife, that Selenens, having in vaine affaired to hinder him, by opening the fluces of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as defirous to be ridde of him. Thus he came to Peuceftes and the reft of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, because of the differences between Pytho, Seleneus, and themselues. Yet the contention about superioritie, grew very hot among them; enery one finding matter enough, to feed his owne humour of felfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice of affembling in one paulion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being fure to follow that which Enmenes propounded, who was both wifeft in giving advice, and 50 best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes hee wonne to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

CHAP.4. S.2.3. of the Historie of the World.

How ANTIGONVS, comming to fet upon EVMENES, was drinen off with loffe.



NTIGONVS, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Province of Sufa, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he removed out of Mefor otamia, where hee had wintered; and taking to him Pitho and Seleucus, with their

men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battaile. Eumenes had fortified the Cattle of Sufa, and was retired backe toward Perlia, keeping the River of Tigris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riuer were well garded, and good espiall kept vpon Antigonus, to obserue which way he tooke. Before he came to Tigris it felfe, he was to paffe ouer Coprates, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he fought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge vpon Tigris, came with a thouland horse, and soure thousand foote, to see their demeanour; and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and 20 draue them headlong backe into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned weriefew escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeeled themselves prisoners, in fight of Antigonus, that was not able to releiue them. This loffe made Antigonus glad to fall off; and the heate of that Countrie in the dog-daies, breeding difertes inhis Armie, by which many perilhed, caused him to remoue as farre as into Media. So he tooke Pithon with him; (leaving Selenciss to before the Castle of Su/a) and seeking to goe the nearest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmilhes, flew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in Media, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

Of EVNENES his cunning. A battaile betweene him and ANTIGONVS.



Fter his departure, Eumenes with his affociates fell into confultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would have had them to enter vpon those Provinces, which Antigonus had left be hind tim; to which also the Captaines of the Argyraspides or Silverhells were verie inclinable, as defiring to draw neater to Greece. But Peuceftes, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries,

had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to divide it selfe in-

When they came into Persia, Pencesses ruling there, seasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. Enmenes, perceiuing whereunto those doings tended, suffred him awhile to keepe good cheare, till the time of warre drew neere. Then did he faine an Epiftle, directed, as from Orontes Gouernor of Armenia, to Peucefres himselfe: The purport wherof was, that Olympias had vanquished Cassander, and fent over a great Armie vnder Polysperchon, to jovne with Eumenes.

59 These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine joy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willing neffe to obey Eumenes, by whom was the likelicst apparance of their preferment, wherein they dealt wifely, hee being farre the most fufficient Commaunder, as they found soone after. For when Antigonus, comming out of Media drew necre vnto them, Eumenes by some mischance was fallen sicke, and Xxxx 3

fame to be carried in a litter; the Armie marched in verie bad array, and was likely to have beene forced to take battaile in that diforder. But Eumenes, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his litter, and vpon the fodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that Antigonia, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refraine from giving him descrued commendations. Yet he did not ceale to promife great rewardes to the Captaines, and all forts of men, if they would for lake Eumenes: which hopes deceiuing him, hee came to the triall of a battaile. Eumenes had more Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, hee was inferiour in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable fuccesse, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and 10 of the night following. Yet the victoric was vicertaine. For Eumenes could not force his men to lie farre from their carriages: by which meanes Antigonus (who had a more absolute commaund ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the figne of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies, crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater figne of victorie had Eumenes. For he abode ftill in the fame place and not onely buried his men verie honourably, at great leifure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas Antigonus was glad (having tarried but one day) to fleale away by night, and returne into Media, from whence he came.

#### ò. IIII.

Of diverse stratagems practifed by ANTIGONVS, and EVMENES, one against the other.

Hus did the warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having flout Souldiers, and skilfuil Generals: but the fide which had nitherto preuting, companies to the equall authoritie of many, from purfuing all advantages to the

best. Antigonus grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to 30 repaire himselse hee could find no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre afunder, so that if hee could fuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diffresse. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine dayes journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passeable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring twentie fine dayes journey, hee for looke, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because hee would come vndiscouered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not have them descried a farre off. This commaundement had beene well observed fourc or fine dayes, 40 when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bolde to cherish themselves, being neare to their waves end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to Pencestes, and other Captaines, they were so assonished with the sodaine danger, that in all hast they betooke themselues to slight. But Eumenes, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promifing to make Antigonis march leafurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their mentogether. They could scarce beloeue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of 50 mountaines, looking toward the Campe of Antigonus: there he chose a convenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great flore of fires in fundric places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a forrowfull spectacle to Antigonis, who thought himfelfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare least hee should bee compelled

compelled to tight, whileithis men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore he resolued to turne aside, & take the way to such places, as might better ferue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readie Eumenes would be vpon all advantages. But after a while, confidering that no enemie flirred about him, he began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some juhabitants of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom hee learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hil-tops. 10 It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had beene so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not bee forced without much bufineffe, and long flay. All the Armie was come, faue onely Endamus, Captaine of the Elephants, who; besides those beastes, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his companie. Antigonus hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. Eudamus being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and fo to defend himselfe as well hee could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multi-20 tudes were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all iides they received woundes, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpested to therefeue; and charging the affailants upon the backe, draue them to fecke their owne fafetie by speedie flight. These were sent by Eumenes; who though hee knew not what his adversarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittell for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the re-

The conspiracie of PEVCESTES and others, again & Ev-MENES his life.



Y these meanes Eumenes wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowleged a most expert Generall, and well worthie of the chiefecommaund. But *Pewcelles*, and the other Captaines, guiltie of their owne much infufficiencie, were to transported which they could now no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held they could now no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held they might finde meanes to mur-

40 communication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might findemeanes to mur-

Surely, it is great jniuffice to impute the mischiefe, contriued against worthie men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing : For, though it often happen, that fmall vices doe ferue to counterpoyle great vertues; (the fense of cuill being more quicke and lasting, than of good ) yet hee shall bewray a verie foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisedome, to find good reason of the cuills, done to vertuous men, which often times haue no other cause than their vertue it selfe. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtelle, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and 50 carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secretillaffection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrewhim, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not bee flaine, before the battaile were fought with Antigenus, wherein they confessed that it flood best with their safetie, to bee gouerned by his directions. Of this trea-

CHAP.4. S.G. of the Historie of the World.

fon, he was quickly aduertifed by Eudamus, to whom hee had done many pleafures, and by some others of whom he yied to borrow monie when he needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of loofing their owne. Confidering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of fecret: which done, hee revolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number. than in worth. How things at that time flood in Macedon and Greece, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to feeke their 10 heloe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with Antigonus, had beeneagainst his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that hee forbare, either to loose the battaile willingly, or to flie into Cappadecia, and make shift for himselfeamong his old friendes. At length hee refolued to doe his best against the common enemie, and afterwardes to looke to himfelfe as well as he might.

# Q. VI. The last battaile betweene Anticonvs and EVNENES.

He Souldiers, especially those old bandes of the siluer-shields, finding Eumenes perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in arraie; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers fa-

ces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischeinously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet hee ordered the battaile fo well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly 20 faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horseman from the side of Eumenes, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of Antigonus, That their wickednesse, in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, asit well descrued. This was not spoken in vaine. For the Silver-shrelds were men of threescore or seauentie yeares olde, strengthned more by continual exercise, than decaied by age, and excelling in courage, as having paffed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore Antigonus his men (who had often beene beaten by them, and were now to tric their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Auncient and best regarded of all Alexanders Souldiers) grew verie pensiue, 40 and advanced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and searing that the threatnings vitered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therfore himselfe and his sonne Demetrius in the right wing, and committing the left wing to Pithon, he did fet forward couragiously against the enemies, that were readie to give him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him Pencefles, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of Antigonius, meaning both to prevent the Traitours his Companions of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and so (withall) to give proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, oppolite vnto Pithon, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, and (which was enough at fuch a time) obedient : commaunding him to protract the

fight, and make a leilurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other fide. So they joyned verie fiercely; Antigonia, labouring to make himfelfe mafter of all Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to winne fuch a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might give him leifure and opportunitie to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of Antigonas, being, euen in their owne opinions, farre interious to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently deseated by the Silver finelds, who flew about fine thousand of them, looling of their owns, not one man. But in horse, Enmenes was so over-matched, that he could not repell Antigonus, who prefled him very hard, but was faine to fland wholy your defence. Yet in his courage wrought to well by example, among his followers, that the enemie could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill fuch time as Peucejles, with one thousand fine hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did Eumenes desperatly rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto Antigonus himfelfe. And though hee failed of his purpo ex yet with great flaughter he did so beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspense, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandie mould, through the trampling of horfes, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloude of dust; as hin-20 dered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. Antigonus finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscouered beyond Eumenes his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, flenderly garded, (for that the whole bodie of the Armie lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had Peaceffes retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not onely have defended them, but peraduenture have furprifed those which came to surprise them & so have done as good a peece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and Eumenes was so ouer-laboured both in bodie and minde, that he could not give an eye to e-30 nery place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened to, that the Elephants meeeting together, those of Antigonus had the better hand, whereupon Eumenes, finding himselfe enery way ouer-charged, began to give backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order; to the other fide of the battaile, where Philip (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loffe. The Antigomans had felt fo much of Eumenes that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would have done.

The loffe of the carriages was reported vnto him, as foone as he had any leifure to heare how thinges went, whereupon hee presently ordered his men for a fresh 40 charge, and fent for Peucefles that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trufted, not onely to recouer their owne goods, but to inrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. Peucestes not onely refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from fuch dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armics, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet Antigonus conceined hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horfemen, he waited upon Eumenes apart of his way homewardes, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe heecommitted to Pithon, willing him to fet vpon the Silver shields in their retrait; which 70 yethe forbare to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein Antigonus had not fo much the better in horse, as the worse in foot : but the spoile which hee got, by surpriting his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loffes,

How EVMENES was betrayed to A NTIGONVS, and flaine.



V MENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the Silver-fhields extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheare them vp, and put them in hope of recourring all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so crushed the enemie, that hee had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much

leffe able to drawe their Cartes after him, through that great Wilderneffe, ouer the

high mountaines.

But these perswasions availed nothing. Pencestes was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; & the Souldiers had no defire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore Teutamus, one of the two Captaines of the Silver-shieldes, (who had in former times readily contented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner Antigenes) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making him selfe great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with Antigonus, requesting him to reflore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their feruices in the warres of Philip, and Alexander.

Antigonus, as a fubtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreatic performe a great deale more than they promifed; and therefore he louingly entertained the mellengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they defired, if they would put Eumenes into his handes, by whom they were feduced to make warre against him. This answere pleased them so well, that they forthwith denised how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than forrow of their losse, which they faid they would redeeme by another fight; in the middeft of this goodly talke they leapt upon him, caught hold of his fword, and bound him fast. So they ha- 30 led him away; and stopping their cares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so farre, as to loofen one of his handes and let him kill hin felfe, but brought him aliue (that was their owne Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campetosee him, was so great, that Antigonus was faine to fend a gard of horsemen and Elephants, to keepe him from being fmothered, whom he could not fodainly refolue either to kill or faue. Verie few they were that fued for his life; but of thefe, Demetrius the fonne of Antigonus was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if hee were faued, he would foon be the chiefe in great reputation, for his great abilitie. So 40 after long deliberation, Antigonus cocluded, that it was the fafest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it awhile in his own power to reuerfe the fentence, as deliring (if it might be) to have him line hisfriend; haft of other bufineffe made him doe it by the fword.

To this end came all the travailes of the worthic Generall, Eumenes; who had with great wisedome, fidelitie, and patience, laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie, but more notable was his government of himfelfe in all her changes. Aduerlitie neuer leffened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, 50 without full power to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by Gaspar de Collignie, Admiral of France, in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which enfued foone after in the maffacre of Paris. That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus

## CHAP.4. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

Junigonus himselfe gaue to the body of Eumenes honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserued vengcance. One chiefe Captaine of the Silver Speilas he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he flew; and to the whole multitude of the Silver-flields, that had betraied fo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carie them into farre Countries, under pretence of warres; but with a prinie charge, to confume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate upon the shoares of Greece and Macedon.

### ð. VIII.

How ANTIGONYS flew PITHON, and occupied MEDIA. How hee removed Governours of Provinces, and made himselfe Lord of Perlia, carrying away PEVCESTES.



He two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the relt of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentiuely bent vnto the businesse ensuing. Pithan began to consider his owne deservings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefely maintained by the strength and riches of his Pro-

uince. Beides, he thought himselfe as good a man as Antigonus, vnlesse it were in the fouldiers opinion, which he judged casie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore foared not to affay them with great liberalitie. But in following this course, hee was driven by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were unfecret, and others, bearing him no fincere affection. Thus was his purpose discoucred to Antigonia, who (nothing like to Pithon) diffembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diffention betweene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower Asa. These reportes, comming 39 daily to his cares, did finely delude Pithon. By his greatnesse with Alexander, his authoritie in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Gouernour; and the loue of the fouldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offenfiue warre. But what neede had he to vie the fword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtain more than his owne asking? Therefore hecame as foone as he was fent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leffe than to yeeld to any fuch division. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out ofhand. For antigonus, having begunne with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe 40 indifferently all that flood in his way: but swamme carelesty through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in Media, to order the Province; and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this, he marched into Persia, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of Ala. There began he to show how well he understood his owne might inesse. For heplaced and displaced, at his pleasure, Gouernours in all Provinces; leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting fuch as lay too farre off to bee 50 diflodged eafily.

Pencefies, who ruled in Perfis, thought with good cheare to redeeme old offences; but was deceived; having to doe with one, that could not be taken with fuch baites: be was carried away, and feafted with goodly words of promife, that neuer tooke ef-Met. Thus he, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine)

the tortune of his enemie; after which he lived a contemptible life, till hee died obfeurely a man forgotten.

How SELEVCUS mus chased out of Babylon, by ANTIGONUS. The great riches of ANTIGONVS.

ELEVER'S was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to Antigonus, and to now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward h.m, by making the Captaine of the Callle of Sufa to meete him on the way, rendring vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This

offer was fo great, that Intigonus (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleiue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, torteare so good a moode should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of Alexander, with the lewels of the Perfian Kings, which, added to his former flore of money, made up twentie fine thou fand talents. Having all this, he might well account himselfe a happie man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent, to leaue no 20 Countrie behind his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soucraigne Lord. Comming to Bibylon, he was entertained by Selenens with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with prefents, befeeming the maiestic of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the reuenues of that Province. This demaund Seleneus held vnreasonable; faying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Province, which was given vnto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerfull; who veged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued Antigonus to presse him thus, but 20 onely the delire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should find fuch iffue, as Pithon and Peucejles had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, he conucied himselfe away, and fled into Ptolomies Dominions, deliring him to protect him from the violence of fuch a man, as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equals. Antizonus was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with Selenens for them hee wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his defire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the Childens, brought a firange prophecie to Anigonus, bidding him looke well to 40 him fel fe, and know, that if Sciencus did escape his hands, hee should recover Balylon, yea, winne all Asia, and kill Antigonus in battaile. Easie belieuers may give credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, Anizonus rather should have hanged those Chaldeans, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they fay that he did) after him, whome the destinies preserved for so great purposes.

When hee had fetled things at Babylon, he tooke his journie into Cilicia, where he wintred. There hee tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearely

income to amount vnto cleauen thoufand Talents.

CHAP.

### CHAP. V.

Of the great civill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS
Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTI-GONVS. Their demands and his answere.



His great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonius dreaded, enuied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. Ptolomie, Caffander, and Lysimachus, had privily combined themsclues together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practifes hee had fome notice; the good entertainement giuen vnto Seleueus, giuing him fefficient caufe of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them feuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their

love toward him, that would be readie to requite them with the like. The cold anfiveres which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomie; it being likely that a good armic should prevaile more than a faire mellage. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victoric, obtained against Eumenes their common enemie, and the honor that he had therby gotten. In which 20 war, for a fruch as they being his Confederates must have endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrarie faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherin they had been all aduenturers. Wherefore they defired him, that making betweene them all an equall divition, of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing casie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best bee to every ones liking, if hee would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassander; and Phrygia, bordering vpon the Helle bont, to Ly imachus; for wheras his own Dominions were fo much extended Eastward by his late victorie, he might well spare some of those westerne Proninces, 40 to those that were seated in the West. As for Ptolomie, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Prouided alwaies, that Seleneus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driven so iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deep!y to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they mutt labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet bee able to redeeme peace when soeuer he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he fo weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of fuch b d friends, for feare only, least it should be taken from him perforce. Rato ther he hoped that he should be able to find them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profits of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeede they had alreadie fufficiently gained by him, if they could fee it, having by his meanes kept

their governments, where of they were like to be dispossed by Polysperchon, and the councell of estate in Macedon. But what meruaile was it, if they considered not how he had faued them, feeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging fuccour, he was by his meere bountie relicued, and enabled to get all that he now held? Cassader did not (faid he) in those daies command me to furrender Prouinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers fake) defired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemics: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now prefumes to threaten me. As for Selencus, how can he complaine of wrong, that durit not flay to pleade his right? Idid vie him well, but his confeience told him that he lo had deferued ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that Io curiously search in to my doings, confider well their owne, which fome of them can hardly infufie. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine Ptolomies proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

Q. I I.
The preparations and beginnings of the Warres.



Hen the Embassadors were dismissed with this answere, nothing was thought vpon but warre. Intigonus perceiuing that he should bee 20 inuaded from Europe, as soone as hee were entred into Syria; left his Nephew Ptolomie to guard the Sea-coasts, and hinder Cassander from landing in Alia: giving him also in charge, to drive out of Cappadocia

fome that were alreadic fent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and Cypres, not unfurnished of monie, to draw friends to his fide, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himselfethe strongest by Sca; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journie into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanes, which associated many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, having crected Beacons, and laid poll-horses throughout all Asia, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, 30 he inuaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to main-

Ptelomie lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their natural Lord : his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garrifons, better feruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemie. So Anigonus tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrie, and beganne to let great numbers of Artificers on worke in making fhips, which was one of his most carnest cares. In these businesses hee consumed a yearcand three moneths; notidly. For he tooke Joppe, and G.zza, which were yeelded vnto his diferetion, and well vsed. The strong Citic of Tyrus held out long, 40 but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not afleepe, whileft thefe things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Agypt, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to fland against Antigonus in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuerthelesse by Sea (where his enemie was as yet vnreadie) he fent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof Seleneus had the chiefe command.

Seleners passed with an hundred faile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Antigonus, and his Armie, to their no litle discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which 50 was then gouerned by many pettic Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to Piolamie; the rest were, by the Factors of Antigonus, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Agyptian with sharpe scele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called

alfo Caifander, but not the fonne of Antipater, how focuer by the painefull and learned writer Remerus Reineceius, he is by some ouer-fight, counted for the same) to declare for Ptolomic, and his Confederates, and bufily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby emoyed reft; but now hee threw himfelfe into dangerous warre, chooling rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certaine ruine, though fomewhat further distant. which would have ouer-whelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten all the reft.

ð. III.

Howeach partie fought to winne the afsiftance of Greece. ANTIGONVS his declaration Against Cassander. ALEXANDER the some of Polysperchonrenoiteth from ANTIGONVS, who had fet him up.



N the meane feafon all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vinto them the people of Greece, whose aide which way focuer it incined was of great importance. Herein at the first Anigomus sped so well by large estution of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedamonium, and other Pelopome fant, of whom he waged eight thou-

fand, and caused Polysperchon (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse on himselfe againe, and taking upon him the title of Captaine of Peloponnesus, to make head against Caffander.

These bopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make Caffander the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greekes and Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, That Cassander had very cruelly slaine Olympias, mother to the great A'cvander; and not herewith contented, had thut vp in close prison the poore Ladie Roxane, Alexanders wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a delire to make himfelfe King ouer the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie Theffalonics, Daughter to King Philip, a match 30 vnlit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to loyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, Fhilip, and Alexander, hee had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Philip, in a new Cittie by him built, and called by his owne name Casandria; and had reedified the Citic of Thebes, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of Alexander, For these reasons he erequired them to make a decree, that Castander should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie Roxane, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name sinigonus him seife was understood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece

good, but for the neede which he had of their affiftance. These things being decreed, Antigonus was perswaded, that not only the Greeks would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from Caffander; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfuil of all others to the Roiall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wife to be deceived with vaine shewes. His undertaking for the libertie of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got casic beliefe, in regard of his prefent hatred to Caffander. Yet herein also Ptolomic strone to be as car-50 neft as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which affoorded men farre more feruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any

40 should be restored into freedome, this he did, not because he was carefull of their

Prouince of the Empire. And this indeed was the point, at which both fides aimed. Wherein Antigonus thinking to make all fure, deceived himfeife, not without great cost. For he gave to Alexander the sonne of Polysperchon fine hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in Peloponne [165, whereby it might appeare, that on his fide was meant

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nothing elfe, than what was openly pretended. In Peloponnesus, Cascanders men had, with much bloud-shed, gricuously afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what vse he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that Alexander came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt fuch as might feeme best affured : hee thought it a good part of wifedome, to furrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could 10 not affure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he sent one to deale with Alexander, about the matters in controuerfie; letting him know, that Antigonus was very skilfull in fetting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed, but only deliring to have them wearie themselues, whilest he was busied elswhere; that so at length he might finde oportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the flue hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponne us; it should be freely put into his hands by Caffander. Prouided, that hee should from thenceforth, renounce all confederacie made with Antigonius, and enter into a fure and faithfull league with Ptolomie, Cassander, and the rest of the Confederates. O- 20 therwife, hee might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in hafte be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so stilling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with Antigonus fince the beginning of these wars: among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, ( which hee did not carrie verie fecret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not slick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and fubject vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he loft both it and his life toge- 20 ther, by treason of the Sicyonians; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were foone after vanquilhed in battaile by Cratelipolis, Alexanders wife, a difcreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by feneritie taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and gouerned those places that shee held, with the love and commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

#### ð. IIII.

The Atolians rife against CASSANDER in favour of ANTIGONVS, and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of ANTIGONVS, viterly defeated by PTOLOMIES Lieutenant. In what termes the warre flood at this time. ANTIGONVS drawes nearer to Greece.



NTIGONVS, when he found, that with fo much monie he had only bought an enemie, beganne to raife troubles to Ciffander and his other aduerfaries, in Greece, by ftirring vp the Atolians against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the Greeke 50 Seas, by whose affistance he might bee the better able to deale with

Ptolomie, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the fuccesse which he expected. The Atolians, a factious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but fo, that commonly their games equalled not their losses. Cassander wanne some of their owne Countrie; fortified the Acarnanians against them, and compelled Glaudis, King of the Myrians, whom he vanquished in battaile, to for sake their side, and binde himfelte to beare no armes against Caffanders friends. On the other fide, as many pettie Hands were drawne to loyne with Antigonus:

fothe Fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who was Admirall to Antigonia, paffing along the coast of Asiatoward Cyprus, with an Armie vnder conduct of Perslaus marching on the shore for mutuall allistance, was quite overthrowne by Ptolomies Nauic. Polyclysus, who in Ptolomies behalfe had beene fent into Peloponnefus against 13 Alexander, finding no needs of his feruice in that Countrie, because Alexander was come ouer to their fide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these anigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprised. Hecrode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces hee placed in ambush, whereinto Perilaus falling was taken priloner, with many of his men, and many were flaine, making little reliftance. Theodatas the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haft to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whileft bee with all his Fleet were intenting only to that bolinesse, Polyelytus appeared at their backs, who as foone as he perceived their diforder, haftened about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings 20 caused Antigonia to deale with Ptolomie about some composition. First, hee sent Emballadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto the demands of Ptolomie : fo the parlie was vaine:

Hitherto each part feemed to have indifferently fped in the Warre, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did sceme to make amends to Ptolomie for his losses in Syria. Likewise the revolt of Alexander from Antigorius did equall the Confederacie, made betweene the Lioiuns and him; as also those pettieskirmishes, that had beene in Alia the leffe, to Antigonus his advantage, were fufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduer fe to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in

30 those parts by the two Callanders. Contrariwife, Antigonus valued the loffe of his men, monie, and ships, no otherwifethan as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eafily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby hee had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolomic his enemie, and strengthened the bodie of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceede as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies upon Asia the # leffe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to seare, left the people, being tied vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon small occalion result from him, to men of as honorable reputation as hee himfelfe. To preuent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be therein person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria, vnder his sonne Demetrius, to whom, being then but two and twentie yeares old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as affiltants, or rather as Directors: the reft he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

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HOW LYSIMACHUS and CASSANDER vanquished some enemies, raised against them by ANTIGONVS. The good successe of ANTIGONVS in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against CASSANDER.



He comming of Antigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had thort leifure to thinke vpon moletling him in A/ia: they themselves were held ouer hardly to their owne worke on amore that rebelled a-King of the *Thracians*, joyning with fome Townes that rebelled awere held ouer hardly to their owne worke on Europe fide. Seuthes a

gainst Lysimachus, brought also the bordering Scytbians into the quarrell. All these relied vpon Antigonius, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The Ætolians likewise tooke courage, and rose against Cassander, having Aacides, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their assistant. But Ly (machus gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee sodainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the Soythians, and wild Thracians, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouer-came Senthes; and following the heat 20 of his victorie, flew Paulanias in battaile, whom Antigonia had fent over with an Armie, and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had Philip, Cassanders Lieutenant, against the Atolians. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them; and after the victoric, fought againe with their forces joyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing Lacides that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the Ltolians out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seeke their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied Antigonus his adversaries 20 with painefull trauaile; after which they remained only fauers. Antigonus himfelfe at faire leifure wanne all Caria the whileft, and fent Armies into Peloponne fus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing libertie vpon all the Cities he tooke out of Cal. fanders hands. The whole Countrie of Peloponne (us (excepting Sievon and Corinth) with the Ile of Eubea, and many places of the firme Land were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or fuffer any thing for him, that had made fo cuident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the libertie indeede, which others promifed in idle words. Many States desirous of the fame benefit, would faine have thewed their good will; but they were kept in by Cassanders Garrisons, who was too wife to trust them look. Therefore Antigonius 40 made shew as if he would passe ouer into Macedon : by which terror he forced Casfunder to repaire thither in all hafte, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Townes of Greece to weakely guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselves, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they defired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of Antigonus, taking the advantage of Cassanders departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrifons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Theles, and let the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thebeshad not long before beene raifed out of her old ruines by the meere power of Cassander; of which act hee was accused by Antigonus, as if it had beene 50 fome hainous crime. Yet now the fame Antigonus winneth the Citie, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all measure,

than backward vpontheir miferable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

λ. V I.

Victories of PTOLOMIE by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which PTOLOMIE and SELEVEYS Wanne, against DEME-TRIVS the Sonne of ANTIGONYS.

253 the prelence general national factors in the to his affaires in the lower Afia, and Greece; to the delignes of his enemies, taking aduantage of his ablence, ruined the yery foundations of those great works in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceding hee had ouertopped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wanered betweene contrarie affections, inclining one while to Antizonus, another while faintly regarding their couenant with Prolomie, was vilited by an Egyptian fleet, wherewith Ptolomie, in his owne person, casily reduged them to a more settled order, putting fome to death, carrying others away priloners, and leating a Lieutenant of his own 20 appointment, Gouernour of the whole Countrie. With the same fleet he ranne alongh the Sea-coafts, walting a great part of Caria and Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to Cyprus. Demetrius the sonne of Antigonia, heating frequent reports of the miferies, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all hast out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire him felfe and his followers, in hastic seeking of one, that by lanchingout into the deepe could in a few minutes delude the labour of fo many dayes, if neede had forequired. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the fucceffe. For Ptolomie was gone, before Demetrius came into Cilicia. Neither was it cer-20 taine, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, hee would returne vpon those maritime Countries; or make toward Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeede gone into Agypt, and there with Seleucus was describing a royall Armie, which he leuied with all convenient speede, for the recoverie of Syria. This was more than Demetrius knew. Therefore he was faine to choole out of vacertainties the most likelyhood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for feruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrifons among the Cilicians. Hee had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in Spria, when the newes arrived of Ptolomies comming with a puissant Armie, to give him battaile. Hercupon he called to counfaile his principall friends, who admied to him to give way to the time, and expect some better oportunitie in the future : being a yong man, and weakely furnished with meanes to reful such ancient and famous Generalls, as Ptolomie and Seleucus. This counsaile seemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged menthat gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For Demetrius considering himselfe to beethe fonne of Antigonius, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightie enough to bee laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should move him to diarust his forces, as infufficient. His men were better exercifed than the enemies, and promifed as much as could be required. Therefore perfuading himfelfe, that fuch ods 50 of number, and of great fame, would rather ferue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, hee resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome journic ouer the Deserts of

Arabia.

à. VII. How SELEVC VS recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the higher Alia. The ERA of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which beganne with this Dominion of SELEVEVS.

Hile Ptolomie followed his businesse with such prosperitie, Selences tooke leaue of him, and went up to Babylon, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found to fauourable, that recourring first his owne Prouince, hee became at length mailer of the better part of Alexanders purchases.

This expedition of Scleucus was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small, to have beene placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into firong places, for him that alreadie stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Seleucus was enough; whom the Babylomans had found fo good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to relift him; 20 but left that worke to Antigonus his owne men, withing them, ill to speede. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by casie compulsion they left off, and followednew Enlignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and fubmitted themselues joyfully to Seleucus. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for enery man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should iffue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemie, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismaied the rest, that 30 they did no more than feeke to make good one firong place, wherein were kept the Holtages and Prisoners, that Antigonus held for his securitie in those quarters. This Cattle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leifure, against dangers, that were nor then apparent. Seleucus quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of Melopotamia and Bibylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for desence of those Provinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like : for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at Gaza, had opened vnto Seleneus the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. 49 Hauing now gotten what he fought; it behoued him to feeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small and his friends were ill able to lend himany more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his Armie in Media, joyning vnto himfelfe, out of Perfix and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to drive Seleueus out of that which he had wonne.

Against this power, Seleueus had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat aboue three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations having yeelded him many louing subjects, but few souldiers. There-50 fore when his enemies were neare to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himfelfe from the place where his reliffance was expected, into certaine marilhes not farre off; where he lay fecretly waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that hee had beene fled, and was the leffe carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine fecuritie, his campe was taken by furprize, the first night of his arrivall;

Protomie and Seleucus isluing out of so rich a Prouince, as Agypt, came so well prouided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great grieuance of the cuill way, when battaile was prefented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all things elfe they had the ods of Demetrius; of Elephants they were veterly unprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not feeke to breake vponit, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate feruices, by them performed that yeare, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine journies, or 15 long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein Demetriss was embattisled. The right beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part ftriuing more to winne honour, than to fatisficany other passion, as basing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of Demetriss, who vpon no necessitie would needes fight a battaile with disaduantage, beganne to appeare by his loffes. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, having more to loofe by her than he could get: but in this fight thee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the loffe of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beatls were in that kind 20 of warre hardly to be relifted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst Ptolomies men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were forcly hurt, and eueric one of them taken. This disafter caused the Horsemen of Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to fhrinke, and many of them to prouide for their fafetic by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius had strough so long in vaine to make his menabide, that hee himselfe was likely to be loft; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to Azotus, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part 30 of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his companie turned aside, hoping to faue fuch goods, as in half they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the fireets with fumpter Horses, and cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and letch, others, to carrie out what they had alreadic loden, Piolomies Armie brake in without relistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie al-

This victorie restored vnto Ptolomie the best part of Syria, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of Seleucus. For betweene Gaza and Phanicia no place offered relistance. In Calelyria 40 and Phanicia, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by Ptolomie. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given vp by the Inhabitants; Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutinic against their Captaine; who trufting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by Ptolomie, and honorably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

§. VII. 50

the Satrapa, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with fundric of the Captaines, were flaine he himfelfe was driven to flee for his life into the Deferts; and the whole Armie yeelded vnto Seleucus: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drewall Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord. without any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of Seleucus gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of The Kingdome of the Greekes, an accompt much vied by the tewes, Chaldrans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first years of this Ara. The authoritie of that great Astrologer Ptolomie, from which, there is Ptol. A'more. Lit no appeale, makes it plaine, that the flue hundred and nineteenth yeare of NABONAS-12

s AR, was the fourescore and two years of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is L.Gauric, in an- needleffe, than that note of the learned GAVRIEVS, That the first of these regres notal ad beam mas reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of four e hundred thirtie and cialit yeares after NABONASSAR. With the observation of the Saturne, recorded by Ptolomie, agrees (asit ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding the same Planet to have beene so placed in the signe of Virgo, as the Chaldeans had observed it, in the fame yeare; which was from Nabonassar the fine hundred and nineteenth; from Seleucus the fourescore and two yeare; and the last of the hundred thirtie and seuenth Olympiad. These observations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcufable. As for fuch occurrences 20 in Historie, and the yeares of fucceeding Princes (that are not feldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthic of note; that these yeares of the Greekes. were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appeares in the difference of one yeare, that is found betweene actions, related by the feuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the Machabees, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolomie, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeares diffance.

#### d. VIII.

How PTOLOMIE lost all that he had wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed out the Macedonians, by those that had beene subtect unto the Persian Empire. Of divers pettie enterprizes, taken in hand by ANTIGONVS and DEMETRIVS, with ill successe.



N a happie houre did Seleucus aduenture, to goe vp to Babylan, with fo few men as his friend could then well spare : for had he staied longer 40 vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, Ptolomie could have spared him none at all, Demetrius the fonne of Antigonus, having loft the battaile at Gaza, received from Ptolomie all his owne goods, his Pages, and Ser-

uants, in free gift, and there with all a curteous meffage, to this effect: That no perfonall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with Antigonus; but only termes of honour, wherein they would feeke to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of Ptolomie, did kindle in Demetries an earnest desire, of requiting him, with fome as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together 50 theremainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could bee spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts; and advertising his Father of his misfortune, befought him to fend a new fupply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour loft. Antigonus, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had faid,

That the victorie which Ptalomie wanne vpon a beardleffe Boy, should bee taken from him by bearded men : yet vpon defire that his sonne, whom hee tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, He was content to make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolomie hearing of Demetrius his preparations, did neuertheleffe follow his owne butinesse in Catefyris; thinking it enough, to send part of his Armie under Cilles his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been alreadic vanquished, when their forces were entire. This peraduenture would have beene sufficient: had not Cilles too much undervalued the power of fuch an Enemie. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, hauing lately faued his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of to baying a faire way at his back, than adventurous in fetting further forward, then vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this considence he passed on without all fear; as one that were alreadie Master of the field, and should meete with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When Demetrius was informed of this carelesse march; he tooke the lightest of his Armie, and made his journie with fuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon Cilles vnexpected, and was on the fuddaine, without any battaile, Mailer of his Campe: taking him aline, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repaire the credit of Demetrius, which his losse at Greathad almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of 20 Prolume, with equal fauor, in reftoring to him Cilles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich prefents. But neither was Ptolomie so weakned by this losse, nor Demetrius fo emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of consequence therevpon enfued. For Demetrics feared the comming of Ptolomie; and therefore he fortified himfelfe in places of aduantage: Ptolomic on the other fide was loath to engage himselfe in an enterprise, wherein he might perceive, that if the comming of Antigonus found himentangled, he should either be driven to make a shamefull retrait, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than alreadic he possessed.

Antigonias, indeede, was nothing flow in his way towards Syria; whither hee 30 made all halte, not fo much to relieue his fonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of agood Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serue to re-conquer all Syras: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, laied by his tonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of oreatest importance.

Prolomic had now leffe reason, to encounter with Antigonus, than before his comming to have affailed the Campe of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of confultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into Egypt; alleaging many good arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceive to bee agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against Perdice. s, in the like defensive warre, So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any fuddaine passion of seare: and he departed at faire leifure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that he left at his back, fell presently to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pecces: fo easie was it in those times, for the Captaine of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great 50 Prouince.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Bibylon, and many other Nations, (which the victoric of Alexander had ouer-runne, with to haffic a course, as gaue him not leifure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions for Superioritic betweene the King of Ifsel, and those of Damafeus; betweene Ægypt, and Babylon; Babylon, and Nimue; the Perfians, and many Countres; argue a more manly temper, to have once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, soughtfor, wonne, lost, and againe recovered, by contentious Masters; as sifthey had no title to their owne heads, but were born: to follow the fortune of the Mascelonians. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall consider, how the several States of Greese (many of which had never possible) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie: and how these proud Conquerors were so glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for searce of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries, had alwaics beene subject vinto the rule of Kings, or pettic Lords, whom the Babylonans and Persans long tince had rooted out, & held them in such bödage, that sew of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had viterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persans Empire: so that wanting within themselues all soueraign power, or high authoritie, the life and spirit of cuery Estate; then lay as dead, and were becaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the Persian Satrapa, or Princes of that Empire, did not when Darius was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captaines, after the death of Alexander, firincto lay hold yon those Provinces, which had many ages beene subject vnto them, and scarce source yeares in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conqueroor did cease to alfright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispessed them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherin, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesses the purchase of the Historic, than authoritic to construct it. For wee seldome reade, that any simall Kingdome, prevailing against a faire greater, bath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeares, as lest vnto the vanquished no 30 hope of recourie, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter constition hath ensured.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set downe by Macshianell; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subject vnto the like forme of Gouernement; the fumme whereof is this. Whereforeur the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of flaues; there is the conquest casie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader should preuaile fo farre vpon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children ( for brethren hee 40 vseth not to suffer aliue) were taken or slaine; the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and eafily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great focuer they may feeme, are meere flaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of private gaine, should not countervaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwife, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countrie, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Roiall bloud, there are in the Kingdome store of great men; who are mightic in their feuerall Countries, and having certaine Roy- 50 alties and Principalities of their owne; are able to raise Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies stirre vp and inflame them, so that vntill euery one peece were wonne, and enery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought

brought under or destroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontenuments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such affiltants are not to eafily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee fatisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they foone returne to their old allegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they have, vnleffe they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needes not to scare any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatell mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of fome frontier Towne, or the wiifull loffe of a battaile: which done, the I raitor hath foent his fting, and must either flie to the enemie, whereby he loofeth all that he formerly did hold, or elfe, in hope of doing fome further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Malter, who seldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not ftriuch by desperate valour, against mistortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so joyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted; for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than fuch, as are subject vnio them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing effate of their Prince; fo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him affitiance, if aduerlitic should make him stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turkes Basaes provinciall Governours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loffe and veter ruine of the Turkif Empire, can loofe and foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdome viito him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other deutee painted on his Enfigne, than the picture of

As is the Tw kilb Empire, so was the Persan, voide of libertie in the Subjects, and vtrerly defiture of other Nobilitie, than luch as depended you mere faiour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with Davius, the Sonne of Hystasses, in oppressing the Mags: these were men of reputation in Persas, but their reputation confined only in their Pedigree, and their safetie in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little effectmed. In what simall account these Persas Princes wereheld, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vucles, Cosen Germans, and Brethern, were called by the Kings, Their Slanes, and so did stile themselues, in speaking vntothese great Monarchs. That vpon cuery light occasion of displeady live they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelties, practifed by Nerwey vpon his owne brother Massis, which hath been somethy horse of in place more convenient. As so the Satrass, or Gouernours of the

flaueric.

cruelte, practifed by \*\*\*zees\* you his owne brother \*\*\*Maffees\*\*, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the \*\*Sarapa\*\*, or Gouernours of the Prounces\*, it is needleffe to cite examples, prouing them to haue been meere flaues: it may fuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Vomen and Funuches, by whom the King was gouerned. To this want of Nobilitie in \*\*Perfa\*\*, may be added the generall want of libertie,

onuenient among the people: a matter no lefte auailcable, in making eafie and furethe conquelt of a Nation, then is the caufe affigned by Muchiauel. For as Affer people is Affer, did not care to runne from the enemies, because it was not possible, to that they should loade him with heauier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst wader their owne Princes, are not greatly searcful of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be hastic to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had beene long

accultomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes beare such faithfull affection, to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildly than the French: this enlarged the Venetian jurisdiction in Lumbardie; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of T yrannous oppressors : and this did cause the Matedonians, with other Nations, that had beene subject vnto the posteritie of Alexanders followers, to ferue the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were caled of many burthens, which had beene imposed upon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had beene subjects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeede beene absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Bactrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering upon Syria: against whom Antigonia sent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee fent fell vpon the Nabathaans, at fuch time as they were bulled in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrthe, Frankinsence, and other such commodities. All, or most of these rich wares, together with fine hundred talents of filuer, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon : for their comming was fuddaine, and vnexpected. But ere they could recouer Syria, 20 the Nabatheans ouer-tooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made fuch a flaughter, that of foure thousand foor, and fixe hundred horse, only fiftie horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, Lemetrius was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not refifted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a vast Wildernesse, lack of water, and of all things necessarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein heelost not much honor; for they craued it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabatheans, hee viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his fonne, Antigonus was well pleased; and appointed men to the worke: but they were flaine by the Ara- 20 bians, and so that hope vanished.

These pettic enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against Ptolomie; when the newes of Seleucus his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loffe of those great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it fase to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the lower Asia should have beene exposed, to the danger of ill affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrius, with fifteene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against Seleucus. These forces being sent away, Antigonus did nothing and his sonne did leffe. For Selencus was then in Media; 40 his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessitie of fight; some places they fortified and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without letting in Garrison more men than he could spare; neither did hee get much; and therefore was faine to fet out the brauerie of his expedition by burning and spoiling the Countrie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemie, who thenceforth held it as his owne affured.

Intigonus had laid vpon his fonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an unfetled state of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the furie of the first brunt; or else it would bee vaine to strive, against all difficulties to likely to arife, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become leffe terrible to the Enemic. Demetrius therefore, leaving behinde him five thousand foote, and a thousand horse,

rather to make thew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himfelfe, with greater forces, could doe little more than nothing, forfooke the enterprife, and went back to his Father.

#### δ. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of ALEXANDER was destroyed.



Hele ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselues with vnessectuall trauaile, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred but mecre

defire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; fo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulnefle growing upon the flow advancement of their feuerall hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occasion might better

ferue to light againe.

Beildes that maine point, Of retayning the Provinces which every one held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a falfe colour, to the bufinefle: That the forme of ALEXANDER by ROXANE, Should be made King, when he came to full age : and, That all the Estates of Greece should be (ct at libertie. The advancement of yong A'exander to his Fathers Kingdome, feemes to have beene a matter, forceably extorted from Antigonius; in whom was discouered a purpose, to make himfelfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more nearly touched Caffans'er. For in his cultodie was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in fort anfwerable to their degree; but as close priloners, taken in that warren wherein they; had seene the old Queene Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to have put 30 them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclution of peace, grew vp fatter than any time before, in the heart of Caffander: who faw the Micedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the fonne of their

laterenowned King. All this, either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince mult first haue possession of Macedon: whereby Cassander thould be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder Aridaus; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne firength. He in the meane time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of feeking to make himfelfe Lord of all that

Alexander had gotten. The like aduantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greekes to their libertie-This libertie had hitherto beene the subject of much idle discourse ; but it neuer tooke effect. Antigonus held fearce any Towns of theirs; Caffander occupied most, of the Countrie which if he should Let free; he must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the com-

In the meane feafon, the Countries lying betweene Euphrates and the Greeke feas, 10 together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might ferue, to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raife his hopes, as high as ever they had

With much disaduantage doe many men contend, against one that is equall to

eyon and Corinib in his owne possession.

them all in puissance, Cassanders friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can fland out alone, when all the reft are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections; which tended to no such end as the becomming Subjects vnto any man; much leffe to the fonne of an Aflatique woman, of whom they had long fince refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a thort course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himfelfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding vp his gonernement, which he must have done when the child had come to age. Rexame was a Ladie of fingular beautic, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdicents delired to have her fonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of alexanuer, she had vsed the fauour (if it were not love) of Perdiceas, to the fatisfying of her owne bloudie malice, vpon Statira, the Daughter of King Darius; whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wines is held no crime. For having by a counterfait letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands, flied did, by affiltance of Perdiceas, murder her and her Sifter, and threw their bodies into a Well, caufing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were shee and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the neare approching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a 20 wearifome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of callanses, was not fo much detected in outward thew; a sinwardly it was pleating vnto all the reft of the Princes. For now they held themselues free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; tearing none other change of their cflates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one perswaded himselfe of successes, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselues: as is flow the time were come, for each man to improve his owne stock. Antigonis his Lieutenants were busic in Pelogonnessa, and about Hellesson: while their Master was carefull in following other; and some greater matters that were more secretly go to be handled. He pretended the libertie of Greeze; yet did the same argument minister vnto Ptolomie, matter of quarrell, against both him and Cassaner. Ptolomic. complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in larved aling, to be feat a libertie. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into Citica; where he wan foure Townes, and some after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his Fremeirs.

After this, putting to Sea with a firong fleet, heranne along the coal of A/n, winning many places and in that voiage alured vato him a Nephew of Antigonal (agood Commander, but difcontented with the ill requitall of his feruices) whom 40 finding fhortly, as falle to himfelfe, as he had beene to his owne Vnele, he was faine to put to death. But in doing the fethings, his delire to fet the Gr.ekes at liberticappeared not fo plaine, as he wilhed that it floulds for their cafe was no way bettered, by his molelling Antigonus in A/n. Therefore to get the lone of that valiant Nation, He made at the laft an expedition into Greecie fellew where hauing fet free fome little Ilands, and landed in Pelaponne/uv, he raifed fo great an expectation, of finithing the ong defined worke, that Cratespolis, the Widow of Alexander, Polyfer class fonce, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of Sveyon and Corneth.

Prolomie had conceined a vaine beleefe, that the Greekes emboldened by his countenance and affiftance, would all of them take heart, and rife vp in armes: where 50 by with litle labour, their libertie might bee gotten; a not be bee acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long fernitude had well-neare extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to

recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in purfuit thereof; but sate idiely still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The Lacedemontums, about these times, beganne to fortishe their Towne with walks, trushing no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that veheld it, were too much impaired) that had beene a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The Albenium were become as humble feruants, as they had been, in times pail, infolent Mafters: creeting as many flatuaes in honor of Demetrius Phalerun, as there were dayes in their yeare. This Demetrius was now their Gouernour; and he gouerned them with much moderation: but in fpight of their hearts, as being Lt 0-10 uer them by Caffander. By this bafe temper of the principall Cities, it is caffe to gather, how the reft of the Countrie flood affected. Prolome could not get them, to their owne good, and to furnish them with the promifed fupplies, of monie and victualls. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldome; as judging the commoditie, that would arise by an exing them to his patite, a matter of more weight, than the losse that Caffander fhould receive thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once Antigonus tooke the worke in hand. But when he tound fuch difficultie in the busin, the chaffe ged his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with Caffander, he retained Si-

Before the comming of Prolomic into Greece, Cassim ler had been cheld occupied with very much worke. For (belides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) he found meanes to allure vnto himfelle, the Lieutenanes of Antigonus, that were in Pelopomelus and about Italigions: making his owne advantage of their discontentments. By the like skillull practite, Hee freed himfelfe from a greater danger: and made those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old Polyportons, that had made so great a fittre in the raigne of Arakaus, did after the death of Roxans and her Child, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great Alexander, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was Hercules: hee was begotten on Barfine, the Daughter of Artabazus a Persian; but had beene lesse eitcemed than the sonne of Roxane, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elfe perhaps, in regard of the fauour which Perdicess, and after him Olympias, did beare vnto Roxane. At this time, the death of his brother, had moved fuch compassion, and regard of his being Alexanders only living child, had procured vnto him fuch good will, that the demand which Polysperchon made in his behalfe, was deemed very just and honorable. There were indeede more hearts then hands, that joyned with this yong Prince : yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him, that least ought, had not beene most false. Cassander had raised an Armie, to 40 withstand his entrie into Macedon : but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he affaied Polysperchon himselfe, with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so farre, that the old Vilaine was contented to murder his Pupill, chooling rather with many curses, and fowled ilhonour, to take the offered Lordship of Peloponnes us and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble same with dangerous trauaile, in

maintaining his faith, wito both his dead and living Soucraignes.

Anticonus had notall this while beenera-fleeper, though his loffes were hitherto the chiefe witneffes, of his having beenera fitter in thefe commotions. He thought tenough for him at the prefent, to retaine his owner and therefore tooke order for 50 the recoverie of those places, which Piolomie had taken paines to winne. As for the refl, it no way grieved him, to fee Caffander incurre the generall hattred of men, by committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound wnto him, that was the most powerfull; or to see Polysperchon and Ptolomie sweat, in a busic ware

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against Cashander. If they would have continued their quarrells, he could well have anoorded them leifure, and have thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perfuaded, that when the rest had wearied themselues in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtic conceipts, he demeaned him felfe among his followers; looking bigge vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that cauled so many of them, to reuolt from him, but it was no great loffe to bee for faken by those that looked with enuions eyes, voon that fortune, whereon their owne should have depended. Against this envie of his owne men, and the malice of others, Antigones bullly fought a remedie, fuch as 10

was like to gue him a goodly title, to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Silter into the great Alexander, lay for the most part in Sardes; whom he had a great defire to take to wife. This his defire was not without good hope:

for howfocuer finee discouered much willingnesse thereunto, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compultine meanes: either because his fancie being an old man, was not ouer violent; or rather because his ambition, wherevnto all his affections had reference, could have made fmall vse of her, by doing

fuch apparent wrong. Shee had beene married vnto Alexander King of Epirus, after whole death shee came to her brother in Asia; hoping, belike, to finde a new 20

husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did

her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with prouiding her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a luftie widow, fuffered her bloud, so farre to premaile against

her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. Alexander hearing of this, turned it to a jest: faying, that shee was his fifter, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew,

in mens opinion, greater than it had beene : then did many seeke to obtaine her, while thee her felfe defired only a proper man, with whom thee might lead a merie 20 life. To this purpose did shee inuite Leonatus vnto her; who made great haste;

but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, thee had her choise of all the great Commanders: Antigonus, Ptolomie,

Lylimachus, and Casander, being all her carnest woocrs. All these ( Antigonus excepted) had wives alreadic, Ptolomie had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde.

This hindred not his fute: peraduenture it advanced it; by giving to cleopatra, fome hope of mutual tolleration. To him therefore thee bequeathed her felte, and was

taking her journie from Sardes towards him; when Antigonus his Deputie in that Citic, made her to flay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. Anti- 40

gonus had now a Woolfe by the cares; he neither could well hold her, nor durft let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and

to keepe her prisoner, had beene the way, by which he might have incurred a generall hatred, lafting perhaps beyond her life; as the courfe taken by Cassander against

Roxane (a Ladie leffe respected than Alexanders owne fifter) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wifest way, to procure her deaths for to let any other enjoy

the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouernour of Sardes; willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about

her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as so mischieuous conspirers, against the life of that good Ladie. So was Antigonus freed

from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we neede not aske; for seldome is that bloudic crime vnreuealed; and neuer fo ill smothered, as when great perfons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of Philip and A'exander the Great extinguilhed, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods jultice, due vnto the crueltie, of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were loone after cast downe, ouer-whelming themselues or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

How DEMETRIVS, the some of ANTIGONVS, gauelibertieto Athens, expelling the Garrisons of CASSANDER out of those parts. The inmoderate honors decreed by the Athenians to ANTIGONVS and DENETRIVS.

One being left aline, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, thould freely professe themselues Kings in name, as they were alreadigin subtance. Ver had this Kings in name, as they were alreadie in substance. Yet had this name ill bescemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did for beare it : neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of Antigonus, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatnesse by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plaufible enterprise, even the libertie of Greece: whereby it was apparent, that he inight get fuch honor as would not only drowneall bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of roialtie, whereof in feeming modestic, hee was not couctous. To this purpose, hee delivered a strong Armie, 30 with a Nauic of two hundred and fiftie faile, and fine thousand talents of timer, vnto Demetrius his sonne: willing him to beginne at Athens, and thence to proceede,

in setting all the Countrie free. Demetrus came to Athens before he was expected : fo that without reliftance he entred the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of Ptolomie, Caffanders good friend. had beene arrived. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the causeof his comming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; Demetrius Phalereus forfooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to Thebes, vinder lafeconduct; only the Garrison in Munychia strone to make good that piece, which after a while was wonneypon them by force. During the fiege of Munychia, Deme-40 trius went to Megaras, whence he expelled the Garrison of Cajjander, and so reflored

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than mecretrifles : for cuen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed sals by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the observance of generall commended rules, in lefferthings they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie Cratesipolis lay in Patras, and had a great defire to fee Demetrius, hoping, belike, that the might, by his meanes, better her effate, and recouer her Townes of Sycion and Corinth, detained by Protomie (to whole Lieutenant, in those places, Demetrius before his de-30 parture out of Greece, offered monie for the furrender of them. Yet the only buffneffe pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrie of Megara, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his perfon, made a long journic to meete with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might fee her when shee came. As closely as the bulinesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of Antigonie; and bring him to any termes of reafon, by taking his deare some prisoner. Their project tell but a little thort of the effect. For they came to fuddainly upon him, that he had no better thift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leaving them to ranfack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme diffolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; 10 excellent in deniting Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For adversitie made his valour more active; prosperitie stupished him with an overweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he lifted. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound up the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at Megara; he resolved no longer to attend the iffue of a fiege, to affaile Munjehia by force, that so hee might accomplish the libertie of Athens: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refu- 10 fed to enter into the Citie. Munychia was strongly fortified : yet by continuance of the affault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that fcoured the walls, prenailed upon the refolution of those that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The wails, and all the defences of that peece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their libertie, with promife to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victorie, gotten by Demetrius with greater-skill and industrie. For the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues; converting to bale flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors 20 had futed vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto Antigonus and Demetrius, the name of Kings; they confecrated the place, in which Demetrius leaped from his Chariot, when hecentred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of DEMETRIVS the a-lighter; they called them by the Names of the Godstheir Sautours, ordayning that every years, there should be chosen a Priest of these Gods; and further, that such as wereemploied by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but Theors, or Consulters with the Gods; like as were they, whom they fent vnro the Oracle of Jupiter or Apollo.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearfe all their flatteries; these being so grosse. 40 Hereby they not only corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no vie. For he could not handfomly take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the Athenians; unlesse hee would feeme to approve their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he fo tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their Theodori, or Consulters, came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build thips; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weake is great power in relisting the assaults of flatterie.

ò. X I.

The great victorie of DEMETRIVS against PTOLOMIE in Cyprus. How An-TIGONVS and DEMETRIVS tooke vpon them the Stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

Rom this glorious worke, Antigoniu called away Demetrius, vnto a bulinelle of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his feruice against protonic in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed, to establish a generall Counsaile, that should treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the fame time, An-

tigonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Imbros, committing their libertic entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit anyother, to oppresse the Greekes, so would he be farte from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should concert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in Cyprus; through the indifcretion of Odenelaus, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant in that Ille. Nicocles, King of Pa-20 phos, was entred into some practise with Antizonus: yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which considence, he was perhaps, the more easily detefed. To cut off this negotiation, and the false hearted King of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was fent thither; who furrounding Nicoeles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolomies name, to have him yeelded to the death. Nicocles offered to clear himselfe; but Menelaus told him, that die he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie, caused the vnhappie King, to rid himse se of lite and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that thee not only slew her selfe, but perswaded the wives of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Also those brethren of Nicocles, vinto whom Ptolomie had intended no ill, being amazed with the 30 fuddainenesse of this calamitie, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, confumedit, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

What socuer the crime objected was; Nicocles perished as a manimocent, because he was not suffered to make his answere. Of this sad accident, though Menelaw described the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet is it to bee thought, that much dislike feil also vpon Piolomie : as men that are grieued, cast an ill assection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that Prolomie was like to make. The Cypriois did litle or nothing agondt him : either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter 40 indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themseives haue the rule of their owne Countrie. Menelaus therefore, out of his Garrifons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with Demetrius. But hee was beaten, and driven to faue himfelfe within the walls of Salamis; where he was fo hardly belieged, that without firong succour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much leffe to retaine possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the prefent, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good viage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercinaties: but all their goods were in Agrit, which was enough to 50 keepethem faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long, against the ods of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of batterie, if Ptolomie had not hasted to the rescue.

Piolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, belides two hundred

fhips of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This ficet made a terrible linew, when it was deleried a farre; though more than halfe of it, was whit for feruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, Ptolome fent wito Demorrius, a threatning meffage: willing him to be gone, whelfie he would be ouer-whelmed with multitudes, & trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant, repaired him, with words of as much braueric, promiting to let him eleape, you condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of Supon and Corinth.

Demetrial had no more then one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of Protome; betters flored, with weapons fit for to that service; and very well firms the dwith Engines in the prowes; to beat vpon the Enemie. Neuerthelestle he stood in great doubt, of threescore Gallies, that lay in the Hauen of Salamis, leath Menelius with them should set vpon his back in which case, it was likely that all should go very ill with him. Agand this michiefe, hee bestowd ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe Menelius from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of his feet, puts to Scangains Proconce.

I he fight begannearly in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull facceffe. The Generalls were not ranged oppoint on to the other 3 but held each of them the left wing of his owne face. Each of them prevailed against the fquadron 20 wherewith the encountred 3 but the fucceffe of Demetrius was to better purpofe. For his victorie in one part was fuch, as caufed others to fall out of order, and hinally draue all to betake thems fues wnto speedie flight. As for Ptolomic, he was faine to leaue his advantage vpon the enemic in one part of the light, that he might relieve and animate those of his sowne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his losse over great, to be repaired, by contending any longer, against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to faue himselfe, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battaile, no vnufuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could have beene expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great 30 skill in Sea-feruces, which the Greekes and Phanulam, that were with I-meaning, had, aboue those which followed Ptolomie: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carying the strength of Ptolomies Armie, did not more encourage his owne menand terrise his enemies the day before the light; than breede in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the light, they fell oil, and stood about. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossed with waine conceipts, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke them selines abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that Menelum issuing with his 40 sleet out of Salamis, thould charge the enemies in sterne, was veterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre ty the mount of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as a real necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the assailarlants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceius an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought upon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatfocuer the causes of this victoric were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomie had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest 50 of his fleet was either taken or sunke. Neither did Menelans any longer striue against the violence of Fortune; but yeelded ypall that heeheld in Coprue, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Hauen of Salamis. The same dejection of Spirit, was sound, in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served, the Ezprian by Land: none of them reposing any more considence in Prolomic, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally beleeved, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of Cyprus; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expeflation was great; especially Antigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking cuery day a yeare, till he were aduertifed of the issue. In this moode Aristodemus found him, a notable flatterer, whom Demetrics had honoured, with the Meilage of these good newes. Ariflodemus had bethought himfelfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He caused his thips to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore, he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he fent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very fadly that no part of his tidings, might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was knowne where he had beene) came prefently to Antigonus, who fent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answere, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and foftly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that ferued well to fet out his Pageant) vntill he came in light of Antigonus; who could not containe himselfe, but went downg to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did Aristodemus, vpon the suddaine, with a high voice falute Antigonus by the name of King; vttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to Antigonies, and to his sonne Demetrius. Antigonus in requitall of the long suspence, wherein Ariflodemus had held him, said that it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did fet on his 30 head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and fent the like to his fonne.

When it was once noised abroad, that Antigonus and Demetrius called themselues Kings; it was not long, cre their fellowes were readic to follow the good example. Polamie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord flould be thought aman dejected, for the lotse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. Lysmathw in Thrace had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head, scleaus had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken ypon him as King: but now he vsed the stile indifferently, as well among the Greekes and Machanians, as in dealing with others. Only Casander held himselfe contented, with his owne harme: whereby howssourch the might shadow his pride, he no way lessent the same which he forester he will appear, when they shall enter ypon the Stage; whereon these old Tragidians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginner to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes alreadie past.

50

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of Ægypt, Mia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: untill all ALAXAN-DERS Princes were confumed.

The Expedition of ANTIGONYS against Egypt, with ill successe.



L the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of Antigonus himfelfe, as befeeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope, to fwallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee resolued to single out Ptolomie, and make him an example to others; who should hardly be able to stand, 10 when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpole hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thouland foot, and eight thousand horse, with sourc-score and three Elephants: as likewife a fleet of a hundred and

fiftie Gallies, and a hundred thips of burden. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Nauie Demetrin was Admirall.

When all was readic for the journie, the Sea-men adulfed him, to flay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the fetting of the Pleiades. But his haltic defire to preuent all preparations for relistance that Ptolomie should make, rejected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill. Wherefore he departed from Antigonia 30 (a Towne which he had built in Syria, and called after his owne name, that was foone changed into Seleucia, by his mortall Enemie) and came to Gaza; where hee met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to Agypt, the more half hee made: thinking by celeritie to prevaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies prouision of victualls; and had many Camells loaden with all necessaries for passing the Deferts, ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no resistance. At Mount Cassus, which is neare adjoyning to Nilus, he faw his fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had beene forely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were loft, others driven back to Gaza, or feattered elfewhere into fuch creeks as they 40 could recouer: Demetrius himfelfe, with the best and strongest vessells, did so long beat it up against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared in fight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirstie, and Sea beaten Souldiers received reliefe; After these painefull travailes there followed a Warre no leffe painefull than to little purpofe, for Ptolomie had fo fortified all the paffages vpon the River of Nilus, as he affured himfelfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forst, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the Affailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that Antigonus 50 fought was to come to blowes speedily, Ptolomie on the contrarie to beat Antigonus by the belly. It is true that Nilus gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while Antigonus affaulted the Rampiers raifed upon the River in

CHAP. 6. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

vaine, Ptolomie affaired the faith of his Souldiers with good fuccesse, for with great gifts, and greater promifes, he ferried them ouer fo fait, as had not Antigonus thruit fome affured Regiments, vpon the paffages next the enemie, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, Ptolomie had turned him out of Egypt, ill

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their cleape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the fame ill fuccesse that Perdice as had formerly done, when he inuaded Agypt: had he not readily removed his Armie further off, from the noise of their entertainement, that had alreadic beene wonne from him. To preuent therefore as well the prefent danger of his flay, as the flame following a forst retrait, hee secretly practized the advice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden must bee laid of his entrance, and leaving

It is indeede lesse prejudicial in such like cases, that errours, dishonours, and loffes, be laid on Concellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed than on the Director, for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious. than that of a Vaffall; Charles the fift, as many other Princes have done, laid the loffe and dishonour he received in the invasion of France, by the way of Pronince, to Antonie de Lena, whither justly or no, I know not; but howfocuer all the Hino ftorians of that time agree, that the forrow therof cost that brane Captaine his life. Certainely to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimonie of lone, than of wifedome, in the giver; for the ill fuccesse is alwaics cast your the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a falfe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime knowne it that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only beene diffwaded, but held in a kinde by firong hand. from hazarding their owne persons, and yet have those kinde of Mutiners never beene called to a Marshalls Court.

> ø. I I. How the Citie of Rhodes was befieged by

His departure of Antigonus left behinde it many dead carkaffes, and a gereat deale of joy in £ gypt. Protomic tierd a rose tier. Lyfimschus,

Meffengersabroad, loaden with glad newes, to Seieneus, Lyfimschus, great deale of joy in Agypt. Ptolomie held a folemne feast, and sent and Cassander, his Confederates: strongly incouraging all that side with the report of this his late selicitie, though it appeared but in a

40 defensive warre. Antigonus on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so litle things; his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lott but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. How focuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fathion, for that which he could not cleave a-funder by great blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first. to fell the Tree it felfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he refolued (leauing the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be forst, either to relieue, 50 or to loofe, and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouitions, promifed him victorie.

At this time the Citie of Rhodes was very mightie, being well gouerned, and having long held it felfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade

of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which. and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not onely beat off all Pyrates and petric Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their aliance and confederacie.

In this fo dangerous a time (in which they must eyther refuse all that fought them, and so stand friendlesse and a part, or joyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the Leyptian, both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that Antigonus his disposition, greatnes, & neighbourhood was fearfull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent : gaue argument of quarrel to Antigonus, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettic injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other gricuances, while he made a more waightie preparation to purfue the warre against them openly and ftrongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprife, he imployed his sonne Demetrius against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their affiftance, and feruice against whomsoener. Demetrius, who knew from whence this charge came, and that the alteration was perfwaded by feare, and not by lone; raifed his demands to an intollerable height, re- 20 quiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as manie ships of warre as himselfe pleased: these conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a State alreadie conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a conftrained affiftance, reftored vnto the Rhodians their loft courage, and made them refolue to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchife all their able bond-men, and wifely rather to make them their fellow Cittizens, than to make them felues fellow flaues with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered, and the Rhodians the fearefull ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long fiege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batte- 30 rie; in the invention and vie of which, he never showed himselfe a greater Aritism, then in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had fustained all the affaults given them for a whole yeare, after many brave fallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they indured within the Towne, which had proped farre more extreme if Ptolomie had not with many hazards relicued them, Demetrius by mediation of the Gracian Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magithrates and officers of the Citie.

Hereunto Demetrius was brought by the viual policie of warre, and flate: for while, with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before Rhodes, Caffander reco- 49 uered many of those places in Greece, which Demetrius had formerly taken from him : neither did Callander make the warre as in former times, by practife and furprife, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfeled as farre as into Attica, and there with greatly diffressed and indangered Athens it selfe. On the other fide (though with leffe fuccesse) did Polysperchon inuade Peloponnesus. These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, aduised the Athenians and Etolians to dispatch their Embassadours towards Demetrius, and aduised Demetrius rather to abandon the enterprise of Rhodes, then to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by fetting all Greece at libertic.

Demetrius was no fooner out of the Hand, then that the Rhodians crefted flatues ear in honour of Lysimachus, and Cassander, but for Ptolomie, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they consulted the Oracle of Ingle ter, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of Hammon, gaue the same faireanswere for Ptolomie, which they had formerly done for Alexander his Master, for as Alexander consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; fo was Ptolomie at this time Lord of the foile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, then that done by the Athenians, who Deified Antigenus and Demetrius, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of "Alexanders Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called Gods.

#### ð. I I I.

HOW DEMETRIVS prevailed in Greece, CASSANDER delires peace of ANTIGONVS, and cannot obtainest. Great preparations of warre against ANTIGONVS.



EMETRIVS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into Greece, quickly draue Cassander out of Attica; and pursuing his fortune, chafed him beyond the straits of Thermopyla. Herein his reputation did much availe him; which was fo great, that fixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of

his name, partly by force, he recourred in thort space all that Cassander held in those straights, and giving libertie vnto the people, hee bestowed vpon the Athenians those peeces, which had beene fortified against them, to block them vp. Then went he into Peloponne [us, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for hee fuddainly tooke Argos, Corinth, Sieron, and the most of the Countrie, bestowing libertie vpon fuch as needed it. The Towne of Siegon hee translated by consent of the Citizene, from the old feat into an other place; and called it after his owne name Demetrias. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure: At the Isthmian games he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of Greece, as Philip and A-20 lexander had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *alexander)* he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, saue himselfeor his Father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behaulour hee was so farre valike to a King, that in all the time of his leifure, he deserved none other name then of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as readie as ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that what soeuer King Demetrius should command, ought to bee held facred with the Gods, and just with Men.

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great feare, leaft the warres should fall heavily upon him in Macedon, which to avoide, he to knew no better way then to make peace with his enemie betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadours; but had no better answere from Antigonus, then that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in foliciting his friends, both to affift him, and take heede to themselves; neither found hee them flow in apprehending the common Danger, for Lylimachus knew, that if once Cassander had lost Mucedon, Demetrius would foone be Mafter of Thrace. Neither were Ptolomie and Seleucus ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if Antigonis were suffered to put himselse in quiet possession of those Provinces in Europe. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they should all together set vpon the common to Enemic.

Hercof Antigonus had notice: but Corned all their preparations, faying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flock of Birds are driven away with a flone. With these conceipts hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of Antigonia (a name Aaaaa 2

that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully prouiding to set out some stately game and Pageants, in oftentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of Lysimachus his victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed vnto Lysimachus part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into Alia. while himselfe with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe side. So Lysimachus paffing the Hellespont, beganne to make hot warre vpon the Subjects of Antigonus. getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyne with him, by faire meanes: winning others by force, and wasting the Countrie round about.

To represse this vnexpected boldnesse, Antigonus made hastic journies, and came foone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to drive Lysimachus home, or compell him to come to battaile. Lysimachus waited for the comming of Seleucus; keeping himfelfe the whileft from necessitie of fighting. But Babylon was farre off; and Seleueus his preparations were too great to bee soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journie: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not Antigonyo beene fo froward, that hee refused to yeeld vnto any peaceable conditions. At length Seleucus drew neare with a mightie Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leifure, which Antigonus had given him) and with great 20 aide from Ptolomie, that was joyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, Demetrius was called ouer into Asia by his Fathers letters: which he readily obaied. Before his departure out of Greece, he made peace with Callander, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrie; and that his journie might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of Greece should be at libertie. Cassander was glad to bee so rid of an Enemie, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwife then they did in Asia; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto Antigonus, 20 It sufficed, that for the present, every one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuersie in Asia.

### ð. IIII.

How ANTICONVS was flaine in a great battaile at Ipfus, neare unto Ephefus; wherein his whole estate was lost.



ELEVEVS, with his Sonne Antiochus, joyning with Lyfimachus, com-pounded a great Armie, which was (all confidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Civill) they were rather vnanswerable, than equall to their aduersaries: for Antigonus had of long time kept

them under with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but V surpers of the title. Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowledged a brane Commander, having given proofe of his worth in many great feruices of all kinds, and inriched the Art of warre with many inventions, which euen his enemies, & particularly Lysimachus, did much admire. Seleucus, who had som- 50 times flattered Antigonus, and fearfully stollen away from him to faue his life, with yong Antiochus, a Prince not heard of before this journie; and Lysimachus, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as

ancient Captaines under Philip and Alexander, two of them were held worthin enough, to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both lides, were for the most part hardie and well exercised: many of them having ferued vnder Alexander; though of those old Companies. the long space of two and twentie yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of Seleucus were callly perfivaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas Antigonus his men could dif-12 cerne no other necessitie of righting, than the obitinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Matter of all. ziningonus had about three-fcore and ten thousand foot, ten thouland horse, and three-leore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand thort of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the ods of finehundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had availed the Perfrans, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatnesse of his enemics forces, or prefaging little good like to enfue, grew very penfue, communing much in private with his fonne, whom he commended to the Armie as his Succes-20 for: whereas in former times he had neuer been fo jocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been eaccustomed to make his sonne, or any other, priuie to his counfaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the light, or afterwards denifed, I hold it needleffe to recount: Diana of Ephelus dwelt neare to the place of battaile, a bulle Goddeffe in many great fights, and therefore likely to have beene thrust into the fable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleeue that these two so gallant Armies, contayning well neare all thestrength of Alexanders whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by fuch worthie Commanders, and whom the iffue thereof did highly concerne. Yet 20 are few of the particulars recorded : an easie losse in regard of the much varietie, wherewith enery storic aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the bastaile, were thefe. Demetrius with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong Antrochus; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was fo transported with the heat of his good successe, that he never gaue ouer his pursute, but left his Father naked, and lout thereby both him, and the victoric. For when Selenens perceived this advantage, he enterposed his Elephants, betweene Demetrius and the Phalanx of Artigonus: and with many troups of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wherefocuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the Antigomians, that a great part of them rather chose to renolt from their Lord, whillt they 40 were fairely inuited, than to fullaine the furie of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his deltinies. An igonus was then foure-fcore yeares old, very fat and vnweildie, fo that hee was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him fome of his most trustic followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his person, told him, Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you; he answered, Well may they; for who defends me? but anon DEMETRIVS will releeve vs. Thus expecting, to the very laft. that his sonne should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, so as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his infatiable defire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate Aaaaa 3

his fortune, but yied infolence towards all a like, as if it had been fome vertue nearest representing a Kingly Majestie. This was the cause that so many of his tollowers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie for fooke him in his last necessitie. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeauours of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall finde themselves upon the first change of fortune, (feeing it is love only that staies by adversitie) not only the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This datigonus found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his fon.

How DEMETRIVS for faken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Selevevs and Prolomie, beginning a new fortune, and fortly entring into new quarrells.

Or Demetrius, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong Antiochus,

finding all quite loft, was glad to faue himfelfe, with foure thousand horle, and fine thou fand foot, by a speedy retrait vnto Ephelin, whence 20 he made great hafte toward's Athens, as to the place, that for his fake would fuffer any extremitie. But whileft he was in the middeft of his course thither, the Athenian Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embailadours, not Theori, or Confulters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitic more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now flood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, 30 that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall line to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another time. When he had gotten his ships he failed to the Isthmus, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrifons were enery where broken vp; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armic and Fleet, without monie or meanes wherewith to fultaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue, for to put himselfe into the field on that fide of the Sea, he had no power, and to inclose himfelfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate. Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of Lysimschus his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses having beene too great to be repayed againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to bulle themfelues, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victorie had made them Lords, wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being prefent and Mafler of the field, for neither Ptolomie, nor Caffander were at the overthrow given, having onely fent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which selencus led, who 50 tooke hold of a part of Asia the lesse, and all Syria, being no otherwise divided from his owne Territorie than by the Riuer of Euphraies. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect to prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made only in

their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for Seleucus, to make the best benefit that he could of the victorie, at which, neuerthelesse others did repine, and though they neither could nor durit accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet feeing the ouer-greatnesse of Seleucus brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of Antigonus had done, they confulted vpon the same reason of thate as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was Seleucus ignorantof what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuerfall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hercupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselues of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one fide, against their profits on the other, were found so farre too light, as Seleucus who had to day flaine Antigonus the father, and driven Demetrius the some out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with Stratonica, Demetrius his daughter, and fo by Demetrius to serue his turne against Lysimachus.

The storic of this Stratonics, with whom young Antiochus, the sonne of Selencus fell to pathonately in love, and to diffempered, as Selencus his father, to fave his fonneslife gaue her (though the were his wife) vnto him, and how his paffion was discoucred by his pulse; is generally noted by all Writers. But neyther did this aliance betweene Seleucus and Demetrius; betweene Ptolomie and Lysimachus; betweene Demetrius and Cassander; betweene Demetrius and Ptolomie; though for the present it brought him againe into the rancke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely betweene the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, then those of the same later times have beene; as in the stories of Charles the eighting of France, and of Charles the Emperour, of Francis the first, and of the Kings of Naples. Dukes of Millan, and others, the Reader may observe: betweene whom from the yeare of our Lord, One thousand, soure hundred, ninetic and five, when Charles the eighth undertook the Conquest of Xaples, to the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftic and eight, when Henrie the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs that all the bonds, eyther by the bed or by the booke, eyther by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giving his daughter to his enemie *Seleucus*, that he recouered Cilicia from Plistarchus, the brother of Caffander; who had gotten it as his share in the division of Antigonius his possessions; for the Intruder was not strong enough toholde it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would seleneus lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should have done against the common enemic. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against Seleucus as Demetrius, went vnto Caffander; whither Phila, their fifter, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by Demetrius her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with Caffunder, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he never tooke notice to the others good. About the fame time he tooke to wife a daughter of Ptolomie (pluralitie of wines being familiar with these Muce lonian; that had learned it in their Easterne conquests ) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, then strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise then might seeme to advance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolomie could both of them have beene contented better, that Demetrius, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune som what farther 50 off than fettle his effate under their nofes. Particularly Seleneus thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himselfe : and Ptolomie had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Ifle of Crprus. Now whether it were fo, that Sciences would faine baue fet his new father in law vpon the neck of Lyfinachus; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargaine, he offered to buy of Demetrius for readie monie,

his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, having alreadie found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refufall fo displeased Seleneus, that in angrie termes hee demanded the Citic of The and siden, to bee furrendred vnto him; which were the only places in Spring that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In flead of giving them vp. Demetrius tooke present order to have them better manned; and spake it stoutly. That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire Seleneus to become his fonne in law. In this quarrell Selencus was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had alreadie taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire confumed it felfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes. like it is that the weaker should have found friends, out of enuie to the sironger.

### ò, V I.

How DEMETRIVS wanne the Citie of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but loft in Afia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of CASSANDER.



N the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vie the libertic, which Demerius had be flowed on them, were fallen by fedition, under the tyrannie of Lachares. Through which alteration their differenced Citie was fo weakned, that it feemed ill able to keepe of the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hafte-

ned him, whom they had once called their God and Samour, to prefent himfelfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging turie. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other emploiments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to give impediment to any bulinesse, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in athem had ill fuccesse; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he some repaired the losse; and (after fome victories in Peloponne lus, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of Acties, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time : for it flood in a barren foile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victualls; being also destitute of meanes to keepe fuch a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of succour from Ptolomic, 49 who (trufting thereby to winne the love of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fiftie thips with corne, and fent them to releeve the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftic were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting flips, which Demetrius had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hafted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come fo neare, that they might be discried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was fo extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Moufe, which dropped downe betweene them from the housetop. Wherefore they sent Embasfadours to yeeld up the Towne, and craue pardon, having so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. 50 Yet were they faine to abolish this decree : rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victoric, did not only forbeare to take away the lives of these vnthankefull men; which they had submitted vnto his

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office among ft them fuch as were most acceptable to the people. Neuerthelesse hee was growne wifer then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and difpose of them at his pleasure; he was readie to lay hold vpon the word, and icaue a fore Garrison within their walls, to keepe them honest perforce. After this he went into Pelaponne (us, vanquished the Lacedamonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of Lyjinachus and Ptolomie, that prevailed fafter vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe to didypon his enemies in Greece. Lyfimachus had wonne many Townes in Afra, Plolomichad gotten all the Ifte of Cyprus, except the Citic of Salamis, wherin Demetrius had left his Children and Mother, that were straightly be fieged. Whilest he was bethinking himfelfe which way to turne his forces, a notable peece of businesse offered it felfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cafinder was lately dead in Macedon, and foone after him, Philip his eldeft fonne, whose two yonger bretheren, Antipater and Alexander, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell Theff slonics the Daughter of King Philip, whom Caff ander had married, feemed better affected to Alexander, then to her elder fonne: who thereupon grew fo enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of of this fact gaue a faire luftre to Alexanders cause: drawing the generalitie of the Macedens to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked parricide Antipater. But Antipater was so strongly backed by Lysimachus, whose Daughter he had matried; that Alexander could not hope to make his partie good without fomeforraigne aide. For which cause he called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius; who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father Cassander had beene one that shifted well for himselfe, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practize, and a good Souldier : one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely 20 killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memorie of Alexander, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom shee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by crueltie, that shee vsed against his friends, both alive and dead, as it made him adnenture vpon shedding the Royall bloud; wherewith, when once hee had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpole, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: fuch crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-farre off the dan-40 gers, that may quietly passe away : and seekes to avoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carrieslikelihood of danger. Of Olympias and Roxaneit may bee faid, that they had well deserved the bloudie end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill beseemed it Cassander to doetheoffice of a Hang-man. But Alexanders children had by no law of men deserued, to die for the tyranie of their Father. Wherefore, though Cassander died in his bed, yet the divine Iustice brought fwords upon his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloudie man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

d. VII.

VII.

of PYRRHVS and his doings in Adacedon. The death of CASSANDERS children.

DENETRIVS gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prevailes in warre againft the Greeks;

Loofeth reputation in his warre againft PYRR HVS, and in his Civill Governement, and preparest win Afia. How all confipre againft DENETRIVS,

PYRRHVS and LYSINACHYS invade him, his drowe yeelds

to PYRRHVS, who flavors the Kingdome of Macedon

with LYSINACHYS.

YRRH VS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince Lacides, which perished in warre against Cassander, was hardly preserved, being a fue king Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fold here's had conneighed him to Glaucius, King of illyrius, the deadly hatted of Cussular would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. Glaucias was so far from betraying Pyrrhus, that heerestored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeares of age. Within the compasse of fixe yeares, either the indiferetions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to De. 20 metrius (who maried his fifter) became his Page; followed him a while in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of 19fus, whence hee fled with him to Ephefus; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with Ptolomic. In &. gypt he fo behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of Berenice, Ptolomies principall wife; fo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon fent home, with monie and men, into Epirus; more beholding now to Ptelomie, than to Demetrius. When he had fully recoucred the Kingdome of Epirus, and was fetled in it, then fell out that businesse betweene the children of Casander, which drew both him and Demetrius into Macedon.

Antipater, the elder of Cassanders sonnes, was so farre too weake for Pyrrhus, that 20 hee had no desire to attend the comming of Demetrius, but made an hassie agreement, and divided the Kingdome with his yonger brother Alexander; who likewife felt the aide of Pyrrhus fo troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in fuch another helper. For Pyrrbus had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his paines: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition : but their composition would not satisfie Demetrius, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was fent for, and made a toole, to come fo farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that Deme- 40 trius had a purpose to doe as Pyrrhus had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to Alexander a wise course, to remove this overdiligent friend, by murdering him vpon some advantage. Thus Demetrus reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wises, believed it not. But the issue was, that Mexander himselfe was feasted and saine by Demetrius; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excuting the fact to well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man Caffander had been, that all the Ascedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time Lysimachus was bulied in warre with a King of the wilde Thracians: for thereby hee was compelled to feeke peace of 50 Demetrius, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of Macedon to bee given vp; that is, the part belonging to Antipater, his sonne in law. At this ill bargaine Antipater gricuously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; untill his Father in law, to faue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his

trouble-

troublefome life. Thus in hafte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide moleitation, were flaine the children of Caffander: of Caffander that had flaine his owne Mafters children, in a wife courfe of policie, with carefull meditation (fo much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to creet his owne house, that fell downe you his graue, ere the cart ho nit was throughly setled.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatneffe of Demetrius. But indeede it shewed his infirmitie; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of civill Gouernement: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King litted. Hee gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as fixe yeares raigne is long to him, that knowes not how to raigne one yeare) he discoucred so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idlenesse; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially; by hearing that Ptolomie had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leifure, of making warre in Greece: where no he vanquished the Thebans, and wonne their Citie twice in short space, but vsed his victorie with mercie. Against Lysimachus he would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betweene them not with standing) at such time as he was taken by the Thracians; but Lysimachus was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came; so as this journey purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse euent. Pyrrhus held somewhat belonging to Macedon; which hee had indeede as honeftly gotten, as Demetrius the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into Theffalle; but there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrell, seeing Demetrius thought himselfe strong enough to ouer-runne his enemics Countrie, with two 20 great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have knowneraw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselues are noted as extraordinarie. Pyrrhus was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great Hannibal, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either Demetrius, or any of Alexanders followers. At this time, he missed that part of the Armie, which Demetrius led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which he ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his prinate valour, shewed in fingle combat against Pantauchus, Demetrius his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of bodie, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The loffe of this battaile did not fo much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant be-40 haujour of Pyrrhus delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the liucly figure of Alexander in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of Alexanders graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (fand they) none, faue Pyrrhus, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

The ferumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the Epirot, than by dissilike of their owne. King; whom they began to discreteme, no so much in regard of his vnprositable journey into Epirus (for he had wasted nuch of the Countrie, and brought home his Armic in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intollerable. His apparell seemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not 20 only too sumptuous and new fangled, but very vnmanly; and serving chiefly to be adaily witnesse, how much hee contemmed them and their good opinion. Ot his Souldiers liues he was rechesse: and suffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to scape out of his mouth. That the mare of them slied, the search was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of justice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how

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little he effeemed it or them) having by a finew of popularitie inuited Petitioners. and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, heeled the poore futers after him in greathope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the River; pleasing himselfe, in that he could so easily and so boldly deluce the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that Purhus gathered audacitie, and inuading Macedon, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. Demetrus lay then fick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had fuch great oddes of strength, as made Pyrrhus glad to torsake his winnings and be

At length he beganne to have some sceling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to invade Alia, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with Pyrrhus; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mightie Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thoufand horse: with a Nauie of fine hundred faile, wherein were many thips, farreexceeding the greatnesse of any that had beene seene before; yet so swift and vsefull withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made Seleneus and Ptolomie suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with Ly/imachus and Pyrrhus, to joyne against this ambitious sonne of Antigonus; that was like to proue more dangerous to themall, than ever was his Father. It was eafily differened, that if Demetrius once prevailed in Alia, there could be no fecuritie for his friends in Europe, what league focuer were of old concluded. Therefore they refolued to beginne with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of Macedon, that lay next his owne Kingdome. Lylimachus came first, and against him went Demetrius with a great part of his Armic: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that Pyrrhus had won Berrhea. The matter was not oner great; were it not, that mindes prepared with 20 long discontent, are readie to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rore : some wept, others raged, sew or none did forbeare to vtter seditious words, and many defired leave of Demetrits, to goe to their owne houses, meaning

indeede to have gone to Lylimachus. When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wifest way, to lead the Macedonians further off from Lyfimachus their owne Countrieman, against Pyrrhus that was a stranger: hoping by victoric against the Epirot, to recouer the love of his followers, in fuch fort that hee might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hastic as he, to meet with Pyrrbus; not intending to hurt him, but longing 49 to fee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ranne over into Pyrrhus his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get fight of Pyrrhus, they would all falute him King. To trie this, Pyrrhus rode forth, and prefented himfelfe bareheaded in view of the camp, whither fome were fent before to prepare his welcom. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applause, and every one began to looke 50 out, with defire to fet eye on him. His face was not fo well knowne as his helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their feruice; neither were there any, that spake for Demetrius; only some (and they the mon moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for

himfelfe.

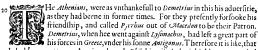
himselfe. So Demetrius threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe : deserving well this calamitie, whether it were fo, that he would not hearken to the good counfaile of his friends. or whether his behaulour depriued him of fuch friends, as would dare to let him heate the vnpleafant found of necessarie truth.

CHAP. 6. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entrie, into the Kingdome of Macedon; Lyfmachus came vpon him, very vnfeafonably, and would needs have halfe: faying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the warre, and therefore had reason tochallenge his part of the gaines. The bargaine was quickly made, and the divi-12 fion agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, voon better oportunitie.

### VIII.

How DEMETRIVS gathering forces, enterprifed many things with ill fuccceffe, in Greece and Afia. How he was driven upon SELEVCVS, and comvelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.



hehad soone gotten an Armie; though Phila his wife (who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Ladie) did poilon her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Atheniand, that had well deferued it. Hee beganne to lay fiege to their Towne : but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking 20 faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asa, with cleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to tric his fortune against Lysimachus, for the Provinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile you him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines, that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere Agathoeles, the sonne of Lysimschus, came vpon him, with an Armie fo firong, that it was not for Demetrius his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolved, to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Provinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a 40 Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by Agathoeles: who pursued him ciose, and cut off all his prouisions, driving him to take which waies he could, without following his intended courfe. In many skirmillies, Demetrius vanquillied this trouble some enemic: neuertheleffe, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the River Lyous, so many of Demetrius his men were loft, that the rest could no longer make resistance : but were driven to travaile with fuch speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, peftilent difeafes following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into 50 Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece : yet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie, but with vehement and humble letters he befought his sonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pitic him in his great miserie. These letters, at the first wrought wel with Seleucis, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how

Demetrius had carried himfelfe, when he recourred strength after the battaile at the (we, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of Seleucus. Therefore, meere desperation enforced Demetrius, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sicknesse tooke and held him fortic dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemie. This not with standing hee still held out, and once had like to haue taken Seleucus in his bed, had not his comming been discouered by fugitiues, that gaue the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had for faken him, and left him, with a few of his friends, to thift for himfelfe: hee was compelled, 10 by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few for sooke him) to yeeld

Selevers hearing this, was exceeding glad, and fent him very comfortable meffages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was fuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting Demetrius to his presence: though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demic-iland, wherein were goodly walks. Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was reserved vnto the comming of yong Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high Countries. In this 20 fort he spent three yeares, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and bloud shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then died, leaving to his sonne Anigonus, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Co rinth; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will fhew it felfe hereafter, in times and places convenient.

#### ð. IX.

The death of Prolomie, of Lysimachus, and of Selevcus, that was last of ALEXANDERS Captaines : with other



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Bout the same time that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomie King of Agypt; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in thole times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee bad, by many Wiues and Concebiuses, many children: out of whom he felected Ptolomie Philadelphus, and cauled him to raigne together

with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so hee might confirme him 40 in the inheritance of the Kingdome. Atthis, Ptolomic Ceraumis (for all of that house assumed the name of Ptolomie) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Seleucus, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Alexanders Captaines left; Seleucus and Lysmachus. These two needes would fight for it, who should be the longest liner of that brane Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitic of firength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the murders which Lysmachus had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning Agathodes his eldest sonne: whose wife and children sled vnto Selencus for aide.

The Macedons, after seuen Moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admi- 50 ration, beganne to hearken so well to Lysimachus, their naturall Countrie man, that they for sooke Pyrrhus, vpon none other ground than because hee was an Alien-This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gaue him. Lyamachus had raigned

about five yeares alone, when the Citie of Lysimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by events, to have foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne icalousie, and the instigation of a mother in law, caused him to poifon his Sonne Agathocles, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the loffe of all his fifteene children, that were taken away by divers accidents)

CHAP. 7. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Seleuciss was encountred by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with Lysimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed Alexander. For now he feemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within feuen moneths followed Ly/machus, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death; being treacherously staine by Ptolomie Cersunw, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Scuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seventie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had seene the daies as ir were of another world vnder the Persian: yet was there left one equal to any of them, in the Art of warre : cuen Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now readic to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than and Mexander himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storic more important, than any likely to enfue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by Alexanders Succeffors, with leffe (and ftill decreafing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

## CHAP. VII. The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of TVLLVS HOSTILIVS, unto fuch time as they were affailed by PYRRHVS.



Ow Rome was founded by Romulus; setled in good order by Nama Pompilius; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the raigne of Tullus Hostilius: it hath beene alreadie noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse, beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italie, to ouer-whelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (asin like cases I have done) briefly to fet downe the growth of this migh-

tie Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not have beene delinered in the ages, wherein they were feuerally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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After the death of Tullus Hostilius ( who when hee had raigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) Aneus Martius, Grandchild to Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, fucceeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill Auentine, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer Tybris, and the Citient Ostra vpon the Sea, fixteene miles distant from Rome. Finally, having raigned four and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last will hee left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the sonne of Damaratus a Corinthian, who avoiding Cypfelus King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, and dwelt in Tarquinij, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called Tarquinius. From that Citic in Hetrivia 10. comming to Rome, and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tanaquils prophecie, he grew a fanourite of Ancus Martius; by his Gracian wit humoring the factions of the Roman Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall, When this Lucius Tarquinius had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he was flaine by the sonnes of Ancus Martius, to whom he had been left Guardian. But Tanaguilhis wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, 20 that her Husband was wounded, and ficke, but not dangeroufly. And withall fignified vnto them, that in the interim of his licknesse, one Servius Tullius, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of P. Corniculanus and Ocrisia, a well descended, but captive woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recouerie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the King- 30 dome in as good fort, as if it had beene a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious : and finding also that the two sonnes of Tarquinius Priseus, Sextus and Aruus, which had beene committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to Sextus the hot-headed fonne; and the violent, to Aruns, the gentle, in mariage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it happened; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, Servius Tullius hasting to the Senate, 40 (where he thought by authoritie to have bridled insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruifed, was flaine by the way, when he had raigned fortie and foure yeares. Then Tullia his daughter, first proclaiming her husband Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driuchis Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This Tarquine, exercising crucltic without justice, and tyrannic without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; having tired himfelfe and them at home, vsed the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke Oericulum, Suessa Pometia, and the Gabij. The iffue of belieging Ardea, a towne eighteene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne Sextus Tar- 50 quinius violently rauished that chaste Ladie Lucretia, his kinsman Collatines wife: who in way of expiation for fo vnchafte a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne bloud; so (having first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her husband Collatine, and Iunius Brutus)

The killed her selte: whereupon (chiefly by Junius Brutus his resolution) Tanquinus Superbus, with his wise and children, was deposed and bansshed; and fled to Forseman Sung of Hetrura for succour, in the sine and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and the two hundred fortie and sourch from the building of their Cities in which space Rome had scarce gotten full possession of fifteene m.les round about her.

Junius Brutus by the helpe of Collatine, having expelled Tarquine, and freed his countrey from that heavie yoake of bondage, inforced the people by folemne oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ranfacked their Kings goods, confecrated their fields to Mars, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon Brutus and Collatine. But because the name of King was odious in their cares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to anuall, and from a lingle governour to a double; left perpetuall or lole dominion might be fome motive to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them Confuls, lignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setling of troubled waters, that the people after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced Tarquinius Collatine to religne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie no would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of Tarquin, favoured alreadie of their condition. In his roome was substituted Valerius Publicola, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gratious in the peoples eyes, gaue libertie, in matters of controuerfie, to appeale from the Confuls to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspicion caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as it it had beene a Citadell. Neyther was Brutus any waves deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples fafetie, as their fauour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne fonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to reflore the banished Kings; 30 he caused them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the Romanes, having by the vnblemished integritie of Brutus, well appeaded all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their militarie designements, against Forrainers; first, for their libertie; secondly, for inlarging of their possessing their possessing their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome situated as it were in the mid-way between Latum and the Hustin, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, cannot but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; wntill by maine opposition, having prevailed against her borders, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine 40 therest.

Their first warre, in the first yeare of Confuls, was against Porfenna King of Hetwis, who being ouer-perswaded by Tarquines lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first consist, \*Lievatius Coeles\*, having long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over Tibris ; at length feeling him/elle too faint to stand against fo many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refressed his hote spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to give a new charge. Person 30, 34 lithough by this he had well-nigh won the hill \*Laniculum\*, which is the vericentrance vnto the Citic and sound the victoric, in a manner, assured by its owner; yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of \*Assurus Secuela\* (who having by errour slaine Persema his Secretarie, instead of the King himselfe, didin scorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not Bbbbb 2

any whit prejudiciall, either to his safetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of Tarquinius his spleene, was not quite abated. though Aruns his sonne, and Brutus his enemie, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the Romans, although they loft Brutus, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, father to Lucretia: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) Horatius Puluillus.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to striue against the streame, and spent the residue of his time; which was about source to

teene yeares, prinately at Tusculum. Yet his sonne-in-law, Mamilius Tusculanus, flo-

maching a freih at those old repulses, because Porsenna had made peace with the Romans, and denied further succour vnto the Tarquines, mustered up his Latines, and

gane battaile to the Romans, at the Lake Regillum; where the conflict was fierce. and the iffue vncertaine, vntill Aulus Posthumius, the Roman Dictator, (for they had

created this Magistracie greater than Confulls, purposely for this Warre, when first

it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemie; and Cossus or Spurius Cassius (master of the Horse-men, an affi-

stant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might

runne with free violence, to recouer agains their Enfignes. This fight was fo well 20

performed, that a report went current, of Caster and Pellux, two Gods, who came on

milke-white Steeds, to be eye witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their

victorie; for the Generall confectated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their

paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroade, re-

flected vpon themselves at home, and the fixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion,

vpon infligation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselues wrongfully

oppressed by the Senate and Consulls, they made an vprogrein the holy Mount;

untill by Meuenius Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate:

with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they 20

might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuersies,

the Confuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called

the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement amongst themselves, they had

continuall Warre with the Latines, concerning their bounds and limits, and with o-

ther neighbouring States. Amongst these, the Volsei and Aqui held them longest;

who made warre, of themselues, vpon the Romans: whereby they lost the best Ci-

tie in their whole jurisdiction, Corioli.

In this conquest, T. Martius got the sirname of Coriolanus: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the pourrie of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after times, would have been ashamed of that title. But yet 40 these graces had beene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduifed to fell corne, which they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people : whereupon, Decius Mus, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement, banished him. Coriolanus flying to the Volsi, whom lately before he had vanquilhed, incenfed them to renew their forces agains, which being committed vnto him and to Attins Tullus, he prevailed in field, so farre forth, that hee was come within foure or fine miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made fo sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countrie, that hee would not relent, by any supplications of Embassadours, vntill his Mother Feturia, and Volumnia his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves bet- 50 ter Subjects to their Countrie, than friends to their fonne and hufband, were more auaileable to Rome, then was any force of armes. Hercupon Coriolanus dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the Volsei, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others furmise) living with them vntill old age, hee died natu-

Not long after this, the Veij in Hetruria, prouoked the Kemans; against whom the Fabil, three hundred and fixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained. that they only might be imploied, as it had been in a private quarrell. These Fabil, after some good services, lying incamped at Cremera, were circumvented and ali flaine: one only of that whole house, had beene left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang Fabius Maximus, who vanquished Hannibal.

In processe of time, the Komans were also troubled with the Volsa, at the hill Algidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius Minucius their Confull, with his whole Armic, had beene discomfitted, had not L. Quintius Cincinatus chosen Dictator, and to taken from the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the space of sixteen dayes. In the continuance of this Vol/cian warre it was, that Appins Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of Solons lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the meane while the Confuls, and all other Magistracies) would have raushed Virginia, the daughter of T. Virginius, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at Algidum. Hereupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill Auentine, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to refigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Confuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or defire to reuenge old loffes, drew the Romans into a new warre, against the Veientes, and their adherents, ypon whom having tried their forces, with diverlitie of Captaines, and varietie of event, they vanquillied the Falisti, and the Fidenates, and veterly subdued the Veientes. In conquering the Falifei, Furius Camillus shewed no lesse integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemafter, by trayning forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: Camellus deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forth with yeelded vnto him in reverence of his justice. The fiege of Vey was ten yeares, and fo troublefome, that the Romans were there first 20 enforced to winter abroade under beafts skinnes (to which they were the more eafilvinduced, because then first they received pay) and to make vowes never to returne without victoric.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got fo large spoiles, that they confecrated their tenths to Apollo Pythius : and the whole people in generall, were called to the ranfacking of the Citie. But yet they were no leffe vnthankefull to Camillus for his feruice, than before they had beene to Coriolanus; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequalitie in dividing the spoiles: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new peece of service, against the furie of the Gaules: who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as fometimes 40 now) lived folong, that the fonnes, destitute of meanes, were enforced to roave abroad, feeking some place, where to fet up their rest: and withall being a Nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italie, set vpon Clusium, a Towne in Hetruria; whereof Rome having information (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) fent Embassadours, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprifes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meffage, vpon some injurie offered by the Roman Embassadours, converted their forces from Clusium towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow to the Romans, by the River Allia, vpon the fixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for vn-30 luckie, and called Allienlis in the Roman Kalendar) they haftened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the citie; fome creeping into holes; Priefts hiding their reliques; and enery one shifting for himselfe, ere the enemie came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were fafely conuaied away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldneile out of desperate seare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did feate themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, houre, ly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State, The yonger fort, which M. Manlius their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP. 7. S.I.

By this, the Gaules were entred the Citie, who feeing all quiet, at first suspected fome ambulh; afterward finding all fecure, they fell to the spoile, committing all to the fire and fword. As for the old Senators, that fate in their Majestie, with a graue resolution: having first reverenced them as Gods, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted to the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of seven Moneths. Once they were like to have furprifed it by night, but being discried by the gagling of Geel. M. Manlius did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the Gaules being wearie, and the Romans hungrie. The bargaine was, that the Gastes should take a thousand pound waight in gold, to defilt from their fiege. Whilest the gold, was in waighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie. made their waights too heavie: Brennus, their Captaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, faying, that the vanquilhed must be epatient perforce. But in the midft of this cavilling, came Furiss Camillus, with an Armie, from Ardea, (where he had lived in his banilhment) and fell vpon the Gaules, 20 with such violence, that hee dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to restore the spoiles with advantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further, having vid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gau'es, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of M. Torquatus, and of M. Valerius Corninus (each of which in fingle fight, flew a Champion of the Gaules) abated their prefumption, and restored courage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable service. was afterwards accompted a fecond Romulus.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the Veij to inhabite; but Camillus diffwaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veij, they changed their goucrnement from Confulls to militarie Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by civill diffension interrupted : so that one while Consulls ruled : another while there was an Anarchie : Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Confular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consulls should alwaies bee a Plebeian. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred fixtie fine yeares. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her 40 Minoritie, dares fet forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: fituated betweene Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly inuade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselues subjects to Rome, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute or what else what socuer to obtaine protection, which the Romans, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuour the leffe, cafily allowed off; especially aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capus it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The Families of the Papyrij and Fabij were most employed in the managing of 50 this warre, which indured the space of fiftie yeares. And in this scason were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountred by the Samnites, as when T. Veturius, and Sp. Posthumius were Consulls, and discomfitted by Pontius at Caudium, with no small ignominic : and when Q. Fabius Gurges loft the field with three thousand men.

But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papyrius, and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

The Sammites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) beganne to flirre. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributarie to Rome.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betweene the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines beganne to challenge equal freedome in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing Office, to that they required to have 10 one of the Confulls yearely chosen out of them.

This demand, of the Latines, was not vareasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Collonic; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any fuch capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them ; wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed, by the vertue of the Confulls.

Minlius Torquatus, and the older Decius, were then Confulls, whom the Soothfavers aduertifed, that the fide should be victorious, which lost the General in fight. Hereupon, Decime the Confull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himfelfe for his Ar-20 mie, the sonne of this Decius, being after Confull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrarian warre. But (as Tullie well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decil, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enimies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of fuch a religion, as required the lines of fo worthie Citizens, to be facrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of Manlius was no lefferesolute, than the valour of Decius. He forbad any one to for fake his place, and fight fingle with an enemie. For breach of which order, he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the Latines, being challenged, in fingle fight.

When the Latines, the Equi, Volsci, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Hetrurians, 20 with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of Italie, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For Curius Dentatus, the Roman Confull, wasting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the River Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the Italians, that made trial of the Roman Armes, were the Tarentines, and their adherents. These had interposed themselues as Mediatours, betweene the Romans and Samnites; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendred. These threats. which discourred their bad affection to Rome, ended in words; but when the Sam-40 miles were veterly fubdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The Romans complained, that certaine ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embaffadours vnto Tarentum, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, and Appulians, joyning with the Tarentines, procured the Samnites. and other Subjects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Whereforethey agreed to fend for Pyrrhus, by whole aide (being a Gracian, as the Tarentines also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of Rome should bee 50 confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all Italie, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

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ð. I I.

How PTRRHYS warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

Y RRH VS, for faken by the Macedoniam, and vnable to deale with Lylimachus, was compelled a while to liue in reit: which he abhorred no
leffe than a wifer Prince would have desired. He had aftrong Armie,
and a good Fleet, which in that vnsetted clate of things, was enough
to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of Demetrius had so encreated
to

the power of Lyfmachus, that it was no point of wifedome, to make an offensiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. Antigenus, the sonne of Demetrius, held Corints, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his sathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that Pyrrhus might have wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might serve to give some hinderance to Lyfmachus.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous defire of finding it, the Tarentine Embaffadours came very fitly to Pyrrhus: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themsclues under his protection. They had in their companie, some of the Sammites, 20 Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their severall Nations, as much as could be defired. This encouraged Pyrrhus, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as Alexander had gotten Eastward; and still by one victoric open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is faid, that once he answered Cyneas his chiefe Counsailour, asking what he meant to doe after every of the victories which hee hoped to get : that, having wonne Rome, he would soone be Master of all Italie; that, after Italie he would quickly get the Isle of Sicil; that, out of Sicil hee would passe over into Africk, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Countrie; and being strengthned with the force of all these Provinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those, 30 that were now fo proud and troublesome. But cyneas enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all : Whereunto Pyrrhus (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would line merrily; a thing (as Cyneas then to'd him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuertheleffe, this Italian expedition fremed vnto Pyrrhus, a matter of fuch confequence, as was not to bee omitted, in regard of any Icholathicall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armieçofalmoft thrite thousand men, well forted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he fent ouer before him vnder Cyneas, with the refit he followed in person. At his comming, he found the Tarentines very prompt 40 of tongue, but in matter of execution, ytterly careless to promide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut by their Theater, and other places of pleasure and refort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a shrick muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behoouing to their chate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, Lauinus the Roman Conful drew near, and beganne to wast Lucania, a Prouince confederate with the Tarentines in this Warre.

The Lucanians were not readic to defend their owne Countrie; the Samnites were careleffe of the harme, that fell not (as yet) you them feliues; the Tureniums were better prepared than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all yo of the fell and beene accustomed to thrinke, for feare of the Roman forticude: and therefore it fell outhappily, that Pyrrhus relied more you his owne forces, than the issue of their vanuing promises. Here was now driven, either to fet forward, with those that himselse had brought into Malie, and the affishance of the Tareniums,

wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiencie, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by soule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resoluted to assay the valour of the Romans, against whom hee proudly marched.

Lamms the Confull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King, but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his addisents thould be readic to joyne with him. This boldnefle of the Ramm, and the flacknefle of the Chefflepann, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger moit to concerned, cauled Pyrrhus to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrel, betweene the Romans and his Italian fitneds, referred to his arbitrement. Whether hed did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arriue at his Campe; or whether, confidering better at neare diffance, the weight of the built-nefle, which he had taken in hand, be were delirous to quite twith his honour; the floor answere, that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the Ramans sent him this word, that they had neither chosen hum their ladge, nor feared him their enemics.

Hercupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the R iuer of Stria: Leainto intending to fight, before the arrivall of the Samnites; Pyrthus, to hinder him from 20 palling that R iuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the Komun Campe, it was readily conceiued by Pyrthus, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to stera throng Corpt degrade, whon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he saw his best advantage. But he quickly sound, that this new enemie was not only skilfull in the Art of warre, but couragious in execution. For the Komun Armie entred the Foord, in sace of his Corpts e.g. and; and their horse, at the same time, beganne to passe the River; in sundring places: which caused the Greekes to for sake the defence of their banke, and speedily re ire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced Pyrrhus to battaile; wherewith he thought it best to profentthem, ere their whole Armie had recoursed firme footing, and were in store. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged upon the Romans: who floutly received him, as men well exercised in suflaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooved him indeede to doe his best; for he neuer met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was flaine vnder him : afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from 40 his back. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but he perceiuing it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and tooke from the Romans their vaine joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on Pyrrhus his fide, as long as only speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnusuall forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the Romans (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to fustaine, then was the victoric quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceining their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themsclues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of these strange beasts; gaue way to necessitie, and faued themselues, as well as they 50 could, by haltic fight: in which confternation, they were so forgetfull of their difcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it;

kauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to Pyrrhas.

The fame of this victoric was foone forcad ouer Halic 2; and the reputation was no leffe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a Reman Confull.

Confull, with a select Armie, should loose in plaine battaile, not only the field, but

the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this ho-

nour was the more brauely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that hee had with him none of his *Italian* friends, faue the vnwariike *Tarenines*. Neither could be well dissemble

his content that he tooke, in having the glorie of this action peculiarly his owne, at

fuch time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, for comming (as we say) a day at-

ter the faire. Neuertheleffe, he wifely confidered the strength of the Romans, which

was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore, he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his ho-

nour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them Cyneas his Embassadour; to

demaunding only to have the Tarentines permitted to live at rest, and himselfeac-

cepted as their especiall friend. This did Cyneas, with all his cunning, and with li-

berall gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome,

that would take any bribe of him; neither did their defire of recouring their cap-

tiues, or their danger, by the riling of many States in Italie against them, so incline

them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of Appins Claudius, an old and blinde

Senator, did stirre them up to make good their honour by warre. So they returned

answere, that whilest Pyrrhus aboade in Italie, they would come to no agreement

and vertue, as kindled in Pyrrhus a great defire of confederacie, with that gallant

Citic. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed betweene them: but still when hee

vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, He must first depart out of Italie, and then

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre; the Romans leauving

a more mightic armic than the former; and Pyrrhus being strengthned with accesse

vnto his forces, of all the East parts of Italie. So they came to triall of a second

battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boilferous violence of the

Elephants, gaue to Pyrrhus a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joy-

ctorie would be his vtter vndoing. For hee had lost the flower of his Armie in this

battaile, and though he draue the Romans into their Campe, yet he could not force

them out of it, nor faw any likelihood of preuailing against them, that were like to

be relieued with daily supplies, whilest he should bee driven to spend upon his old

stock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in

stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the Romans,

that were apt Scholers in such learning, how to make them unseruiceable. Where-

forche desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of Italie;

which to doe (seeing the Romans would not helpe him, by offering or accepting a-

nie faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a flight occasion, presented by 40

full, as the former had beene : rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another vi- 30

Such was the report, that Cyneas made, at his returne, of the Roman puissance 20

treat of peace.

fortune, that followeth to be related.

à. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How PYRRHYS, being inuited into Sicill, for fooke Italie; wanne the most of the Ife; and lost it in floort space.

PYRRHYS returnes into Italie; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his owne Kingdome.

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Hen Ptolomic Ceraunus had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of Lygmachus in Europe, as it they had been ethe due reward, unto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of Cassander and Lysmachus were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Aucaclan any

man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himselfe against Cerannus. The friends of Lyimachus were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as hee prosselfed) reunged their Lords death, than any way offended with the odious fires of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that wpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in Cerannus sperswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had beene wickee. These to assert in the same with the same with the same of Lemetrius, that made an attempt you the Kingdome. As for Anticolous, the sone of Seleucus, he was fare oil, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armienearevnto Europe. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to

able to bring an Armie neare vino Europe. Yet hee made great flew of meaning to reuenge his tathers death: but being flronger in monie than in armes, liee was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While thefe three flroue about the Kingdome, Pyrrhus, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made who of their diffention: threating warter, or promifing his affiliance, to cuery one of them. By the femenes he flrengthred himfelfe, and greatly aduantaged his Indian voiage, which hee had then in hand: requesting monie of a Chinebus, thips of Autrepans, and fouldiers of Prolomic, who gaue him his daugh-

30 Annicons, imps or Annizonus, and rounders or Frotomer, wrogate frim its daugneter in marriage, and lent him a firong power of Alecedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to haue them reflored at two yeares end) more fer feare than for louenthat fo he might free himfelfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus Ptolomie grew mightic on the fuddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the fitting Citie of Coffinichia, was held by Arfone his filter, the widow of Lyfimachus, who lay therein with her yong children. Her hee circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the fairfion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wise, 49 with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good fucceffe, which his vilanic found, vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furic of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard off. Belgius a Captaine of the Guides, having forced his paffinge through many Countries, vnto the confines of Macedon, ent a proud mediage to Cerumus, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwife, to looke for all the miferies of warre. These Guides were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to fecke new seates, in that great expectition, wherein Bremus took and burnt the Citic of Rome. They had divided themselves, at their fetting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell

39 you Hales, the other palling through the Countries that lie on the Northerne fide of the Adriatick Sea, made long aboade in Pannonia, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled Gerannus to doe, who whole borders they came, about an hundred and eight yeares after fuch time as their fellowes had taken Rome.

Ccccc

When

è. III.

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When their Embailadours came to Ptolomie, asking what he would give: His answere was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld up their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answere, when it was returned, the Gaples did laugh; faying, that they would foone confute with deeds, the vanitie of fuch proud words. It may feeme strange, that he, who had given away part of his Armic vnto Pyriba, for very feare; should bee so confident in undertaking more mightic enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the Gamles; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, 10 which under the conduct of alexander, had fubdued all the East. Thus hee iffued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victorie must needes have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equall in strength of body, and fierceneffe of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. Ptolomie himselfe grieuously wonnded, fell into their hands, whileft the battaile continued; and they prefently flrooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter

The report of this great overthrow filled all Macedon with fuch desperation, that 20 the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as loft. Only Softhenes, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which hee many times got the vpper hand, and hindred Belgius from vling the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was content with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successe of Belgiw, drew into Macedon Brennus, another Captaine of the Gaules, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fifteene thousand horse; against which mightie Armie, when Softhenes with his weake troups made oppolition, he was casily beaten, and the Macedonians againe compelled to hide themselves within their walls, lea- 20 uing all their Countrie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Micedonians destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in leffe then fiftie yeares after the death of Alexander, who fought to discouer and subdue vnknowne Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia, had been too little for a King of Macedon.

Very feafonably had these newes beene carried to Pyrrhu: in Italie, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the Romans; had not other tidings out of Sial diffracted him, and carried him away in purfute of nearer hopes. For after the death of Agathoeles, who raigned over the whole Iland, the Carihaginians fent an Armie to conquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This 10 Armie did fo fast prevaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to avoide flaveric, than in submitting themselucs to the rule of Pyrrbus; whom, being a Gracian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to line under the well knowne heavie yoake of Carthage. To him therefore, the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agr. gentines, principall Effates of the Ifle, fent Embaffadours, carnefly defiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued Pyrrhu exceedingly, that two fuch notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so valuekily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the bulineffe of Sicil more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeved (as came after to paffe) that his advantage, vpon Macedon, 50 would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leifure, ouer into Sicil he transported his Armie, leaving the Tarentimes to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as hee found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of Italie, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; fo were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note worthic. The Armie which he caried into that Ifle, confifted of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse : with which, soone after his descent in Sicil, he forc't the Carthaginians. out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the strong Citic of Errx, and having beaten the Mamertines in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne I yrant. For he draue Softratus (to whom his crueltie was suspect) out of the Iland, and put Thenon of Syracuje to death, being jealous of his greatnesse: which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich Citie of Syracufe into his bands. After this, his fortunes declined to fait, as hee ferned himselfe, and salued the dif-reputation of his leaving Sicil, by an 1 mbaffage sent him from the Tarentines, and Sammites, imploring his present helpe against the Romans , who fince his leaving Italie, had well neare dispossed them of all that

Taking this faire occasion, hee imbarked for Italie; but was first beaten by the carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in Italie it seite, by eighteene hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recoursed Tarenium, hee fought a third battaile with the Romans, 20 led by M. Curius, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of Italie, into his owne Evirus.

A Prince he was farre more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Countrie or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no lesse honour, than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, bath beene no where found Butheneuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had. whereof not long after he died in Argos.

#### **d.** IIII.

How ANTIGONVS, the Conne of DEMETRIVS, delivered Macedon from the Gaules. How PYRRHVS wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from



As

He vertue of Softhenes being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of Macedon; and the fortune which had accompanied him against Belgius, failing him in his attempts againit Brennus: the Macedomans were no leffeglad to fubmit themselves vnto the government of Anigonus. than they had formerly beene delirous, to free themselues, from the impotent rule of his father Demetri w. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and treasure, beforming a King, did rather breede good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for hee was driven to vie against the Burbarians, only those forces, which he brought with him, having none other than good withes of the Micedons, to take his part. Biennie, with the maine firength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, having left no more behinde him, that he thought necessarie to guaro the borders of M. cedon, and Pannonia; which were about fifteene thouland toot, and three thouland horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of 50 their fellowes : and therefore lent vnto Antigonus, offering to fell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of Ceraunus, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. Anisgonia was viwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it vnsit to exasperat their furious choler, by vncurteous words or vlage, as Ceraunus had ouer-fondly done. Wherfore

he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a roiall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such aboundance of masse gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with fight of the vesfells, wherein it was ferued. He thought hereby, to make them understand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewife did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauerie ferued only to kindle their greedie appetites, who feeing his ships heavie loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the Gaules: thought all time loft, wherein they fuffered the prefent poffessors, 12 to spend the riches, which they accompted affuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, caried the Gaules head-long, to Antigonus his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, than the victorie over Ceraunus had given to Belgius. Their comming was terrible and fuddaine; yet not fo fuddaine, but that Antigonus had notice of it: who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged fomewhat before their arrivall, and conucighed himselfe, with his whole armic and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Camp for faken, were not hastic to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was 20 either loft or hidden. At length, when they had fearched enery place in vaine, angric at their lost labour, they marched with all speede toward the Sca-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest hee was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon Antigonus, they were so careleffe of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left Antigonia, where he lay in couert, and had faued it felfe by getting aboard the fleet:in which number were fome well experienced men of warre, who discouring the much advantage offered vnto them, by the desperate 20 prefumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the oportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Marriners, landing together, with great refolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the difordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great flaughter, driven to cast themselves into the seruice of Antigonus.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible and reliftlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were overthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, 40 three Tribes of them passed ouer into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the Romans, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall give better occasion, to rehearfe these matters briefly.

Howfoeuer the good fuccesse of Antigonus got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victoric, could not thereupon be perswaded, to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto Pyrrhus: though as 50 yet, he knew not so much. For Pyrrhus, when his affaires in Italie stood vpon hard termes, had sent unto Antigones for helpe : not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, vnder colour of

making his word good, in feeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in branerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into Epirus, to put in practife.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and fine hundred horse: an armie too little to be imploied, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; vet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon Macedon: intending to take what spoile he could get, and make Antigones compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thoufand of Antigonus his Souldiers, revolted vnto Pyrhus; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such faire beginnings, eafily perfwaded the 12 courage of this daring Prince, to fet vpon Antigonis himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that Antigonis had no defire to fight, with this hot warriour; but thought it the wifest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrie, For Pyrrhus ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The Gamles very brauely sustayned Pyribus his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were flaine) after a sharpe fight : wherein it seemes, that Antigonus keeping his Macedoman Phalanx within the streight, and not advancing to their succour, tooke away 20 their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken foone after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence, that had confumed fo many of the Gaules, yeelded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of Antigonus, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort: which emboldened Pyrrhus, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Wherethe Phalanx could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seene so much. that they had no defire to fight against Pyrrhus; who discoursed so well their affections, that hee adventured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. 20 All forfooke Antigenus, a few horse-men excepted, that fled a long with him to The falonica; where he had fome small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine agreater power, had he knowne where to leavie it. But while it he was thinking, how to allure a fufficient number of the Gaules into his feruice; whereby hee might repaire his loffe: Ptolomie, the fonne of Pyrrhus, came vpon him, and eafily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponnesus, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroade into the world, and made himfelfe a King.

This good successe remined the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all forrow, of his late mil-fortunes in the Roman warre: fo that he fent for his sonne He-40 lenss (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come ouer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselues.

ð. V.

How PYRRHVS affailed Sparta without successo. His enterprise vpon Argos, and his death.



YAKH VS had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should bee able to withfland him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the Gaules, beaten Antigenus, and wonnethe Kingdome of Meredan There was not in all Greece, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that A'ex-ander had wonne, any Leader of fuch name and worth, as deferred to be fet up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what

Ccccc 3

he pleafed. He raifed therefore an Armic, confifting of fine and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warreagainst Antigonus, and the giving libertie to those Townes in Pelaponne/us, which the fame Antigonus held in Subjection; though it was easily discoursed, that such great preparations were made, for accomplithment of some designe more important. than warre against a Prince alreadic vanquilhed, and almost etterly dejected. Especially the Lacedamonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For Cleanymus, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himfelfe to Pyrrhus: who readily entertained him, and promifed to restore him to his Kingdome. This promife was made in fecret; neither would Pyrrhu make thew 10 of any displeasure, that he bare vnto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his owne yonger fonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours hee deluded men, euen till he entred vpon Laconia; where prefently be demeaned himfelfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe, and his former diffembling words, with a jeast; That he followed herein the Lacedamonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the Lacedamonians, to deale in like fort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as fallehood, in Pyrrhus, which they alwaies practifed as wildome, till it made them diffrufled, for faken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to 20 themselves, in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; cauling such as could beare armes, to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which Pyrrhis had vinwisely deferred, vpon assurance of prenailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, other wife than with armed Citizens: foone after this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part hard to approch) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the prefent, only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance feemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by Pyrrhus, exceeding siercely, and no leffe floutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved 20 the Towne the first day; whereinto the violence of Pyrrhus had forced entrance the fecond day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of fauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though alreadie they had torne in funder the barricadoes. Presently after this, one of Antigonus his Captaines got into Sparta, with a good firength of men; and Areus the King returned out of Crete (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie stood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a defire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke showed, how great his errour had beene, in forbearing to assault 40 the Towns at his first comming. For he was so mantully repelled, that hee saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course, he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigenus had now railed an Armie, though not firong enough to meet theenemie in plaine field, yet able to hinderall his purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtfull what way to take; being duers ly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his sirst attempt. Whiles hee was thus perplexed, letters came from drgo, inuiting him thicher; with promise, to deliuer that Citic into his hands.

Civill diffension raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of seueral salison, to call in Pyrrhus and Antigomus; but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous, to rid their hands of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselse to be. Antigomus told the Argines, that he came to saue them from the tyrannic of Pyrrhus; and that hee would

be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, Pyrrhu would needes perfwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from Antigonus, offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The Argues tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto Antigenus readily condefeeded, and gaue Hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But Pyrthu thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none, to his inferious; especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspected his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he lesser garded their opinions, than to hold them worthie of assurance, by giving such a bond, as hee intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night vnto Pyrrhus, by his Complices within Argus: which was accordingly performed. So his
Armic, without any turnult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on
their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Cate. The taking off, and
setting on againe, of those Towers, with the troublethereto belonging, did born
give alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many
were entred, as could fully Master it. Argus was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the Gaules (that had the Vantgarde) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke
night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge
of curry by-passegrand setting wpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great
bosses.

Pyrhus therefore, understanding by the confused noise, and unequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in diltresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darknesses, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill breake of day. Then beganne heto make his passage by force, and so farre prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a to work the said of the said

Thus ended the refliesse ambition of P, rrhus, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Mucedon to Mitgonus; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemie. The bodie of Pyrrhus, had honourable funerall, and was given by Ansigonus vito Helenus his sonne; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of Epyrus. From this time forwards, the race of Antigonus, held the Kingdome of Mucedon; the possessed for the principle of Selection, raigned outer Asia and Syria; and the house of Protomic had quiet 50 possessed from the Asia of the control of Sent five lowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.



## FIRST PART THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the fetled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the East, untill the ROMANS, premailing ouer all, made Conquest of A s I A and MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I. Of the first Punicke Warre.

A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could haue relifted the great ALEXANDER. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to



HAT question handled by LIVIE, Whether the great ALEXANDER could have prevailed against the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had bent all his forces against them , hath beene, and is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it feemes to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explane, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus bath given, of the Roman power, in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in Hannibals judgement) inferior to slevander, though to none elfe, could with fmall ftrength of men, and little store of monie, or of other needfull

helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it was well fetled, and held the best part of Italie, under a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander have done, that was aboundantly provided of all which is need-

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full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of emploiment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe fo well fetled. It is eafle to fay, that Alexander had no more, than thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (a sindeede, at his first passage into Asia, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base esteminate Asiatiques. But he that considers the Armies of Persitaess, Asiatiques, Crasteru, Emmens, Prolomic, Antigenue, and Lyjimuchun, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily sinde, that such a reckoning is stare thou to of the truth.

It were needlelse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batteric, to and the like: of all which, the Macedonan had aboundance; the Roman having nought, saue men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what for the Roman, in their first Punick warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Nauigation; sitting upon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practife the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will eafily conceiue, how farre too weake they would have proved in such ferrices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not fee, why all Greece and Macedon, being abfolutely commanded by Alexander, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance. against those parts of Italie, which the Romans held in ill-affured subjection. Toomit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthie, indeede, than 20 valiant, could have affoorded vnto the Macedonian : let vs only conjecture, how the States of Swill and Carthage, nearest neighbours, to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have stood affected. The Sicilians were, for the most part, Gracians, neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves vnto him. thacruled all Greece besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that Alexanderscomming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of Pyrrhus, by offering to become his fubjects. As for the Carthaginians; if Agathoeles, the Tyrant of Syracule, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne belieged Citic, could, by adventuring to faile into Affrick, 30 put their Dominion, yea and Carthage it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would have been able to withfland Alexander? But, why doe I question their abilitie, feeing that they fent Embassadours, with their submission, as farreas Babylon, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans mult, without other succour, than perhaps of some few Italian friends ( of which yea there were none, that for fooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of ail Countries, to them knowne, if they would have made relistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uncasie to finde in discourse of bumane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is a- 40 gainst cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for who foeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to bee cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him fuspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the Roman, or the Macedonian, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitic, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armir, which followed not only Philip and Alexander, but also Alexanders Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all forts of warre; before any, that Rome either had, or in long time after did fend forth. Concerning 50 fortune; who can give a rule that shall alwaies hold? Alexander was victorious in eucry battaile that he fought : and the Romans in the iffue of eucry warre. But forasmuch as Livie hath judged this a matter worthie of consideration; I thinke it a great part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander came not into Italie: where in

three yeares after his death, the two Roman Confulls, together with all the power of that State, were furprized by the Samnites, and enforced to yeeld by their armes. We may therefore permit Lime to admite his owne Romans, and to compare with Alexander those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the sume conceipt should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding fuch a controuerlie, me thinks it were not amiffe, for an Englipmun, to give fuch a fentence betweene the Alacedomans and Romans, as the Romans once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betweene the Ardestes and Aricim, that Link Decades, though about a pecce of land; saying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vn-

to the Romans themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the Macedonian, or the Roman, were the belt Warriour? I will answere: The Englishmen. For it will soone appeare, to any

that (hall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; againft no fauage or vinnanlie people; the enemic being farre fuperiour vinto vs in numbers, and all needfull proutitions, yea as well trai-

ned as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what fort Philip wanne his Dominion in Greece; what manner of men the Perjams and Indians were; whom Alexander vanquilhed; as likewise of what force
20 the Macedonian Phalans, was, and how well appointed, against fuch armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of
them, doth sufficiently vnders that. Yet was this Phalans neuer, or very feldome,
abletostand, against the Roman Armies; which were embattailed in so excellent a
forme, as I know not, whether any Nation belides them haue vsed, eith refere or
since. The Roman weapons likewise, both offensue and defensue, were of greater
vse, than those with which any other Nation bath ferued, before the firric intruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which Rome\_
had to doe; we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as
farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom the chald little adjuntagein armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as Platarch
well observed have the surface to one of her happinesse; that thee was neuer ouer-laied, with

Hereby it came to paffe, that having at first increased her strength, by accession of the salimes; having wonne the State of Alba, against which shee adventured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, you the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her selfe Princesse of Latimn: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all state. The Carthaganian had well neare oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The Atolians, and with 40 them all, or the most of Greece, affilted her against Polity the Macedonian: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same Atolians. The warres against sinetimes, and other Assingues, were such as gave to Rome small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they sheld were aboundant of riches. Stai', Spaine, and all Greece, sell into her hands by valing her aide, to protect them against the Carthaginians and Macedonians.

If hall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the Reman valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many samous victories: I am not so ide. This I say; that among all their warres, I sinde not any, wherein their so valour hath appeared, comparable to the English. If my judgement seeme ouer-

partiall; our warres in France may helpe to make it good.

First therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Inlius C.e.far*: and that no *Roman* armie, was comparable vnto that, which served vnder the same *C.e.far*. Likewise, it

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the Koman

courage, in good performance of the Heluetian warre, when it first entred into Gaule.

was nevertheleffe vtterly disheartened, when Cefar led it against the Germans. So

that we may justly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of Cafars men

to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs inge-

nerall compare with the deedes done by these best of Roman Souldiers, in their prin-

cipall feruice; the things performed in the fame Countrie, by our common English

Souldier, leavied in hatte, from following the Cart, or fitting on the shop-stall: 60

shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beloeue Casar, in rela-

Etions were performed by the English. In Cafars time, France was inhabited by the

Gaules, a front people, but inferiour to the French, by whom they were subdued; cuen when the Romans gaue them affiliance. The Countrie of Gaule was rent in fun-

der (as Cafar witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by

pettic Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in fuch fort as might make it appliable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent : not on-

ly in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the pettie States, yearn

euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conque-

rour defire? Yet there was a greater. Arionistus, with his Germans, had ouer-runne

flauerie: yea, so often had the Germans prevailed in warre voon the Gaules, that the

Gaules ( who had fometimes beene the better Souldiers ) did hold themselves no

way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had France beene so prepared vnto our English

Kings, Rome it felfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would have beene ours.

But when King Edward the third beganne his warre vpon France, hee found the

whole Countrie fetled in obedience to one mightic King; a King whose reputation

abroade, was no leffe, than his puiffance at home; under whose Ensigne, the King

the Countrie, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from meere 20

ting the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Historians to witnesse, whata-

Let vs heare, what a French writer faith, of the inequalitie that was betweene the John de Senes. French and English, when their King John was readie to give the on-fet, vpon the Black Prince, at the battaile of Poitiers. IOHN had all advantages over EDWARD, 18AN anot both of number, force, shew, Countrie, and concest (the which is commonly a consideration sout trusatage of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horse-men (estee-pardel is EDOmed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wifest Captaines of his whole Realme. bre, la force, it And what could he with more ?

I thinke, it would trouble a Roman antiquarie, to finde the like example in their the presuge (qui Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Armie nonent unecon-10 of eight thousand, which he had furrounded with fortie thousand, better appoin- dismostate anx ted, and no leffe expert warriours. This I am fure of; that neither Syphax the Nu- affires du monmidian, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as Linie rightly tearmes them, nor de) & save for those cowardly Kings Perseus and Gentius, are worthic patternes. All that have salve there there is the save for those cowardly Kings Perseus and Gentius, are worthic patternes. read of Cresse and Agincourt, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alleage the bat- since la meiltaile of Pointers, for lack of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proofe and etailism whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of France, than ener did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Croffe-bow: my answere is readie; that in all these respects, it is also (being and drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vie. The Gunne, and the Croffe-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sicknesse, or a fore finger, makes the long Bow vnferuiceable. More particularly, I fay, that it was the

cultome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blanck and so shall hee

perceiue, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes

away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length,

one flight of arrowes, or two at the most, can be deliuered, before they close. Nei-

therisit in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect, of an extraordinarie 20 arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the English wanne so many great battailes, having no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestic, referre him to the French Hiltorian: who relating the victorie of our men at Crewant, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemie, vieth these words; The English comes with a tole de Seres. conquering brauerie, as he, that was accustomed to gaine enery where, without any stay : bee forceth our garde, placed woon the bridge, to keepe the paffage. Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where hee tells, how the Britons, being inuaded by Charles the eight, King of France, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and

two hundred of their owne men in English Cassacks; hoping that the very fight of 40 the English red Croffe, would be enough to terrific the French. But I will not franch to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting De Serres, and Paulus &mylius; report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I vndertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the English, preuailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was affisted with all advantages that could be defired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as Cafar had done? my answere may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the Lacida, of whom the old Poet Ennius gaue this note; Belli potentes funt mage quam fapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique. Who so notes their proceedings, may finde, that none of them went to 50 workelike a Conquerour: faue only King Henrie the fift, the course of whose victo-

ries, it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaule, before the time of Cafar? why not after the Macedonian warre? why not after the third Punick, or after the Numantian? At all these times they had good lei-Ddddd

of Bohemia, did serve in person; at whose call, the Genowayes, and other Neighbour \* The Dol- States, were readic to take armes: finally, a King vnto whom one \* Prince gaue a-Phin of Vien- way his Dominion, for love; b another fold away a goodly Citic and Territoric 20 h The King for monic. The Countrie lying loopen to the Roman, and being lo well fenced aof Majorca. gainst the English; it is note-worthic, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the English purchases, with the Roman conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. Cafar himfelfe doth witnesse, that the Gaules complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardineffe was ouer-maftered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the Roman Towers, and Engines of batterie, raifed and planted against their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that fuch a people was beaten by the Roman; than that the Caribes, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worfe, 49 by small numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to have regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their affailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to paffe, that they were neuer able to make vie of oportunitie; but sometimes compelled to flay for their fellowes; and fometimes driven, to give or take battaile, vpon extreme disaduantages, for feare, least their Companies should full a-funder: asindeede, vpon any little difaster, they were readie to breake, and returne every one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leffe than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the Romans, the bonour of many galiant victories. What so fuch helpe? or what other worldly help, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our English Kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs?

fure; and then especially had they both leifure, and fit oportunitie, when ye derries conduct of Marius, they had newly vanquilled the Cimbri, and Teutones, by whom the Countrie of Gaule had beene pitcouffy wasted. Surely, the words of Tullie were true; that with other Nations, the Romans fought for Dominion; with the Gaules. for prescruation of their owne safetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gaule, until they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other fide, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vileffe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men fomewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our felues; a Nation, anciently & strongly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard, 10 enemie to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs : and the greater danger at our backs; where comonly we felt, alwaies we feared, a stronger inuation by land, than we could make vpon France, transporting our forces over Sca.

It is viuall, with men, that have pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgment if any take vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our lland, hath given more noble proofe of it selfe; than under so worthie a Leader, that Roman Armie could doc, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Cefar a Monarch; fo hereafter, by Gods bleffing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance, into our 20 greatest helpe, the enemie that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde canfe to wish, that avoiding vs, hee had rather encountred as great a puissance, as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a fide comparisons, we returne to the rehearfall of deeds done; wherein we shall finde, how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italie, to ftriue with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Panick warre.

# Q. II. The eflate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.



He Citie of Carthage had flood aboue fixe hundred yeares, when first 30 it beganne to contend with Rome, for the mastric of Sical. It forewent Rome one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation; but in the honor of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion in Africa

it felfe, from the west part of Cyrene, to the streights of Hercules, about one thousand and fine hundred miles in length, wherein flood three hundred Cities. It had jubjected all Spaine, euch to the Pyrenean Mountaines, together with all the Handsin the Medicerran Sea, to the west of Sicil; and of Sicil the better part. It flourished about feuen hundred and thirtie yeare, before the destruction therof by Serpio: who belides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers referred, carried thence foure hun-40 dred & feuentie thousand weight of filter, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) fourteene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citic, ranne the fame fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and fince. The ruine of the goodlieft peeces of the world, fore-shewes the diffolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after fuch time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt; and by Gracebus it was called Junonio; it was againg and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by Genferious the Vandal, by Belofarius under tuffinian, by the Perfians, by the Leyptians, and by the Mahometans. It is now nothing. The feat thereof was exceeding firong; and, while the Cartha-50 ginians commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Seacompassed it about, fauing that it was tied to the maine by a neck of land; which pallage had two mile and more of breath (Api in faith three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it felfe, was about twentie mile in

compasse; if not that of Strabo, affirming the circuit to have beene twice as great. It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food. Ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had also lodging in these streets, betweene these out-walls for foure thousand horse-men and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by a lin Pol. drift. 1.2.6.9. those of China) neuer pestered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle day, doe also take the of Byr/a; to which Seruius gives two and twentie furlongs in compaffe, that make one halfe of the poor of Byr/s; to which Serum gives two and twenter through it company, that had be used to the control of many come, that land is used to the many come is the cardiages. the Libyans, when shee got leaue to buy only so much land of them, as shee could they take to but both copalle with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the falt Sea, but in the nature of the bodies, and of of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastened to the ground, on which has their Vastals, by the Citie flood, stretched it felfe towards the west continent, and left but seventie bereauing them of foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this flanding Sea was built a most fumptious their ableft children,

The forme of their Common-weale refembled that of Sparta; for they had titu- hejon. The Ir flotake latic Kings, and the Ariflocraticall power of Senators. But (as Registo well obser- were wont to eate up ueth) the people in later times viurped too great authoritie in their Councells, with their horfemen, 20 This confusion in government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more the other three parts

Arfenall, having their ships and gallies riding under it.

and mercifull persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to World: And reason augment their treasures. Their crueltic appeared in purious thorn to death without pools; for of them augment their treasures. Their crueltic appeared, in putting them to death without have the bodies of mercie, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendred them odi- our victorious armies ous to their vassalls, whom it made readie, vpon all occasions, to revolt from them:

beene compounded.
And it is the freems, the other did breake the spirits of their Generalls, by presenting, in the heat of their & not the slave, that the other did breake the ipinis or their occurians, by precining in the treat bath courage, & the 20 actions abroade, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to paffe, that hath courage, & the feare of tham defermany good Comunders of the Carthaginian forces, after some great loffereceized, ued by cowardife. have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the How free the English haue desperately cult themselves, with at coar remained short their losses quickly, or in times, not long to ruine all together; and few of them have dared, to manage their owne beilt proince so, just song
jett, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for fear cleast the
the first slewed in his manner of their proceeding should be missinterpreted: It being the Carthaginian rule, tries lawes, But I may to crucifie, not only the vnhappie Captaine, but cuen him, whose bad counsaile had fay, that they are prosperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of Carthage are taxed, euer; and our Nobin by Roman Historians, I finde to be these; lust, crueltie, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulnesse, luie & Gentrie more 40 and perjurie. Whether the Romans themselves were free from the same crimes, let feruile. For fince the and perjurie. Whether the Komans themselves were need from the failure that excessive brauerie, the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league between Carthage and and vaine expense of Rome, was very ancient: having beene made, the yeare following the expulsion of our Grandes, hath

Tarquine. In that league, the Carthaginians had the superioritie, as imposing you the their Rents, since by Romans, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the Romans should not fo Inclosures, and difmuch as have trade, in some part of Africk, nor suffer any ship of theirs, to passe be-membring of Manyond the headland, or cape, then called the faire Promontorie, vnleffe it were by force ron, and the Court Baoftempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in Italie was forbidden to the Car- Leet, the Unneipalitheginians. A fecond league was made long after, which (howfocuer it bath pleafed ties of the Gentrie of England, hausbeene \* Linie to say, that the Romans granted it, at the Carthaginians intreatie) was more disolved, the Te-

50 frict than the former: prohibiting the Romans, to have trade in any part of Africa, names, busing paired vnto their Lords their or in the Iland of Sardinia. By these two treaties it may appeare, that the Carthaginians had an intent, not only now no service stall,

to keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge and (perchance) as of the flate of Africk, but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all Italie, \* Linie Dec. 1. 1.7.

forceable causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their crueltic, a Their auarice temaining. The hat-bandman & the year was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one man of Fresland, are b halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpongentic the freeft of all the

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whereby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all Stell, whilest that Iland should be desticute of Italian succours. Hereupon wee finde good cause, of the joy that was in Carthage, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie cefine pound, lent from thence to Rome, when the Sammites were onerthrowne. But the little frate of Rome, premailed faster in Italie, than the great power of Carthaged din Sicill. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thouland men, which Hamibal conducted out of Africk into Sicill, wanne only two Cities therein; many great fleets were denoured by tempelts; and howfocuer the Carthaginians prenailed at one time, the Sicilians, either by their owne valour, or by affillance of their good friends out of Greece, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these Inuadours. But never were the people of Carthage in better hope, of getting all Sicill, than when the death of Agathodes the F yrant, had left the whole I and in combustion; the estate of Greece being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the Carthaginians were buffe, in making their advantage, of this good oportunitie; Prirhus, inuited by the Tarentines, and their fellowes, came into Italie, where hee made sharpe warre voon the Romans. These newes were unpleating to the Carthaginians, who, being a subtile Nation, casily foresaw, that the same busic disposition, which had brought this

The fift Booke of the first part CHAP. 1. \ . 2.

baffadour to Rome, who declared in their name, that they were forie to heare, what misaduenture had befallen the Romans, their good friends, in this warre with Pyrrhus; and that the people of Carthage were very willing to affift the flate of Rome. by fending an Armie into Italie; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the It was, indeede, the maine defire of the Carthaginians, to hold Pyrrhus fo hardly

to his worke in Italie, that they might, at good leifure, purfue their bufineffein si-

Prince, out of Greece into Italie, would as cafily transport him over into Sicill, as soone

as he could finish his Roman warre. To preuent this danger, they fent Alago Em- 20

cill: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the Romans were too high minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, least it should bleaish their reputation, and make them feeme vnable to fland by their owne flrength. 30 Yet the meffage was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene Rome and Carthage renued, with covenants added, concerning the prefent bulinelle; That if either of the two Cities made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be, with refernation of libertie, to affift the other, in case that Pyrrhus should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, vling all meanes to found his intentions (a

matter very difficult, where one vpon enery new occasion changeth his owne purpoles) yet Pyrrhus found leifure to make a step into Sicill: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor fauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purpoles of Carthage, leauing them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first of

beganne.

So many disasters, in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking, had beene so ftrongly purfued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the Carthaginians to believe, that an higher providence relifted their intendment. But their delire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was fo inneterate; that with vinwearied patience, they ftill continued in hope, of fo much the greater an haruest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had beene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practise, recouered in few yeares, all their old possessions: making peace with Syracuse, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselues to deale with 50

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of Campanian Souldiers, that had serued under Agathooles, being entertained within Meljana as friends, and finding themfelues too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, flew those that had trusted them; which done they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wines, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercinaries called themselues Munertines. Good Souldiers they were : and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their floutnesse. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they ouerranne the Countrie round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend Messens against the Cities of Sicill Confederate; to wit, against the Syracusians, and others, but to they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these Mamertines, the Syracufians wanne fast vponthem, and finally, confining them within the walls of Meffens, they also with a powerfull Armie belieged the Citic. It happened iil, that about the fame time, a contention beganne, betweene the Syracular Souldiers, then lying at Megara, and the Citizens of Syracufe, and Gouernours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so farre that the Armie elected two Gouernours, among themselves; to wit, Artemidorue, and Hieron, that was afterward King. Hieron, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policie of that State, to approve any election made 20 by the Souldiers, yet for the great elemencie hee vied at his first entrance, was by generall consent, established and made Gouernour. This Office, he rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his prefent preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtayning, and fafe keeping, of the place he fought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without often and eafily moued to fedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the 20 Stratufians. For the fecond, leading out the Armie to beliege Messana, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would have affaulted it in two feuerall parts, he marched away under the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in peeces by the affreged: So returning home, and leauying an Armic of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hafted againe towards Messana, and was by the Mamertines (growne proud by their former victoricouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of Aylaum, where hee obtained a molt fignall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captine into Syratule, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the 40 Mamer incs, finding themselues vtterly inscebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the Carthaginians, others to crave assistance of the Romans: to each of whom, the seuerall factions, dispatched Embassadours for the same purpose.

The Carthaginians were foone readic, to lay hold vpon the good offer: fo that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of Messana, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclineable to the Romans, had brought their Companions to fo good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Towne referued for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of Carthage; who crucified their Cap-50 taine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and fent a Fleet and Armie to beliege Mef-Sana, as a Townethat rebelled, having once been theirs. Hieron, the new-made King of Syracuse (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately receiued) added his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom hee entred into a league, for exterminating the Mamertines out of Sicil. So the Mamertines on all sides were Ddddd 3

closed wp within Message the Carthaginians lying with a Nauic at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, while the steron with his Syracusians, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came Appine Claudine, the Roman Confull, with an Armieto the fireights of Suil: which paffing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Mediengers to the Carthaginians, and to Hire, required them to depart; signifying wno them, that the Admertines were now become confederate with the people of Rome, and that therefore hee was come to give them protection, cuen by force of warre, if reason would not prevaile.

This message was vetterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betweene Rome 10 and Carthage; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the justice of the quarrell, when some actions of the Romans, lately foregoing this, have beene first considered.

### ò. III.

The beginning of the first Punick warre. That it was vniuslly undertaken by the Romans.



Hen Pyrrhus beganne his warres in Italie, the Citic of Rhegium, being well affected to Roma, and not only fearing to Letaken by the Epirat, but much more distrussing the Carthaginians, as likely to seize upon it in that busiletime, sought aide from the Romans, and obtained sion them a Legion, consisting of source thousand Sculdiers, under the

conduct of Decisis Campanis, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and afflired for the prefent. But after a while, this Roman Garrifon, confidering at good leifure, the fact of the Mamerines, committed in Maffian, (a Citic in Sciel, Ituate almost opposite to Rhegium, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which sewerth it from Italie) and rather weighing the greatness of the bootie, than the 30 odious field of the vilanie, by which it was gotten; refolued simily, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Consederating therefore themselves with the Mamerines, they entertained their Holts of Rhegium, after the same manner; dividing the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of Reme, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly flained (for no Nation in the world made a more fluere profession of justice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatness; procluded, after a while, to take reuenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in the state, by Pyrthus. For, not with slanding that those Remains it Pegumu (as men for 40 the folleness of the first shortly and those which established the first shortly and those which established the present since, were brought bound to Reme, where after the visual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrie, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of Rhegium were againe restored to their former liberties and cstates.

This execution of justice being newly performed, and the famethereof founding honourably through all quarters of Italie: meficages came to Rome, from Ateffina, defiring helpe againft the Carthaginians, and Syraufans, that were in a readineffe to inflict the like puniflment vpon the Momertines, for the like offence, so An impudent requestit was, which they made: who bauing both given example of that vilanie, to the Roman Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good; intreat the Judges to give them that affishance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow theeves.

The Romanicould not fuddenly refolue, whether the way of honeftic, or of profit, were to be followed; they cuernore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They confidered, how contraine the courfe of fuccouring the Mamerimes was, to their former counfells, and actions: feeing for the fame oftences they had lately put to torment, and to the fword, their owne Souldiers, and reflored the opprefiled to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the defeription of the Carthaginian Dominion, and that they were alreadic Lords of the beft parts of Africa, of the Mediterran llands, of a great part of Spaine, and fome part of Smith Cite, whileft also they feared, that Syrache therein feated (a Citie in beautic and riches, to little, at that time, inferiour to Carthage, and faire superiour to Eame it Cite) might

become theirs; the fafetic of their owne cliate pake for thele Manetines: who, if they (driuen to de spaire by the Romans should deliuer vp Messiman, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the Carthaginina, then would nothing stand betweene Carthage, and the Lordship of all Sied: for Syracuse it selle could not, for want of succour, any long time substit, if once the Carthaginens, that were Matters of the Sea, dat daften you that passing from the maine Land. It was surther considered; that the oportunitie of McSanawas such, as would not only debarre, all succours out of the continent, from arrival in Stati, but would retue as a bridge, whereby the Carthaginam might have entrance into state, at their owne pleasure.

These confiderations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatned from a farre; did so preuaile, about all regard of honestie, that the Autocrimes
were admitted into Confederacie with the Romans, and Ap. Chandier the Confull,
presently dispatcht away for Oxtefpase, into which he entred, and vades tooke the
protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his
arrisall; and less moued, with his requiring them, to defist from their attempt. For
they disfarre exceede him in number of men; the whole Iland was readie to relicethem in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this Ap, int himselfe well wndershood: and
against all this, he thought the shifte metall of his Roman Souldier, a fusicient remeto die. Therefore, he resolved to issue out not the field, and to let the enemies know.

c) die. I nervise, he refolued to flue out into the ne'd, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to fend them away from the Towne; not to be befreged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemial ayencamped in fuch fort, as one quarter was not well able to relicuenother in difficulte. Here wers now exposed to the same danger, whereinto hee had wisfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helps of others. Against him Ap. Claudius is flued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected fallie, to furprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee prefented him.

40 The 39 rate of an wanted not courage to fight; but firely, hee wanted good addince: elfewould he not haue hazarded all his power againft an enemic, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene eafle, and as much as was requifite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beiginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten, and driuen to faue bracklife within his Trenches; by which loffe, he learned a point of viriclome, that nood him and his Kingdome in good flead, all the dates of his life. It was a foolith defire of runge, that had made the Syracufians fo buffe, in helping those of Carchage, ag unfit the Admertines.

Had Moffans beene taken by the Carthaginians, Syraufe it felfs much have fought to help from Rome, againft those friends which it now so diligently assisted. Haven had (intespect of those two mightic Cities) but a small stock, which it believed him to governe well: such another losse would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them shand to their adventures, that had hope to bee gainers by the bargaine. The next

day, Claudius perceiuing the Sicilian Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritic of his fouldiers, give charge vpon the Carthaginians: wherin he fped fo well, that the enemic for looke both field and campe, leaving all the Countriespen to the Romans; who having spoiled all round, without retillance, intended to lay fiege vnto the great Citie of Syracufe.

These prosperous beginnings, how socuer they animated the Romans, and filled them with hopes, of attayning to greater matters, than at first they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any forme of terronr, in the Citie of Carthage, that had well enough repaired greater loffes than this; in which no more was loft, than what had beene prepared against the Mamertines alone, without any suspition of warre to

from Rome.

Now in this place I hold it feafonable, to confider of those grounds, whereupon the Romans entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honellie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnesse, whereupon they built ail their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the Romans hands (as the Campanes, diffressed by the Samnies, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the meisengers of those folke, wherof one part had alreadic admitted the Carthagmians, could be enabled to make any fuch furrendrie, in the publike name of all 20

If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawfull furrendrie of themselues and their possethens, were become subject vnto Rome, by what better title could the Romans allift the Mamertines, against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have aided the Campanes, against the Samnites, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it bee supposed. that fome point feruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesseitis, that no companie, of Pirates, Theeues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or fuch other malefactours, can by any good fuccesse of their vilanie, obtaine the privilege of civill societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre; but are by all meanes, 20 as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of thefe; it were a Polition of ill confequence : This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can give protection to fuch as the fe, as long as any other is ving the fword of vengeance against them, without becomming accessarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may effected this action of the Romans, To farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this neft of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves, by the people of Sicil; yea, although Mef-(and had beene taken, and the Mamertines all flaine, ere any newes of this Confede- 40 racie had beene brought vnto the befiegers. The great Alexander was fo farre perfwaded herein; that he did put to fword all the Branchiada (a people in Sogdiana) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Companie of Milestans, who to gratifie King Norwes, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towns and Countrie, which these of their posteritic enjoyed. Neuerthelesse, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives ins acquisitum, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose vilanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeues, which by a dete- to stable tast bath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by

fome alliance with the ancient inheritors, bee can better the violence of his claime; as did our King Henrie the first, by his marriage with Mande, that was daughter of Malcolme, King of the Scots, by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Ironfide. Wheretore I conclude, that the Romans had no better ground (if they had fo good) of juflice, in this quarrell, than had the Gothes, Hunnes, Vandalls, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felfe, in the time of her visitation; was burnt to ground.

Of the Iland of Sicil,

The qualitie of the Iland : and the first Inhabitants thereof.

He defence of the Mamertines, or the possession of Messana, being now no longer, fince the first victories of Appius Clandius, the objects of no longer, fince the first victories of Appius Claudius, the Objects of the Roman hopes; but the Dominion of all Sicil being the prize, for which Rome and Carthage, are about to contend: it will be agreeable ynto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a

briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That Sicil was fometimes a Peninfula, or Pemie-Isle, adjoyned to Italie, as a part of Brutium in Calabria, neare vnto Rhegium, and afterward by violence of tempelt fe-30 uered from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this division happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. Strabo, Plinie, and Dionysius, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; Si- Plin. 12.c. 11. lin, and Cafindorus, doe thinke it to have beene done by the rage and violence of Sillis. the tide, and furges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was Eubaaseucred from Baotia; Atalante and Macris, from Eubaa; Sillie here in England, from the Cape of Cornewall; and Britaine it felfe (as may feeme by Verflegans arguments) from the opposite continent of Gaule. But for Sicil, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to Neptune (as Eustathius witnesseth) who with his three forked Mace, in fauour of locastus, the sonne of Aolus, divided it 40 from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a Demie-Isie; that by that meanes, hee might the more fafely inhabite, and possesse the fame.

Diederus Siculus, moued by the authoritie of Hefiedus, ascribeth the labour of fun- grion. 14. c.14. dring it from Italie, to Orion : who, that he might be compared to Hersules (cutting Diod.1.6. through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the Sicilian fireights, as Herosles did Ound de Fast. 4.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as Eustathius and Strabo, who affirme this, not only to excell the reft for bigneffe, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Iland, Pomponius Mela, faith, it is like that Capitall letter of 50 the Greeks, which they call Delta, namely, that it bath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowneto be true. That the whole Iland was confecrated to Ceres and Proferpina, all old writers with one confent affirme. To Cresit was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corne : to Proscripta, not so much, for that thee was from hence violently taken by Plato, as because (which Pla-

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Strab 16.

tarch and Diodorus doe report for truth) that Pluto, as soone as shee, vncouering her selse, first shewed her selse to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonic written by Cicero, in his second Oration against Verres, where he faith, that Alareus Caso did call it the Granarie, and Storehouse of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vulvar fors. The same Cicero doth adde in that place; that it was not only the store-house of the people of Rome: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasurie. For without any cost or charge of ours (faith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparrell, and corne. Strate reporteth almost the same thing of it. What societ Stelle doth yeeld (saith Solinus) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industric and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation : were it not, that fuch things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extreamely ouer-growne with faffron. Diodorus Steelus faith, that in the fields, neare vinto Leontium, and in divers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are

Now besides many samous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which have made it very renowned, as the birth of Ceres; the rauilhing of Proserpina; the Giant Enceladus; the mount Aina, Scylla and Charibdis, with other antiquities, and rarities; belides those learned men, the noble Mathematician Archimedes; the famous Geometrician Euclides; the painfull Historian Diodorus; and Empedocles the deepe Philosopher.

found scatteringly in many good Authours.

That Sicil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants Lestriogones, and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consent auerre. Yet Thucydides saith, that these sauage people dwelt only in one part of the Hand. Afterward the Sicani, a people of Spaine, possessited it. That these Sicani were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) Thucydides and Diodorses doe constantly auouch.

Of these it was named Sicania. These Sicani were inuaded by the Sicali; who, inhabiting that part of Latium, whereon Rome was afterward built, were driven by the Pelafgi from their owne feates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeares before the Greekes fent any Colonies thither : and (faith Philiffus) eightic yeares before the fall of Troy. These Siculi gaue the name of Sicilia, to the lland; and making warre vpon the Sicani, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie Zande, afterward called Mellena; and after that, Catana, Leontium, and Syraculeit felfe, beating from thence the Etolians, who long before had fet vp a Towne in that place. 40 As for the name of Syracuse, it was not knowne, till such time as Archias of Corinth (long after) wonne that part of the lland from the Siculi; Neither did the Siculi at their first arrivall dispossesse the Atolians thereof, but some hundred yeares after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with Nee, Hybla, Trinacia, and diversothers.

After these Siculi came another Nation out of Italie, called Morgetes; who were thence driven by the Oenotrians. These sate downe in that part of Sierl, where they afterward raifed the Cities of Morgentum, and Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were divided, and by a civill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient ftories, we finde the last voiage, and the death of Mines, King of Creet. Thueydides, 50 an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of Minos, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into Sicil. But the common report is that he came thither in pursuit of Dadalus. The tale goes thus: Dedalus fleeing the revenge of Minos, came into Sicil to Cocalus, King of the Sicani,

and during his aboade there, he built a place of great itrength, neare vnto Alegara, for Cocaius, to lay vp his treasure in ; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramine in gold, that was set up in the Temple of Vemus Eryema; which he did with fo great arte, as those that beheld it, thought it ra-

ther to be living, than counterfait. Now Minos, hearing that Cocalus had entertained Padalus, prepares to inuade the Territorie of Cocalus, but when he was arrived, Cocalus doubting his owne Ilrength, promifeth to deliuer D.edalsa. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills Minos by treason, and perswades the Cretans, Minos his followers, to inhabite a part of Sial; the better (as it feemes) to strengthen himselfe against the Siant. Hereunto the Cretans (their King being dead) gave their confent, and builded for themselves the Citic of Minon, after the name of their King Minos. After, they likewise built the Towne of Engum, now called Gange: and these were the first Cities, built by the Greeks in Sieil, about two ages before their arre of Trey; for the grand-children of Atmos ferued with the Greeks at the fleges, ereof.

But after such time as the Cretans understood, that their King had by treason beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade Cocalus: and landing neare voto Camicus, they belieged the fame five yeares but in vaine. In the an end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coaft of stalie; and having no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had loft, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or Hyrium, betweene the two famous Ports of Brundujum, and Tarentum. Of these Cretans came those Nations, afterward called lapyges, and Messapij.

After the taking of Troj, Egeltus and Elymus, brought with them certaine troups into Sicil, and feated themselves among the Sicani; where they built the Cities of Ægesta and Elyma.

It is faid, that Aneas visited these places in his passage into Italie: and that some of the Troinnes, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of Sieil: 20 whereof there want not good Authours, that make . Ene.is him felfe the founder.

About the fame time, the Phanicians feifed vponthe Promontories of Pachinus, and Lilybeum, and upon certaine small Isles adjoyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to fecure the trades, that they had with the Sicilians; like as the Porturals have done in the East India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambia, and other places. But the Phanicians staired not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citic of Panormus, now called Palerma.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Isle of Siel, before the warre of Troy, and ere the Greeks in any numbers began to ftraggle in those parts.

It may perchance feeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes 40 one and the fame beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were faid to bee mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as Phanicia, Lapt, Lybia, and Greece, had Hercules, Orestes, Anteus, Typhon, and the like; as Denmarke had Starchaterus, remembred by Saxo Grammaticu; as Scythia, Britanie, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of Saxo G. in pre-Sicil had her Leftrigones and Cyclopes. This discourse I could also reject for fained fai bift. and fabulous; did not Mofes make vs know, that the Zamzummim:, Eminis, Anakims, and og of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Defarts of Moib, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding firength and fla-Totall, de Reture, and of the races of Giants : and were it not, that Tertullian, St. Augustine, Ni- fire.

5 cepherus, Procepțius, Ifdere, Plinie, Diolore, Heroldeus, Solimus, Plui veb, and many o. Ang de cinit.
ther Authours, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vefinitius, in his second Nauiga queling and queling the confirmed the opinion. tion into america, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those Micobilizers, parts. Againe, whereas the felfe-fame is written of all Nations, that is written of Belle Goth. any one; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on a- plin 1.7.c.i.

cornes and roots, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies, with the skins of beafts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first pasfages over great Rivers, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with faile; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts. as of Hulbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newnesse of time, which we call old time, and had all the fame want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the Hebrewes, who inherited the knowledge to of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crucitie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we have now greater Giants, for vice and injustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages and houses of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of stone; we carne them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; infomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the 20 skinnes of beafts, not only to filke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take reuenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; Quam longa dies peperit, longior ý, auxit, longisima subruit; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest shall overthrow it.

### †. I I.

### The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

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wall

WHen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicil: it happened, that one Theoeles, a Greeke, being driven vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered only by Poets; gaue information to the Athenians of this his discouerie, and proposed vnto them the benefit of this eafic conquest, offering to become their guide. But Theoeles was as litle regarded by the Athenians, as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that Columbus afterwards did. 40 Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the noble Athenians (who thought themselves to bee well enough alreadie) to their owne profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that were needle and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxus, and a Colonie planted of Eubwans.

But the rest of the Greeks were wiser than our westerne Princes of Europe: for they curro relates, had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the voide places of the World. was the great Archias of Corinth followed the Eubwans, and landed in Sicil, neare vnto that Citic, teft, and most called afterward \* Syracufe: of which, that part only was then compassed with a of all that the

Forcest posich. For, the fituation is both flrong, and of an excellent prospect, from energy entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the moft part) entironed with beautifull building; and that part which was without the Citic was on with fides bank: vp, and furtamed with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citie it felfe was one of the greatest of the World; for it shad in compatife (as Kirdus tenerated) which was a without the Citie was one of the greatest of the World : for it had in compaffe (as Strabe reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180, furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (Strato faith of fine) to wit, Infula, Acradina, Tycha, and Neapelis: of which greatnesse, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet witnesse.

wall, which the Liolians called Homothermon; the Greeks, Nafos; the Latines, In- After such time fula. He with his Corinthians having ouer-come the Siculi, drawe them up into the as the Doces of Countrie; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increasing, they added into the Printonelin had driven out the Citie of the Iland, that of Acradina, Tycha, and Neapolis. So as well by the com- Selisar, this moditic of the double Port, capable of as many thips, as any Hauen of that part of goodly Crie, Europe, as by the fertilitie of the foile; Syracule grew up in great hafte, to be one of become the the good lieft Townes of the World. In fhort time the Greekes did posselle the bet- feat of Tyrais. the good little owners the tree good little owners to withdraw themselves into the The first where fait and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Roiall refidence in Thefe, and

the fuccesse of the Corinthians, did affaile, and obtaying the Citie of Leonium, built The fourth, and possess by the Siculi. In briefe, the Greekes winne from the Siculi, and their and fitt, Diony, Affociates, the Cities of Catana, and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that and yonger; forc't it, they called Megara.

The founth,
About five and fortic yeares after Archies had taken Syracufe; Intipherate and Entimus, the one from Rhodes, the other from Creete, brought an Armie into Sicil, eight, Pyrhus; and built Gela; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did crest that The ninth, magnificent and renowned Citie of Agrigentum, governed according to the Lawes ger, The tenth 20 of the Dortans.

The syraculians also, in the feuentieth yeare after their plantation, did fet vp the being flaine at Citie of Acra, in the Mountaines ; and in the ninetieth yeare Ca/mena, in the Plaines Leanton, at adjoyning; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in length the Ro-Syracufe, they built Camerina; and foone after that, Enna, in the very Center of the redit vnder Iland. So did the Cumani, about the same time, recouer from the Siculi the Citic of the conduct of Zancle, which they had founded in the streight betweene Sicil and Italie. They Marcellus. of Zancle had beene founders of Himera.

Not long after this, Dorieus the Lace demonian built Heraelia; which the Phanicians, and Carthaginians, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, foone after in-20 naded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colonie of Megara: and Zanele was taken by the Messenians; who having lost their owne Countrie, gave the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this

#### t. II.

Of the gouernement and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIVS his Tyrannie.

THe most part of the Cities in Sicil, were governed by the rule of the people, tili fuch time as Phalaria beganne to vsurpe the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a deteftable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braffe, wherein to enclose men, and scortch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; That the noise of one tor-50 mented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a ducreward to the Inventour; by causing the first trial to be made upon him selfe. Hee raigned one and thirtie yeares, faith Eulebius; others give him but fixteene: Howfocuer it were, one Telemachus, in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by Zeno,

euen whilest the T yrant was tormenting the same Zeno, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens recovered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till There vsurped the government of the Common-weale; at which time al. so Panatius made himselle Lord of Leontium; and Cleander, of Gela: but Cleander, hauing ruled seuen yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead his brother Hippocrates succeeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zande or Messena, and of Leontium; whom with divers other of the ancient Inhabitants, he torced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the Syracufians, and, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citic of 12 Camerina. But when he had raigned feuen yeares, he was flaine in a battaile against the Siculi, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracusians change their forme of Gonernement, from Popular to Ariflocraticall; a preparation towards a Principalitie, whereinto it was foone after changed. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon (descended from the Pholians which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greekes, feated themselves in Sicil) that had commanded the forces of Hippocrates, in the former warre, with notable fuccesse, became Lord of Gela. Hee, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by Hippocrates over his children, and being in possestion of Gela, tooke the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracule, 22 betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armic to the fuccour of the Gouernours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeede) the most famous, that energonerned the Syraculians. This change hapned in the fecond years of the threefcore and twelfth olympiad; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of

There, who had also vsurped the state of Agrigentum.

Now this Gelon, the sonne of Dinomenes, had three brethren; Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasphulus: to the first of which hee gaue up the Citic of Gela, when hee had obtayned the Principalitic of Syracuse. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauailed in the strengthning, beautifying, and amplifying of syraenfe. He defaced 20 Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracufians who built it; and brought the Citizens to Syracufe. The Megarians that had moved a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer fort he brought to Stracisse; and the people he fold for flaues. In like manner dealt he with other places upon like occation. Not long after this, There, a Prince of the Agrigentines, having dispossely Terillus, of his Citie Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by Anaxilus, Lord of Meffena, Father-in-law to Terillus : and Gelon also was sollicited by his Father-in-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by Amilear, were ouerthrowne by Herod. & Died. Gelon: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedamonians fent for fuccour, when Xerxes with his huge Armie past the Hellespont. Hee, for their reliefe having armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neverthelesse to fend them into Greece, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sca, or by Land. So he vied to their Embaffadours only this faying, That their Spring was withered; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the Greeke Nations.

The Carthaginians, after this great loffe received, fearing the invalion of their owne Countrie, fent to Gelon by their Embaffadors, to defire peace swho graunts it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not facrifice their 50 children to Saturne; That they should pay him two thousand talents of siluer; and present him with two armed ships, in figne of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto Demarata; Gelon's wife, a crowne, valued at an

hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and Sicil in peace; Gelon beautified the Temples of the Gods, and creeted others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, heleft the World, and left for his Successiour his brother Hiero. Philistus and Punie report, That, when his bodie was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and fuffered himfelfe to be burnt with him.

To Gelon, Hiero his brother succeeded; a man rude, cruell, couctous, and so su-10 spicious of his brethren Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conversation which hee had with simentales, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the Hudie of good Arts. Divers quarrells he had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable overthrow to the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes had incited to inuade Sicil, fearing the succours which Gelon had prepared, to aide the Gracians, against him. Hee also ouerthew in battaile Thrasydaus, the sonne of Theron, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end hee lost the love of the Syracusians; and after he had raigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother Thra/jbulus, who 20 became a most vnjust and bloudie Tyrant. Thrasphulus enjoyed his Principalitie no longer than ten moneths. For, not with standing the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of Syracufe by the Citizens, to whom, being besieged in deradina, he restored the gouernement, and was banilhed the Iland. From whence he failed into Greece, where he died a private man.

And now had the Syracusians recovered against heir former libertie, as all the reft of the Cities did, after which they had neuer fought, had the Successiours of Gelon inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalitie of Syracufo. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answere the acquisition. Where a 30 liberall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtayned any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behough the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and arte,

by which it was gotten.

To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, ere shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of Gelon) was now againe become Mistresse of her felfe, and held her felfe free, well neare threefcore yeares, to the time of Dionylius; though shee were in the meane while greatly indangered, by a Citizen ofher owne,

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they 40 deuifed a kinde of banifhment of fuch among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Oftracifine. They called this their new denised judgement of exile, Petalismus, wherein enery one wrote vpon an Oliue leafe (as at Athens they wrote your (hells) the name of him, whom hee would have expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for fine yeares. Hereby, in a short time, it came to passe, that those of judgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able either supprest or thruit out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yer felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselues. And good reason they had so to doe;

50 feeing there is nothing to terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessitie taught them to abolish it, and restore agains the wifer fort to the Government; from which, the Nobilitie having practifed to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by Pucetius, King of the Sicilius,

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that inhabited the inner part of the lland (who had alreadic taken Enna, and fome other of the Gracian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armic of the Argragatines) the Syraculans fent forces against him, commanded by an unworthic Citizeno of theirs, called Bolcon. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde Ducettus, against whom he was imployed, as he did to see from the Armic he led, as so one as Ducettus presented him battaile. So, for want of conduct, the greatest humber of the Syraculans perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they leuic other troups: by whom, in conclusion; Duestun being beaten, submitted him. felse, and is constrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere hee to returned againe, and built the Citie Collators on the Sea-lide.

Ducetim being dead; all the Greeke Cities did in a fort acknowledge System(e):

Trinsta excepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and lift Olympual,

they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being opprest by them, seeke aide from the Athenians, about the fixt yeare of the Peloponne lan Warre. In this fuite they preuailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Orator; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to fuccourthem, under the leading of Laches, and Charwades. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with fome supplies brought 20 by Sophocles, Pythodorus, Eurymedon, and other Athenian Captaines, they inuaded the Territories of the Syraculians, and their Partilans; wanne and loft divers places; tooke Mellana; and, in the feventh yeare of the Peloponnelun Warre, loft it againe. They also, at the same time, attempted Himers, but in vaine. The fire of this querrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which inuaded each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselues on all bands, and yet could fee none iffue of the warre; the Leontines, without the aduite of the athenians, came to an accord with the Syracustans, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedome. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatned themselves in Sicil, by the divilion and civill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by 30 the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cufrome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished Pythodorus, and Sophocles, and laied an heavie fine vpon Eurymedon. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the Greekes in Sicil: which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines, and Syraculians, in fauour of the Cities of Egesta, Leantium, and Catana. They of Selinus had oppress the Egestans; and they of Syracuse, the Leontines, and the Catamans: which was the ground of the warre. For, the Athenians undertooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedamon was fent 40 to the Syracustans. The Lacedamonians dealt plainely, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their fuccour, being in diffresse. The Athenians scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were fo great, as discouered their intent to bee none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not believe their owne cies, which prefented vnto them a Flect, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the Citie of Athens had ingaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatneffe of the enterprife, but the neceffice of finithing it in a floot 15 place of time. For the Lacedemonians (as hath alreadine been effected in due place) flood at that time in fuch broken termes of peace with Athens; a differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessaristic either to spreno cold in this great expedition, or alreagether to sprehar it; which was likely to be hindred by wars

at home, if their proceedings were flack abroad. And furely, had not the defire of the Athenian beene ouer-pathonate, the arguments of Nitian had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a bineffle, and to referue their forces for a more needful vie. But yong consiles prevailed, against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of saletie than of honour.

Of this butinede, mention hath beene alreadie made, in that which wee have written of the Pelapennessaw are. But what was there delinered in general termes, as not concerning the affaires of Greece, otherwise than by consequences doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of Stall

10 was like to haue felt a great connerlion.

Though aliabiaces had prevailed against Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great voinge; yet Nicias, together with Aliabiades, and Lamachus, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

Thele had commillion and direction, as well to fuccour the Segefians, and to reelablish the Leonines, call out of their places by the Synaufians; as also, by force of 
armes, to subject the Synaufians, and all their adherents, in Sial, and compell them 
bytribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, 
the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and 
fine thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie Thips of burden, which 
transported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these 
were Athenians, it intimans, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, besides these, size than 16 c. 9.

thouland Megarians light armed, with thirtie horfe-men.

With these troups and fleets they arrive at Rhegium, where the Rhegian refuse to give them entrie; but fell them victualls for their monic. From thence they fent to the Egestans, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing, for their fakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answeres, that thefe Egestans were poore, and that they had abused the Athenian Embassadors with false showes of gold, having in all but thirtie talents. The Athenians further were discouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and 20 allied vnto the Leontines, refuled to trust them within their walls. Hereupon Nicias aduleth to depart towards the Selmuntines, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the Egeflans; as likewife to fee what difburfements the Feeflans could make; and so to return again into Greece, and not to wast Athens in a needleffe warre. Alcibiades, on the other fide, would follicite the Cities of Sicil to confederacie, against the Syracusians and Selinuntines, whereby to force them vnto reflitution of all that they had taken from the Leantines. Lamachus, hee perfwades them to affaile Syracufe it felfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprize Carana: and there they take new counfaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied Nicias to those of Egelia, who 40 received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twen. tie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Hand. Thus, the Sommer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the Athemans prepare to affaile Syracufe. But Alcibiades having been accused at home, in his absence, was fent for back by the Athenians, to make his answere : and the Armie was left to the conduct of Nicias and Lamachie. These Commanders obtaine a landing place, very neare vnto Syracule, by this deuile,

They imploy to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catama, whom they trust; and instruct himsto promise who the Syracusems, that here would deliburate their hands all the Albenium, within Catama. Hereupon the Syracusems draw thitherward with their 50 best forces. But in the meane while, the Albenium, setting faile from Catama, arrive at Syracuse, where they land at faire case, and for title themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the Syracusems had the losse; but the Albeniums, wanting horse, could not pursue their victoric to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refirsh their Armie at Catama, for the winter-se son.

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From

From thence they made an attempt vpon Mel/ana, hoping to haue taken it by anintelligence, but in vaine. For Authrades had discourred such as were Traitors within the Citieto the Mel/mians. This he now did, in despight of his owne Citizens the Athenans; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lacedemonians, and to them hee gaue mischieuous counsaile against his Countrie. While this Winter yes lasted, the Strankins send Embassadours to Lacedemon, and Covinth, for aide: as likewise the Athenian Captaines in Sial, send to Athens, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the Pelopannejus warre) the Athenius in Sicil, faile from the Port of Catana, to Categorae, for faken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Countrie, they obtaine fome finall victories ouer the firagling Syracufous: and at their returne to Catans, they receive a fupply of two hundred men at armes, but without horfe, which they hoped to furnish in the lland; from the Segeflus, and other their adherents: they were also frengthned with a companie of Archers, and with three hundred talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neare Syraey/e, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the Syraey/ans, that fallied to impeach their intrenchments, 10 They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at armes. Syraey/e was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any fuccours could enter, but such as were able to force their passes the statement of their passes of their best Commanders, was flaine.

In the meane while, Gylippus, and Pythan, with the Lacedamonian, and Corinthian forces arriue, and takel and at Himera. The Citizens of Himera: and of Golda, together with the selimantines, opine with them, fo that with the feand his owne troups, Gylippus aduentured to march ouer-land towards Syracafe. The Syracafians fend a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The whenians prepare to engounter them, expecting his arriual neare vinto the Citic yon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the syracafian horse-men could not come to sight in those streights: but some after, Greatafian horse-men could not come to sight in those streights: but some after, Greatafian horse-men could not come to sight in those streights with some after, Greatafian horse-men could not come to sight in those streights with one after, Greatafian his Campe. Whereupon Nacius made the state of his affaires knowned by his letters, to the Athenians, shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be clost, together with the small Armier ermaining. The selecters received, the Athenians appoint two other Generalls, Eurymeden, and Demossibles, to joyne with Nacius: the one they dispate prefertly with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, Gylippus at Syraense, fights with the Athenians, both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good fuecesse: but in conclusion, he tookes from them their Fort, near vinto Syraense, at the Promutorie, called Plymmyrium; wherein the Athenians lost their treasure, and a great part of all their promitions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the Atenians themselues, in Greece, were (in effect) besseged within Athens, by the Leechemonium; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the warre in Sicil, and dispatched away tremosshums with new succours. Temosshums, in his way towards Sicil, encountred with Pelymthes the Corinthian, with his sheet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil, the one to succour Nicius; the other, Gylippus. The losse between ethem was in effecte yo quall; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, Gylippus and Arislem had selided the Athenians in the great Portos Syneuse, and in Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the neck of this, Demossher.

rest arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, changed with foot-men; and (blaming the flouth of Nicias) he invaded the Systamians, the same day that he arrived. But he made more halte, than he had good speede, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon Demostlibutes and Eury medon, determine to rise vp from before Systamse, and returne to the succour of Athems: but Nicias disputed to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within Systamse, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoeuer Niehn his intelligencewas; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the Athenius had all consented to depart, and to ologe act Cassan; had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding saw sat hough; ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this supersition cost them deare. For the Sysacusium, Luck Lomonium, and Corinthaus, with threefore and seventeene saile of Callies, ented the great Port of Sysacus; wherein the Athenium's kept their sleet, and whereon they had fortified them selues. The Athenium, in the same Port, encountred them with source or and sixe Gallies, commanded by Eusymedown; in which the Athenium sheet was beaten, by the lesser number, and Eusymedown shaine. Now, though it were so, that the Sysacus were beaten by Sea, in which sinde they thought themselves innincible, they were wonderfully cast downer. For it was well said of Sylpzops; to the Syszussians; When any people doe finde themselves canquished in that manner

of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselaes that they exceede all others, they not only loose their reputation, but their courage. The Athenium, besides the Gallies funck and wrackt, had seuenteene taken, and posses by the enemie: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawne them within a Palsado, in one corner of the Port, vnadussedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one substituing, by being at large; the other, by cole imbattailing.

The Syrachims, having now weakned the Athenian fleet, refolue to imprifon to them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; fillingthe Out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double rasks of Gallies break through the Syrachian fleet; which lay but single, because they were forst to range themselses strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laied behinde them agains certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that is any of their Gallies were sunke; or the chaine, which joyned them to their sellowes, broken; the Athenians might yet finde themselses, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those Athenians might yet sinde

42 themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. I o dilorder allot those Arbeitan Gallies, which came on in torme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passinge, the Streamins had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of look ones, to stop their course and furie. For where the way of any vesfell, ving our corsules, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other fide, the Alhenians knew that they were viterly loft, except with an invincible refolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats or (at leaf) force a paffage through them in fome part or other: which they refolute to hazard, with all their flipping (to the number of one hundered and ren, of all forts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian steet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt by the ships without, and assaulting the other loose Gallies of the Syraussaus, which were purposely left at large in the Sea,

they were either taken or lunke. Three great disaduantages the Athenians had : the first, that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no roome to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the fecond, that having over-pettered their Gallies with Souldiers, who yield offenting armes of darts and flings, they had not place upon the decks to firetch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paffage, by which they might faue themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no leffe terrible than the confution; the flaughter great on all fides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard But in the end, the Athenians, as many as furnised, were beaten back to the Land, 10 with loffe of threefcore of their Gallies, broken, funke, or abandoned. The Straettstans did also loose twentie of theirs, with Python, Commander of the Cornellians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port. faued themselues by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsell. Lemosthenes perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained: and while the Syracufians were triumphing, and made fecure by their prefent victorie, to fet vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens, This was no ill counfaile. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have beene victorious) that have neglected the speedie 20 profecution of a beaten enemie; fo might we produce many examples of those, who, having flept fecurely in the bosome of good successe, have been suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and have therby loft againg all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But Nicias opposeth the advice of Demostheres: Others say, that the Sea men were against it. Whereupon abando ning their Gallies, they all resolue to march ouer land to the Cities of their Consederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other fide, Gylippus, and other the Lacedemonian and Corinthian Captaines, with Hermoerates, exhort the Syracufians to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Atheniais 30 might make retrait. But many were wearie, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the prefent. Which humour in fome of our Commanders at Cadez, loft vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. Hermocrates, the Syracufian, finding it a loft labour, to perswade his Countrimen to any hastic prosecution, denised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He fent two or three horse-men out of Syracuse by night, willing them to finde Wicins and (after they had affored him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haftily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleaging that the Syraculians had lodged their Ar- 40 mie, which could not long flay there, vpon the passages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings Nic as easily beleeved, and put off his journie to the third day. For men, newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wife; and to them, every thiftle in the field, appeares, by night,

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and purfued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were fick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest marchaway, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the Riuer of Amapus, not withstanding the opposition of their enemies. Bur being 50 euery day charged in their marches, and by the Synaushan horse men, beaten in from forraging, and promision of foode, they grow weaks and hearths (E. The Synaushans also possesses) which they were to passe towards Comerina, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take

what way they could : being vnable to proceede in their journie intended. Many hard thifts they made, in difficult paffages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to eleape from the enemie that purfued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, Aicias vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and Demosthenes conducted the Rearc. At the River Erineus, Nigias takes the flart of a whole nights march, leaving Demostheres to make the retrait: who being incompassed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worfe to than he suspected. For he was afterward, with Nicias, murdered in prison. The Armie of Demofthenes being diffolued, they purfue Nicias with the greater couragewho being vtterly broken, vpon the paffage of the River Asinarus, rendred himfelfe to Gylippus, vpon honelt conditions. Gylippus fought to preferue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta; Nicios, as a noble enemie to the Lacedemonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they received at P. lus by the Athenians, had faued the lives of the vanquilhed; Demolihenes, as one that had done to Lacedomon the greatest hurt. Hermoor ates also the Commander of the Syracu/ian Armie, diffwaded the rest, by all the arte he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after to noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly fort, (co-20 wardife and crueltic, being infeparable paffions) preuailed, and caused these braue Captaines to be miferably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee sterued in lothfome prisons; and the rest fold for slaves. This was the successe of the Siestian warre; which tooke end at the river spinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleventh Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; the Egeflans (for whose defence, against the Selinuntines, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syraculans, fought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their Vaffalls. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicil, yet confidering the prosperitie of the Syraculians, 30 and their late victories ouer the Athemans, they stand a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were streightly allied to the Syracustans, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolue vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Seinuntines, they send Embaffadours to Syracufe: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syraculians approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no fuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the Syracufians, 40 with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer totrouble them, by interpoling as Arbitrators, in a bulines, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haue it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace craue aide of Syracule; and the Syraculians as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthagintans would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand

menis fet out from Carrhage, vnder the conduct of Hamnhal, Nephew to that Amiler, who (as you have heard before) was ourethrowne with the great Carthignian Atmie at Himera by Gelon. Humihal was exceeding greedie of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of 50 them having beene flaine by the Himerans; the other by those of Seemen. Both these Cities, Hemihal, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, fackt tienn, and burne them; and having taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where Amile was flaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of Hermocrates,

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Hermocrates, who had lately beene Generall of the Syracujum forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the Lacedamonians, in their warre against Athens; wherein hee did great seruice. All the honester fort within Syracule were forie for the injurie done vnto him. and fought to have him repealed. Hermocrates himselfe, returning into Sicil, gathered an Armie of fixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire Selinus; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the love of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was adulsed to seize you a Gate of Syracule, with some strength of men; wherby his friends, within the Towne, might 10 have the better meanes to rife against the adverse partie. This he did : but presently the multitude fell to armes, and fet vpon him; in which conflict hee was flaine. But his fonne-in-law, Dionyfus, shall make them with Hermocrates aliue againe.

## t. IIII.

Of DIONYSIVS the Tyrant : and others, following him, in

THE Syracusums had enjoyed their libertie about threescore yeares, from the death of Thrasybulus, to the death of Hermocrates: at which time Disnyssius was railed up by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude, towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of Dionifins, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or diffrace: which custome they must now bee taught to

Dionylus obtayned the Principalitic of Syracufe, by the fame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuseit selfe. For, being made Preter, and commanding their Armies against the Carthagi- 30 nians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then beganne he to follow the example of Pififiratus, that made himfelfe Lord of Athens; obtaying a band of fixehundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his private enemies, being traiteroufly affected to the State of Syracule, had laid plots how to murder him. because of his good services. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alleaging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to affure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of syracuse; and these were afterwards at his denotion, as obliged vnto him by fo great a benefit. His first fauour, among 40 the Syracufains, grew from his accufation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters : wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breakedowne, as fetters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it under fafe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizenshad found whereat hee aimed. But what they faw, the people would not fee : and fome that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to huntafter the tyrannie; being but fine and twentie yeares of age when he obtayned it : belike, it was his defire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was 50 much good provision, and vnder it the Gallies were mored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie; the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needie fort within Syracuse, that could not

thrine by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establishing the faction, raigning at that present; were wholly affected to his affiltance. Having therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, faue to affure what hee had alreadie. Hee strengthned himselfe by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of Hermocrates; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian, Doris, by whom he had Dionylius, his Succeffor, the other, Ariffomache, the daughter of Happarinus, and lifter to Dion, honourable menin Syracuse, which bare vnto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

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Yetit was not long, ere some of the Syracustans (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noveltie of his Rule. But their enterprife was more passionately, than wifely gouerned. He had shamefully been beaten by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it vexed the Siedian men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians wasteall, that hee might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it instamed them with a delire to free themselves from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched halfily to Syracufe, where they found friends to helpe them : there they forced his Palace, ranfacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof thee poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles a-20 pace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take revenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no, not of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people, that ever raigned in any State; and withall, the most vnrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the reft; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of Intwerpe: therein he lodged

his treasures, and his Guards.

He then beganne to make warre upon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay 30 before Herbeffe, an in-land Towne, the Syracufisms rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recoursed his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Cambanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recovered the masteric over the Syracustans. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Haruest, hedilarmed all the Townes-men remayning; and new threngthned the Fort of the lland, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, with threefcore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many 40 fwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corflets, and all other sutable armes. Which done, he fent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly enfecbled by the plague) That except they would abandon the Greeke Townes, which they held in Sieil, he would make warre vpon them : and, not flaying for answere, hee tooke the spoile of all the Phanician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King Philip the second, did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot and three thousand horse, and sends his brother Leptines to fea, with two hundred Gallies and fine hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for Carthage yeelded vnto him; saving P.snormus, Segesta or Egesta, Ancyre, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wonne Motya 50 by affault, and put all therein to the fword; but before Egeff hee loft a great part of his Armie, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while Himico arrives; but, ere he tooke land, he loft in a fight at Sea, with Legtines, fiftie thips of warre, and fine thonfand Souldiers, belides many thips of burden. This notwithstanding, heerecouered againe Metyavpon his first descent. From thence marching towards MefJena, he tooke Lypara, and (foone after) Messena, and raied it to the ground. Now beganne Dionifius greatly to doubt his cltate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the Leantines, by which hee supposed that Handice would paffe toward Syracufe, and he himfelfe tooke the field againe, with toure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himilto had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and fending Mago with the other by Sea: he fent Leptines, his brother, to encounter Ma. go. But Leptines was veterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twentie thousand of his men were flaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lott. It is very strange, and hardiv credible, which yet good Authours tellys, That one Citic should becable to furnish fine hundred faile of thips, and two hundred Gallies: (tor, fo many did Syracule arme in this warre) and more thrange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Lepanio was the most notable, we heare of no fuch number loft; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happed in our age, nor before vs. When Charles the fift went to beliege Algier, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie faile of thips, and threefcore and fine Gallies : for the furnishing of which fleet, he fought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italico. But in old times it was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, 20 of all that could beare armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not fo; neither, indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, Dionyfius postes away to Syracuse, to strengthen it : Himileo followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aide from the Laced amonians, under the conduct of Pharacidas, puts himfelfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twentie of the Carthegintan Galies, and linke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne fuccesse prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands; they confult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not Pharacians the Lacedamonian relified them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the 3: plague was so increased, and so violent, among the Carth iginians; as it is said, that aboue an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, fets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having flaine great numbers of them, foreeth Himileo to defire peace. This peace I ionyfius fold him for a great fumme of monie, on condition, that he should steale away with his Carthaginians only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him : for he was purfued, and I ft many of his Carthaginians behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell under the swords of their enemies; only the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended themfelues, were (after their fubmission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many fuch examples of perfidious dealing base I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliver vnto memorie the like practices, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto Monfieur de Poles, was very furable to this treacheric, wherewith Disnopfus purfued timileo. I was prefent, when Te Poles related the injuried one vnto him. He had rendered St. John & Angelie, to the French King Chiefe the mirth, who befleged him therein. Heer endred it, vpon promife made by the faith of a King, that he flowed be fuffered to depart in faircite, with all his followers. Yet in prefence of the King himfelfe, of the Duke of Anion his brother Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of divers Lukes and Marfilals of France, he was fer typon and broken in his march; foolied of all that he had; and forced to fauch is life by flight, leaving the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place; the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensigned in faith, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit availing him. It needes not therefore feeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since

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Kings, profetting Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Diomyfus, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edific Messen. Chaso, who faied in Sieil, to hold up the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by Enopylius; who is also beaten by the Tunomeniums. A new flupply of tourescore thousand Soulders is sent from Carthageto Mago; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with Dianysius, leaving the Sicilians in Tunomenium, to this for themselues: whom Dianysius, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

He then past into Italie, obtained diuers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and four face to hundred cownes, for furnish him with threefoor Gallies, and to put man hundred pledges, for affurance of their future observance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might be liege them, and rune them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, faithing the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuals for his Arme, at such that the contract of the source of th

20 Syraus(...)

It is refolution was , that if they refused to furnish him , hee would then make their refusall the cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of soode, to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price source. And great reason he had to take recenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when, in the beginning of his raigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, Thatthey had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doer ather pardon ill deedes, than villainous words, 30 collectander the Great forgaue many sharpe knords, but never any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errours. And certainely, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princess, and to none else, especially.

cially in publique.

It is faid, that Hemrie the fourth of France, had his heart mere inflamed againft the Duke of Biron, for his ouer-bold and biting tunns, that hee vied againft him before Amiens, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard, or Sunyam: for he had pardoned ten thouland of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords againft him. The contemptuous words that St. John Parts vied of our late Queene Elizabeth, were his ruine; and not the counque trait letter of the Romilla Priest, produced againft him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, some after.

To bee short, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towneon all sides, which hee continued to doe cleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by storee. He yield his victorie without mercie; specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the Carthaginians, after the taking, and rafing of this Citie; and thofe with variable fuccific. For as in one encounter hee
flue Mago, with ten thousand Africans: to the sonne of Mago beate him, and i've
50 his brother Leptinas, with sourceene thousand of his Souldiers. After which
hee bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him;
following therein the aduice of Prosperitie and Aduertitie, as all Kings and
States doe.

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When he had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he died: fome fay, in his bedde, peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report to therwise. A cruell man hee was, and a faithlesse, a great Poer, but a foolish one. Hee entertained Plato a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him slaine, or fold for a slaue. For hee could endure no man, that slattered him not beyond measure. His Parastices therefore shield his crueltie, The hate of each men's and his lawlesse slaughters, The ornaments and effects of his inflice. True it is, that slatterers are a kind of vermine, which position all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better, than the worthiest and valiantest mendoe: And I wonder not att it, for it is a world: and as our Sautow Christ hath told vs, 10 The World will low her avenue.

To this Dianylius, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, hee pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens duers payments, by his Father imposed vnto him less that had fathened vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheeps skinne, and put on that of the Wolke. For, being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe; hee caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For Dianylius his Father (as hath beene said) 10 had two Wiues; Davis of Learns; and Artistemachea Syracussian, the sister of Dian, which Brother-in-law of his heg greatly enriched.

By Doris he had this Dionysius, who succeeded unto him: and by Aristomathe he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called Sophrosyme, he gaue in marriage to his eldert Sonne, and her halfe-brother, Dionysius; the youger, called Areta, he bestowed on his Brother Theorides: after whose death, Dion tooke her to Wife, being his Necce.

This Dion, a just, and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exercife of vertue, and that hee was wholly given ouer to fenfualitie, preuailed fo much with Plate, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicil, to instruct 30 the yong King. And having perfwaded the King to entertaynehim, he wrought fo well with him, as Dionyfius beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrifons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For Philistus the Historian, and other his Paralites, that hated Dions seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to bee banished out of Sicil, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas Dion had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrells betweene him and the Carthaginians, of whom Dienyfius flood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gal- 40 lies at his owne charge, during the warre against them : his enemies found meanes, by finister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told Dionysius, that all the great commendations, given of Plate, had tended to none other end, than to foften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest Dion, in the meane time, having furnished fiftie Gallies, under colour of the Kings feruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliver to the Syraculians their former libertie, or to make himfelfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serue the King with 6 great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For 50 they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had alreadie beene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that Dion had made, if the King had had the grace to con-

coine it aright. But these conctons and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that Door had, were bold to file his Lone and Liberaltite, Phile and Presimption; and beartned the yong King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoile foolies they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when Charles the fift had the repulse at Asjar in Africa, Ferdinana Cortes, one of the brauest men that ener 5g aims brought forth, offered who the Emperour, to continue the slegat his owne charge. But hee had never good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conquest of Mexico in the west Indies, persuaded the Emperour, that Cortes fought to value himselfe about him; and to 10 haue it faid. That what the Emperour could not, Cortes had effected, and was therefore more worthie of the Empire, than be that had it.

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When him was newly banished, the Tyrang was contented, at first, to fend him thereuenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moucables, at his owne pleasser: not without giving hope, to recall him in thort time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that Dion would have beene well pleased to like well, as he did, at Athens. But after some time, Dionyshus made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby veged him to take another course; cuento seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of Dion, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much love in Greece. This love made him suspected and

into rante, that yrant: but it flood him in good flead, when hee fought to raile men, with whole helpe he might returne into Sied. Yet he got not about eight hundred (for hee carried the matter closely) to follow him in this aducture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in Syzaufe, as many as should be needfull, that would readily affifthim. Therefore he landed boldly in Sied; marched to Syzaufe sorted the Citie without reliflance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, faue the Citadel.

Distribution was then ablent in Italie; but hee quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned haltily to Syracuses: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and forme forecable attempts to recover the Towne, 30 he was faine to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the cultodic of Apolicarities, his eldel fonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion Philipus, comming with a strength control to distribution, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But Tion, for the recoverie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthis men have

to anith this, we call the fame reward, that all worthie men haue had from popular Effates. He was diffraced, affanited, and forced to abandon the Citic. He cretireth himfelfe to the Leontines, who receive him with great joy. Some after his departure from Syraufe, new troups enter the Cattle: they failie out, affaile, fpoile, and burnen great part of the Citic. Dion's fent for, with humble requelt: yet, ere he could arrive, Dionfins his Souldiers were retired; and the Townfinen, thinking themfelues fecture, thut the Gates against Lion. But the next 40 night, they of the Cattle fallie againe, with greater furie than ever; they kill Man, night, they of the Cattle fallie againe, with greater furie than ever; they kill Man, hight, they of the Cattle fallie againe, with greater furie than ever; they kill Man,

Woman, and Child, and fet fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie Dim comes the fecond time to their fuccour; the loue of his Countrie for mounting all the injuries that he had received. He fets vpon the Garrison of the Caille, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, every-where kindled with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the fivord, that had well-neare burnt to allies, and depopulated Spreaufe, he recovered the Caille, which the munition and furniture thereof, and fent Apalice-ties, after the within his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom he had best described, and whom he had loued most, gaue an untimely end to his dayes. For he was, some after the had loued most, gaue an untimely end to his dayes. For he was, some after the had loued most, gaue and whom he had best described by Cuippur; who, after he had, with ill fine creeke, and who will the same Dagger, with which hee had murde-

Ten yeares after the death of Dion, Dionyfius, with the aftiffance of his friends in Italia, recouers his effate, and returnes to Syracufe, driving Nyfaus thence, whom he Fffff 2 found

found Governour therein. The better fort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his crueltie, flee to seetes, a Syracusan borne, and then ruling the Leontines. Icetes enters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their affiltance, not only to preuaile against Dionylius; but by the hatred of the Syracustans towards Dionyfius, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracufians, being deferuingly afflicted on all files, fend to the Corinthians for fuccour. Icetes also fends thither, and disswades the Corinthians, as well as hee can, from intermedling in the businesse. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were fo ftrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Csrinth, to land any Armie in Sieil. But the Corinthians, being by this treason of Icetes, 10 more inraged than diffwaded, ferte Timoleon with nineteene Gallies, to deliver Szracuse from tyrannie. In the meane while, seeses had entred Syracuse, and, with the helpe of the Carthaginians, drinen Dionyfius into the Castle, wherein hee belie-

Icetes, being himselse a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countric. Therefore, hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Rhegium, he fent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all thines were (in effect) established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium, whose Captaines adulfed Timoleon, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if 20 he would not be perswaded. Timeleon, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open affembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those areuments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in private; that hee might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Corinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtayned by a few faire wordes, was without loffe, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to Timoleons defire. But while the Orations were deliuering, Timoleon, fauoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the presse; and having set faile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port of Tauromenium, 30 where he was joyfully received by Andromachus the Gouernour. From thence he marched towards Adranum, where furprifing leetes his Armie, hee flue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranic ons joyned with him; and fo did Mamereus, the Tyrant of Catana, Dionyfine also sent to Timoleon, offering to surrender the Castie of Syracufeinto his hands: as thinking it better to yeeld vp himfelfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the Corinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now Timoleon, who within fiftic daies, after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of Syracufe, and sent Diony sus to Corinth, to live there a private man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practises, of seetes. For 40 he besieged the Corinthians, within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of Timeleen.

The Corinthians fend vnto Timoleon a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundredhorse, which are staid in Italie by foule weather. Icetes is strengthned with three score thousand Africans, brought vnto him by Aligo (all which hee lodgeth within Syracufe) and with an hundred and fiftie Callies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that cuer the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citic. With this great Armie, Icetes affaulteth the Caffle. Timoleon fends them victualls, and fuccour, in small boats, by night, from Catana. Alago and Icetes doc therefore resolue to besiege Catana; but they were no sooner on their way towards 50 it, with part of their forces, than Lean, Captaine of the Corinthians, fallicd out of the Castle, and tooke that part of Syracuse, called Acradina, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marcheth towards Syracuse. Maga abandoneth

letes, being frighted out of Sieil (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright hims, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. Timoleon enters the Citie, and beats downe the Caltle (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the graffe, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to Corinih, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are feat out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Iland.

But a new florme ariseth. Asarubal and Amilew , Carthaginians, arrive about Lilybeum, with threefcore and ten thou fand Souldiers, transported (with all their prouilions) in a thouland thips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth

thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a P. iner.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boitterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the Carthaginians, they are veterly broken: ten thousand flaine; fine thoufandtaken, with all their carriages and prouifions; among which, there werefound a thouland corflets, gilt and grauen. After this, Timoleon gaue an ouerthrow to Platin vir. Time feetes and, following his victorie, tooke him, with his fonne Eupelemus, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine; and afterwards (which 20 was imputed to him for great crueltie) he fuffered toetes his wives and daughters to beput to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon leetes, who (after the murder of Dien) had caused Arete, Dions wife, and a yong child of his, with Artstomache his lifter, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe prevailed against Mamerem, Tyrant of Catana, and wonne Catana it felfe. Alamercus fled to Hippon, Tyrant of Mellena: but Timoleon, pursuing him. wonne the towne; delinering Hippon to his Citizens, who tormented him to death, The same end had Mamereus, and all other, the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians; on condition, That they should not palle the River of Lyous. After this, he lived in great honour among the Syra-

30 custains, till his death; and was folemnely buried by them, in the market-place of their Citie : the day of his Funeralls, being for cuer ordayned to bee kept holy a-

After such time, as Timoleon had delivered Syracuse, from the tyrannie of Dionyfins, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertic in peace, about twentie yeares. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in fafetic; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But, it was impossible, that a Nation, which neither knew how to governe, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to governe them; should any long time sublist.

Twentie yeares after the death of Timoleon, there flarted vp an Agathoeles among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and fo from degree to degree, riling to bee a Preter; finally became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syracustans, Many fortunes he ranne, and under-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man be was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was imploied, as also for the Syracusians, and against them. For in their warres against those of Enna, and the Campanes, he did them memorable sertice and on the contrarie, as memorable service for the Margantines against the Sy-

50 racufans. For being entertained by the people of Murgantia, and made Generall of their forces, he fackt Leonium ; and belieged Syracufe fo fireightly , that the Citizens were driven to crave aide, even from their ancient and naturall enemies, the Cartheginians. Amilear was fent by the Carthaginians, to relieue Syracuse. With him Aguineeles wrought so well, that he got him to make peace betweene himselfe and

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the Syraculians; binding him felfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the state of Carthage, for ever after. Amilear entertayned the businesse, and compounded the quarrell's betweene Agathocles, and the Syracusians. Agathocles is chosen Prator; he entertaines five thousand Africans, and divers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, under colour of a purpose to beliege Herbita. With these, and with the affiltance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie being also divided into many factions) he affailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and onpolites; divides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and gives libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to rauish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights. without controlment : the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and firewed the fireets with ten thousand dead carkaffes, belides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to

Agathodes, in an affembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent licknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly cofumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratic, by which it had been gourned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to have the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) per-20 force. For as he knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, norable, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had affished, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, faluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene given to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King Richard the third a peece of his patterne; but, the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertic from a Common-weale; the other fought only to fucceede in a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end; theo- 30 ther, after he had obtayned the Crowne, fought, by making of good lawes, to recouer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by Iustine; more largely and particularly by Diodorus Siculus: the fumme whereof is this. The fame Amilear that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him fine thousand men, to helpe in the maffacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpole of Amilear, to fettle Agathocles in his tyrannie, and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to paffe, that hee should reduce all Sicil into such termes, as would make it become an easie prev to Carthage. But, when the Cities, confe- 40 derate with the Carthaginians, fent their Embassadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (fo much taunted by the Romans, as no better than meere fallhood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redreffe. Embaffadours were fent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put Agathodes in minde of his couenants; Amilear was recalled home into Africk, and a new Captaine appointed to fucceede in his charge, with fuch forces, as might compell Agathodes to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended, to sauce their Confederates, from fuffering fuch injuries in the future. For that which was past (fince it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. Amilear was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being given, 50 but not calculated; and so reserved, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that Amilear had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with Agathodes, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made fuch a composition with the Syracusian as

gaue him not only meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worketheir owne ends by cunning practises; thinking to deale fubtilly, and finely, they fpinne their threads fo fmall, that they are broken with the very winde. Amilear faw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into fo much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his fore-22 goers had taught him; and, for feare of fuch a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what fort he thought best. This desperation of Amilear ferued to informe Agathoeles of the Carthaginians intent. He faw they would not be deluded with words, and therfore refolued to get the flart of them in action. He diffembled no longer; but, in stead of spoile and robberie, made open warre ypon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of Sieil his owne, ere the Curthaginian forces arrived : which thinking to have encountred an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and give them tharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their

20 bufineffe vndone, and returne into Africk. The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilest it was yet within kenning of their Citic. But Amilear, the sonne of Gifco, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into Sicil, and landed not farre from Gela; where Agatheeles was soone readie to examine the cause of their comming. Many skirmilhes passed between them, in which (commonly) the Syracufun had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby he loft a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduer fe chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great 20 circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse; within which Agathoeles was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be judged to have found him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of

Syracufe, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, infranchifed flaues, or bafe and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obferued, and (withall) fo fearfull, that they durst not stirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine 40 was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, Agathocles aduentured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended, as wife. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessells that rode

in the Hauen; and committing the gouernement of the Citie to his brother Antunder, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought him selfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the belieged from iffuing forth.

Now, at fuch time as Agathoeles was readie to depart, aduertisement came, that many (hips of burden, laden with corne, and other prouitions, were drawing neare 50 vnto Syracufe. To intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise faile, and launch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold Agathoeles, iffuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled back into the

Citie, but made all speede towards Africk; and was pursued by the Carthagimans, as long as day would give them light. In the meane scason, the victual lers were gotten into Syracase; which was the more plentifully relieved by their comming, for that Agathacles had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceived; first, that by pursuing two sleets at once, he had missed of them both, and scoondly, that Agathacles returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were steel, and to attend so well youn them, that they should not have leisure to doe missed in some other past.

The Carthaginian Nauie followed Agathodes (whether by chance, or by relation to of fuch as had metwith him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after fixed ayes. He had (at the firft) a great flart of them; fo that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied them felues, in feeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, hauing funke, or taken many, draue the, refit to flie which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When Agathocles had landed his men in Africk, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them understand, That there was no better way to divert the Carthaginians, not only from Syracuse, but from all the Ile of Sicil, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (faid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceive that there 20 is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promife and make good, by letting them have some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one alreadie Master of all the riches in Africk; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (referuing one or two, to vie as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, faue only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; 30 which after they had throughly facked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make refissance. The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that Amilear is broken, and his whole Armie destroied in Sicil. This impression so dismaics them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they seare, and know not what. They suspect Amilears faith, who had suffered Agathoeles to land in Africk : they suspect their principall Citizens at home of a meaning to betray Carthage, vnto the enemie; they raife a great Armie, and know not vnto whole charge they may fafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, Hanne, and Bomil- 40 can's great enemies, and therefore the more valikely to configire againft the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of Agathacles. But it seldome happens, that diffension between Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Necessitied drauge Agathacles to fight: and the courage of his men, resoluted to deale with the whole multitude of the Carting initials, made case the victoric against the one halfe of them. For Bomilear would not fitter ibut suffered Hanne to be cuttin peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthzginian focietie to take part with Agathedes: who purfuing his victoric, winnes many Townes, and fends word to Spraulf of his good fuccelle. The Carthzginians 50 alfo fend into Sial, willing Amilear, their Generall, to fuccour the flate of Africk, which was in danger to be loft, whileft he was travailing in the conquest of Sial, Amlear fends them succeeding the most stem succeeding the thought them for the default transfort; as hoping rather to draw Agathedes back into Sial, than to be drawne

home by one, that could fearce retaine his owne Kingdome. But the fe good hopes had a bad iffue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered wno the Syracussians: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceined a sidden hope of taking Syracus by Suprise. It was a prette (though tragically accident, if it were true, as Tullar elates it. Amile r had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within Syracus. His fincie begot this dreame, and he belieued it. He made more halte, than good speeds, toward the Citre: and comming ypon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome pre-

This good fucceffe of things at home, did put fuch courage into the Sicilian Armie, that Agathocles was bold to weare a Crowne, and file himfelfe King of Africa. He had allured Ophellas, King of the Creations, to take his part, by promifes to deliver the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he faid) it was fufficient vnto himfelfe to have discreted the Cartheginians from Sicil, wherein (alter this warre ended) he might raigne quitely. Ophellas came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertayned. But the traiterous Sicilian, taking an advantage, did nurder this his affiftant, was found to worker and recommended to the constitution.

and afterwards, by good wordes, and great promifer, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villainie found good fucceffe, and he fo premialed in Africk, that he got leifure to make a flee jint of Stiel. Many Townes in Stiel hadimbraced a delire of recouring their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had fo long been exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. The fe had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of Arabosles abated their high spirits, and his good successive many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of Stiel he returned into Africk, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. Archingulus, his sonne, had lost a batterials and which was warfely had ill means to be he himselfe his Armie being Armens.

30 talle, and (which was worfe) had ill meanes to helpe himfelfe; his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But Aguhoeles pacified the tumult, by the accuflomed promifes of great bootic and fpoile. It had now beene time for him, to offer peace to the Cesthaginians; which to obtaine, they would (queftionleffe) haue given to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citic had beene dithreffed, not only by this his warre, but by the treafon of Bomilean, who failed not much of making himfelfe Tyrant over them. But ambition is blinde. Agashoeles had all his thoughts fixed youn the conqueft of Carthage it felfes out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loffe of a battaile, not for memorable integrated of any accident therein, as of the firange cuents following it. The Carthage that the proposal is intelled to the second of the firange cuents following it.

49 gmisms, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old faci fixes of children to Saturne: from which they had abfained, euer fince they made pence with Gaba. And now they made choice of fome, the goodlieft of their prifioners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the faid Idoll, in way of thankefulneffe for their victorie. The fire, with which thefe whappie men were confumed, caught hold ypon the lodgings neared vnto the Altar; and fpreading it felfs tarther through the Campe, with the deftruction of many men, caufed fuch a tumult, as is vfuall in the like cafes. At the fame time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pauliton of Agathales. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleening, that the notic in the aduerfe Campe, was a figne of the enemies comming to inuade it.

50 But the Carthagimans had a fafe retrait: Agathoeles, by a fecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolved from him, to the Carthagimians, in the laft bittaile; he beganne to affaile them, and was fo flourly relifted, that he loft, in this blinde flight,

aboue

about four thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neare hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto forme diffruit of his owne fafetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake tearos. than lately he had knowne how to gouerne his Ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to fteale closely abourd his thips. with his yonger fonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into Sicil; thinking it the best course, to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessells wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, Archagathus, perceiued his drift, arrested him, and put him under custodie : but by meanes of a sudden tumult hee was let loofe, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His 10 flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of race canfed not only the common Souldier, but even fuch as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two fonnes, and kill them. That this flight of Agathodes was extremely base; I neede not vie wordes to proue : That his feare was truly, as all feare is faid to be, a pathon, depriving him of the fuccours which reason offered, the fequele doth manitest. His forfaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse companie, and no longer an Armic to be feared, obtained neuertheleffe a reasonable composition from the Carth eqinians: to whom they fold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, Agathodes himselfe, having loft his Armic, did neuertheleffe, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace 20 with Carthage vpon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discoucred his bloudie nature in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his feares, viged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected; but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He denifed new engines of torment; wherein firiting to exceede the Bull of Phalaris, he made a frame of braffe, that should serue to scortch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miserie. So devillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutish affections. In these mischiefes he was so outragious, that he neither spared 30 Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserve his estate : it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countrie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into fuch feare, that he was faine to feeke the love at Carthage, which, by ruling well, he might have had in Sieil. He freely delivered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phanicians in Sicil, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him, honourably, with greatstore of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and filter. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebells, and settled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in Steil, he made a voiage into Italie. There he 40 fubdued the Brutians, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the life of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great fumme, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their Gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could be believe those to be Gods, that had continually given deafe caresto his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold; all which, and all the rest of his flat, were call away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which be himfelfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A gricuous sick n. If fell upon him, that rot- 50 ted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and tinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, sauc only Theogenia (a wife that he had taken out of Agypt) and her small children : his Nephew, the son e of Archigathas before mentioned, and a yonger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the Kingdome.

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them lated wair for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he she his Nnele, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of Asystoce with searcand forrow. He saw himselise without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no tauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only heenow held deare, which were, Theogenia, and her children. Therefore hee adusted her and them to slie before they were surprised is for that otherwise they could by no meanes anoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewish he cuen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wetched a case) to imbarke themselfues hashily, and make speech into Egypt. Astertheir departure, whether her herew himselfic into the fire, or whether his disaste consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life asbasely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he first begannet:

After the death of \*\*agatheles\*\* it was, that the \*\*Mamortines\*\* his Souldiers traiteroully occupied \*\*Atelfana\*\*, and infefted a great part of the Iland. Then ail fo did the Carthegnians\*\* beginne to renew their attemps of conquering all Stall. What the Nephew of \*\*agatheles\*\* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perifhed. 20 Forthe Stallans were driven to fend for Pyrrhus to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of \*\*Agatheles\*\*. But Pyrrhus was foone wearie of the Countrie (as hath been thewed before) and therefore left it; proplecying that it would become agoodly champaine field, wherein \*\*Rome and Carthage\*\* flould fight for fuperioritie. In whish businesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our floric will declare.

). V.

A recontinuation of the Roman warrein Sicil. How HIERON, King of Syracufe, for fooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.



Hen Appina Claudius, following the advantage of his victoric gotten at Meljama, brought the warre vnto the Gates of Strause, and belieged that great Citic; Hieron found it high time for him to feeke peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfeby what meanes he could, when they

were not in case to giue him atsistance; and forceeing withall, that when once hee

ab adpurchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit fill, without feare of molestation, whilest Rome and Carthage were sighting for the masterie,
In this good moode, the new Roman Consulls, CM. Valerius, and C. Ostacilius, found
him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vse of their
present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred)
Talents.

These Confulls had brought a great Armie into Sieil; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer Hiero to their side. If the Syrsunjan held them bushed (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed you him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the 50 whole time of their abode in the I land; then was his departure from the friend-ship of Carthage, no less to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should have received all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straying

themseliues to giue him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good proofe of the strength of Syracuse, in the daies of Agathoeles: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more flack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire. that both Rome and Syracufe thould weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the calier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had beene, when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the Carthaginians, who sought no other thing than to bring it into flauerie: not so against the Romans, who thought it sufficient, it they could withdraw it from the partie of their enemies. Belides, it was not all one to be gouerned by Agathocles, or by Hiero. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured. fo long as he might preserve his owne tyranie: the latter, as a just and good Prince. had no greater defire than to winne the loue of his people, by feeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enjoyed a long and happie raigne; liuing deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the Romans. and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the Romans, made vnable to compasse it. 20

How the Romans befrege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Seafight in generall.

Agrigentum was a goodly Cirie, built by IERON, having sided himselfe with the Romans, aided them with victuaills, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming vpon his affistance, recall some part of their forces. The Carthaginians finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the Ligurians, and to the troups they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arrived,

der conduct of they made the Citie of Agrigentum, the feat of the warre, against the Romans, filling it with all manner of munition.

The compalls was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it The Roman Confulls, having made the shadow of the first should be shadown that the shadown of the fer-place of the folial and shadown of the first shadown of the fer-tilities of the folial and shadown of the first shadown of the fer-place from final beginnings, og erect spot and notice. The plenter and the first shadown of the fir luxurie thereof was to great, as it cauted Empedacles to fay, That the A- and Quintus Mamilius, arrive. They goe having there or was to great, as it cause a mytameter to 13), a local was a long state of the great state of the first properties and finding a great state of the first properties of the great state of t and Theaters, Water-conduits, and I'sh ponds: the ruines whereof at though it were flusted with fiftie thouthis day are sufficient argument, that Rome is selfe could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of Impiter O'ympius, (by which we find Souldiers. After a while, the time may judge of the Temple it felfe) there was fet out on one fide the full of ha ueft being come, a part of the Roproportion of the Grants, fighting with the Gods, all cut out in p. lifted marble of divers colours; a worke the most magnificent and care, that ever hath brene feene : on the other fide, the warre of Trop, and the en- corne, and those at the frege grow neglicourtes with happend at that fige; with the performages of the fire courtes with happend at that fige; with the performages of the fire cover that were doors in that ware; all of the like beautifull flone, and or equal flatume to the lockies of men in the facilities the court in the courte flower in the standard times; I no men in the facilities the court in the standard times; I no men in the facilities the standard times are considered to the courtes of the standard times are considered to the courtes of the standard times are considered to the standard time partion of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pettie things, in the end repelled into the towne with nad meere effe. It would require a volume, to experie the magning great loff cibut by the finar tiel to n both (9 and meete of the Taples of the major the finar, Effation, exceed, and Latina, the finar property of the major to the subject of the exquifice Painters , and Caruers , Phidias , Zeuxis , Myron , and Polytle guards , & the befiegedk pt within their the, were to be feene. But in procedie of time it ranne the fame fortune that elother great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamic. Court, Yet the Romans, the better to afties of warre; whereof this warre prefent brought vino it not the leaft. fure themselves, cut a deepe trench, be-

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe; and another on the out-fide thereof; that neither the Carthaginians might force any quarter suddenly by a fallie nor shofe of the Countrie without, breake vpon them vnawares; which double defence kept the affieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victualls, and munitions, whileft the Syracufian supplies the affailants with what they want. The besieged fend for fuccour to Carthage, after they had beene in this fort pent vp five moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of Hanno; who arrives with it at Heraclia, to the Welt of Agrigentum. Hanno puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbesus, a Citic wherein the Romans had bestowed all their proussion. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no leffe streightly affreged by Hanno, than the Citie was by the Romans : infomuch, as if Hieron had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise; Hanno determined to give them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclia, he makes approch vnto the Reman campe. The Romans resolue to sustaine him, and put themselues in order. Hanno directs the Numidian horse-men to charge their Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne, as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. 30 The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romans purfued the Numidians, Hanno gives vpon them, and having flaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

CHAP.I. S.6.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some oportunitie should inuite them. But Annibal, that was belieged in Agrigentum, as well by fignes as meffengers, made Hanno know, how ill the extremitie which he indured, was able to brooke fuch dilatoric courses. Hanno thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consulls to fight: but, his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans, loft the day, and, with fuch as escaped, he recoursed Heraclia. Annibal 20 perceiuing this, and remayning hopelesse of succour, resoluted to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Towne with the greatest part of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without reliftance. The Confulls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: fure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little'a-doe the Romans entred, and pittifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposehenceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good tortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts: 40 but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sieil; and from thence,

being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to faile ouer into Africk. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and of private men, to couet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vie and fruition of what we have alreadie. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

To profecute this Warre, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Octacilius, two new Confuls, aresentinto Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many inland Townes gave themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians 50 keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets, as also to equal themselves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of fine bankes, to the shore.

Now had the Romans a patterne, and by it they beganne to fet vp an hun. dred Quinqueremes, which were Gallies, rowed by fine on enery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke; and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-lands many feates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the fand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, to C. Cornelius, one of the new Confulls (for they changed enery yeare) was made Admirall: who being more in lone with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to Messena with seventeene Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needes row alongst the coast to Lipara, hoping to doe some peece of service. Hannibal, a Carthaginian, was at the same time Governour in Panormus; who being aducrtifed of this new Sea-mans arrivall, fent forth one Boodes, a Senatour of Carthage, with twentie Gallies, to entertaine him. Boodes, falling vpon the Confull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When Hannibal received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies and their Confull; he grew no leffe foolish hardie than Cornelius had beene. Forhe, 20 fancying to himselfe to surprise the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; fought them out with a fleet of fiftie faile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest; for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the Romans under Cornelius had loft but seuenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not eafily beaten by fiftie.

The Romans, being aduertifed of Cornelius his ouerthrow, make hafte to redeeme him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, Duilius, Duilius, confidering that the Roman vessells were heavie and flow, the African Gallies hauing the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, where 30 by they might falten or grapple themselues with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies fides together. This done, the waightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the Africa cans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse seruethem, nor their Marriners craft; the Vessells, wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heanier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vie their hands. The example may be given betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a London-barge.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in ma king choice of Vessells to fight in the must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loofe or at large, and grapling. The Gunnes of a flow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by fuch an ignorant braucrie was Peter Stroße lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquesse of Santa Cruz. In like fort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admirall of England, been loft in the yeare 1588. if he had not beene better aduised, than a great many malignant sooles were, that 50 found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Armic aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; fo that, had he intangled himfelfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men upon the de-

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwife, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not beene worthie to haue held his head. Here to speake in generall of Scafight (for particulars are fitter for private hands, than for the Preffe) I fay, That a fleet of twentie ships, all good failers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of flower fayling. For if the fleet of an hundred faile keepe themselues neare together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall 10 back vpon their next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable, or loft. Force them they may casily, because the twentie ships, which give themselues scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in peeces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vie but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred faile give themselves any distance, then shall the leffer fleet prenaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that byaduantage of ouer-failing their fellowes keepe the winde and if vpon a Leeshore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their owne squadron, 20 then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speede, it hath beene well enough conceived in old time; as by that Oration of Hermocrates, in Thueydides, which he made to the Syracufians, when the Athenians invaded them, it Thueydil. 6. may cafily be obserued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatife, for the Lord HENRIE, Prince of Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared methe labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the loffe of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclypfe of the Sunne, wee shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall wordes and forrowes; I will 30 therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stapent,

But it is now time to returne to the beaten Carthaginians; who by low and their aduantage of fwift boats, and boording the Romans, have loft fiftie aile of their Gallies : as on the other fide, their enemies, by commanding the Seas, have gotten libertie to faile about the West part of Sicil; where they raised the siege laied unto Segesta, by the Carthaginians, and wonne the Towne of Macella, with fome other places.

### ð. V.I I.

Diversenter feats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepareto inuade Africk: and obtaine a creat victorie at Sea.



He victoric of Duilius, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Nauall triumph, that was euer seene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the Romans a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get Sicil, but all the other Iles betweene Italie and Africk, beginning with Sardinia, whither foone after

they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrarie side , Amilear the Carthaginian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune : and being aduertised, that some quarrell

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was growne betweene the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a part, hee sent forth Hanno to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in Siel, Hannibal, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto Carthage, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtayined the trusto f a new fleet, where with hee arrived at Sardinia: the conqueit of which Iland, the Romans had entertayned for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the Romans, croffing the Seas from Sicil. arriued in the Port where Hannibal with his new fleet anchored. They fet vpon him vinawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted, himfelfe hardly escaping their danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the Romans. His good friends the Carthaginians, were foill pleafed with this his fecond vnfortunate voiage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath been faid of old) Nonejt bis in bello peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice. After this, it was long creany thing of importance was done by the Confulls, till

give credit to \* Panormus was belieged: where, when the Romans had fought in vaine to draw Antiquities, which Faxelles, the Cartheginians into the field; being viable to force that great Citie, because of

a diligent writthe itrong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine ter, hathletws in his Hildric of Siell; Panomus, now called Palerme, is one of the find Cities that hath been e built in all Europe. For whereas Thurgdides feemes to make it a Enna, Cemerina, Hippana, and o Colonic of the Phanicians; Ramanus, in the lide of treatmen, this, 6, affirmers, that it there, between Panormus and 20 was first, and long before the time which Thurst des fets downe, founded by the Childrens, and Dimascenes. To proue which, he tells vs of two inscriptions upon Messua. The yeare following, marble, in the Hebrew Character, found at Panarma in the time of William the fe- C. Atilius the Conful, who commaroic, in the Flore Chinacoct, should deal the Citizens, and other firangers; manded the Roman fleet, discowhich, being translated into Latine, lay as followeth. Vinente Ifaac filio Abraba, & regnante in Idumea, atq in Valle Damascena, Esau filio Isaac; ingens Hebreorum uered a Companie of the Carmanus, quibus adiuntti (unt multi Damsseeni, a q. Ebanices, profetti is hanc triangularem thagintan Gallies, ranging the Infulam, fedes perpetuas locanerunt in hos amanifirmo loco , quem Panormum nominauerunt. In the other marble table are found these wordes. Non estallus Deus preter coast : and , not staying for his wnum Deum; non est alius Votees, presco eundem Deum, &c. Huius Turris Prestellus Whole number, pursued them dem pji noma (li Ryth); [ed Trori but posime noma (li Phard). And this inferioris beaton for the halfe he made on (lash rayths) was found into in the Callle a phylin the year one thouland beaten for the halfe hee made, 30 fue hundred, thirtie and foure. Now whether these interposes were truly as and lost all, a faue the Gallie 30 action archive lash below they were Haveney many abstract field. ancient, as this men beleeue they were. Heaue euery man to his owner faith, but which transported him: where the Greeker path first just of aged more, it appeares by the product, who affirmently when in himselfee escaped with great the Greeker path first just of seaf, that then the homeous malabled languages which in himselfee escaped with great ancient, as these men beleeue they were, I leave every man to his owne faith. But the Orace partial a new stage, that the the water is to wist, the Cardiogiums, who labour. But ere all was done, this Armie) tooke is. And shen Mireculus befored Spranse, it from brining to the ref. Artilius his fleet was the mental tooke is. And shen Mireculus befored Spranse, it from brining is the reft of Artilius his fleet was three thou and Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than fubice to the Ro- gotten vp : who renewing the mans. For Cicero against Verres, names it among the free Cities of Suil. After Syracufe destroied, it became the first Citie and Regall feat, as well of the Goths light, recoursed from the Carand Saracess in that Hand, as of the Emperours of Conflantinople; of the Normans, thaginians a double number of and sartegor in that trains, as or the Emperior of this day, and is much frequentiers; by which the victoric

remaining doubtfull, both chal-lenge it. Now to trie at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The Romans make a fleet of three hundred \*\* The Quin- and thirtie Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three hundred and fiftie, \*\* Triremes, queremis are Quadriremes, and Quinqueremes.

The Romans resolue to transport the warreinto Africk; the Carthaginians, to arhath five men rest them on the coast of Sial. The numbers, with which each of them filled their to draw it; the fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By Polybius his and fourest an estimation, there were in the Roman Gallies an hundred and sortie thousand men; Oate, and the and in those of Carthage, an hundred and fiftie thousand: reckoning one hundred Triement, three, and twentic Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers, to cuery Gallie, one with the thought, that other. The Roman fleet was divided into foure parts, of which the three first made the Oxing see the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks, rankes of Oares one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been foothey must then have had fine decks, each oner other: which bath seldome been seen in ships of a thousand Tonnes; acither could the third, fourth, and fift rankes, have reached vnto the water with their Oares.

and the third fquadron, the Bafe: the point thereof (wherein were the two Confulls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemie; and the middle space, y.n. congres Their Veffells of carriage were towed by the third fquaoron. After an came of the fourth, in forme of a Crefeent; very well manned, but exceeding tunne : form ne hornes of it inclosed all the third Iquadron, together with the corners of toe and and second. The order of the Carthigmian fleet I cannot conceine by the relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and firetched in a great length, much like to that which the French call Combat en haif; a long front of horle, and thinne: which forme, lines the Petroil to prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out stretched front,

their Battalions were more folide. For Amilear, Admira lorthe Carthaginions, had thus ordered them, of purpose, this Gallies having the speede of the Komans; that, when the first fleet of the Romans halted to breake through the first Gastes, the y should all turne taile, and the Romans pursuing them (as after a victoric) disorder themselves, and, for eagernesse of taking the Kunne-awaies, leave their other three fquadron farre behinde them. For lo mult it needes fail out, feeing that the third faundron towed their horfe-boats, and victualiers; and the fourth and the Reaceward of all. According to Amilears direction it forceeded. For when the Lomans had charged and broken, the thinne front of the Carthagistan fire fleet, which can ac away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speede ponible, not so much as ioo-

king behinde them for the fecond fquadron. Hereby the Romans were drawne neare vnto the bodie of the Carthaginian fleet, led by Annes, and by him (at the first) received great losse, till their second squadron came vp, which forced Amneur tobetake him to his Oares. Hanno alfo, who commanded the right wing of the Corbiginian fleet, invaded the Roman Reareward, and prevailed against them. But Anlar being besten off, Marcu Ailius fell back to their fuccour, and put the Carthaginians to their heeles; as not able to fullaine both squadron The Reare being relicued, the Confulls came to the aide of their third Fattalion, which towed their victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the african:

30 but the Confulls, joyning their fquadrons to t, put the Ca the general or that part a loto running. I his victoric fell to the Romans, part y by the hardiness of the ir Souldiers, but principally, for hat Amileo, being first baten, could never after joynch mfelfe to any of his other fquadrons, that remained as yet in fare like lihose of or uniling to long as they fought vponeuen termes, and but quadron to squadron. But Amilear, forfaking the right, thereby left a fe I fourth part of the Raman floot viningaged, and readie to give fuccour to any of the other parts that were opposit. So as in conclusion, the Romansgot the honour of the day : for they loft but for reand twentie of theirs, wheras the Africans loit thirtie that were funke, and hecefcore and three that were taken.

40 Now, if Antlen who had more Gailies than the Romms, had aife divided his fleet into four fquadrons, (befides those that he ranged in the front, to draw on the enemies and to ingage them) and that, while her himfelfs fought with one fquidron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had premailed . But the fecond fquadron , being free came to the refere of the first, by which Amilear was oppress; and milear, neing oppress and feattered, the Confulls had good leifure to relieue both their third and fourth fquadron, and gor the victorie.

Charle the fift among other his Precepts to Philip the second his sonne, where headuifeth him concerning Warre against the In Fo, tells him that in all battailes 30 betweene them and the Christians, he should never faile to charge the Linifas in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reft. For (faith he) the Imilars, who are alwaies ref rued intire, in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the Turke repoter's his greatest considence; come up in a groff-body, when all the troups, on both fides, are difbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the

victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the Romans also prevaile against other Nations. For they kept their Triary in flore (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath euer beene found, to keepe some one or two good troups to looke on, when all elfe are difbanded and ingaged.

#### VIII.

The Romans preuaile in Africk. ATILIVS the Confull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

Ow the Romans, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their neet, net take to early at the Promontorie of Hercules, a great Head-land, somewhat to the Sicil, where Amilear himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (lea-

uing the entrance into Carthage) they coasted the East-side of the Promontorie, till they came to Clypea, a Towne, about fiftie English mile from it. There they dif- 20 imbarked, and prepared to beliege Clypea; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on Africa fide; without which all invalions are foolish. By this time were the Africans also arrived at their owne Carthage; fearing that the Roman fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but being aduertised, that they had taken Clypea, they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The Romans fend to Rome for directions, and in the mone while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Confulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet, into Italie. According to this direction, Manliss the Confull is sent home to Rome; whither he carried with him twentie thou- 30 fand African captines, with all the Roman fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fifteene thousand foot, and fine hundred horse, that were left with Asilius.

With these forces, Regulus easily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto Adis. Yet I hold it worthie of relation, that neare vnto the River of Bagrada, This Citie he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he flue, wastaken from not without loffe of many Souldiers, being driuen to vseagainst it such engines of the Tunker by warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At Adis he met with the in the yeare Carinaginian Armic, whereof the Captaines were Hanno and Bostar, together with 1536. and was Amilear, who had brought ouer out of Sicil fine thousand foot, and fine hundred 42 horse, to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him which he gaue out of Africa, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine in charge, to fight. They were carefull to hold themselves free, from necessitie of comming to condhis sonne blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of Adisout of his hands. Into keepe fate; rending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the to wit, this Ta-tiege of Adu, they incampe neare vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the Africa: Flight top of an hill; but thereby they loofe the services, both of their Elephants, and of ing, the Key of their horse men. This disaduantage of theirs Regular discouers, and makes vse of and cidia, the it. He affailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while; but in fine the Key of Spaine. Romans prevaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. 50 But two of these philips of Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to \* Tunis, a Citie loft, that hee within fixteene miles of Carthage, which they affault and take.

them againe; the third, our English were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene Elizabeth, to wring out of his hands: where we flaid not to pick any lock, but brake open the dores, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loffe of this battaile at Adis, and more especially by the loffe of Tunis, the Carthaginians were greatly difmaied. The Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the Welt, infult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territorie, and force those that inhabite abroad, to for sake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of Carthage. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. Atilise findes his owne advantage, and affures himfelie that the Citie could not long hold out : yet he feared least it might defend it selfe, untill his time of Office, that was neare expired, should be quite runne out, whereby the new Confulls were like to reape the honor of obtayning it. Ambition there-

12 fore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the Carthaginians. But he propounded vnto them so vn worthie and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with seare, became now so couragious and dildainefull, that they resolved, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troupe of Greekes, whom they had formerly fent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named Xantippus, a Spartan: who being informed of what had paffed, and of the ouerthrow which the Carthaginians received neare vnto Adis, gaueit out publiquely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; Xantippu

no is fent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the African forces, he puts himfelfe into the field. The Armie which he led, confifted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and fourethousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wher with the Carthaginians fought for all that they had . Libertic, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sca, before spoken of, were misse-numbred; the one confifting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which vse the service of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the Ro-30 mans; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The Romans wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be some abated. Their chiefe care was, how to refish the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the Velites, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forlorne hope; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the fame end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had been eaccustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subject vinto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vinto 40 the violence of horse, wherein the enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by Xantippus, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed soot, of the Carthaginian Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the Velites were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the Roman battaile was helpfull. For when the beafts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons neuerthelesse persisted in their order, without opening. But the Carthaginian horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of dillius out of the field, 50 beganne to charge the Roman battalions in flanke, and put them in great diffresse; who being forced to turne face every way, could neither paffe forward, nor yet retire; but had much a doc to make good the ground whereon they flood. In the meane while, fuch of the Romans, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and

left them at their backs, fell vpon the Carthaginian Armie, that met them in very

good array. It was no even match. I heone were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemie vpon equall termes. Here was therefore a great flaughter with little fight: the Romans halfuly recoiling to the body of their Armie, which being furrounded with the enemie, and spent with travaile, fell all to rout, vpon the deleat of these troups, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the Carthaginians obtained a full victorie; destroying the whole Roman Armie, saue two thousand, and taking flue hundred prisoners, together with Atilius the Consult. Or their owner her joil no more than eight hundred mercinaries, which were flaine, when the light began, by two thouland of the Romans, that wheeling about, to avoide the Eicphant, bare 10 downe all before them, and made way even to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. Alitherest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the Romans know, that they were no lette her vaffalls, than were the Carthagimans: how infolent focuer they nad beene in their propolition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitic, which sheen one gaue nor fold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were well-commed, when they came to Carthige, we may cally conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man bath often brought to paffe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no leffe than this of Xantippus: all of them confirming that sentence of Evarpi- 20 DES, Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit manus; Many mens hands equall not one wife minde.

After this great service done to the Carthaginians, Xantippus returned into Greece; whether for that he was more enuited than honoured, or for what other

The death of Atilius Regulus the Confull, was very memorable. He was fent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne, if the bulinesse were not essected. When hee came to Rome, and plainely faw that his Countrie should loose by the bargaine: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnessly 30 persuaded to have the prisoners in Africk left to their ill destinies. This done, he recurred to Caribage: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancic and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the Cartinginians sceme to have judged him an obitinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturalicare, to perferue himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of fome small advantage. What so wer the Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is, that his faithfull observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange 49 of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to have proceeded from a varne glorious frowardnesse rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made foone after his death; wherein the Romans had the worfe bargaine, by fo much as Regulm himfeife was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnific him in this point; we are to confider that they lived under the Roman Empire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he fuffered with extreme torments, could not be more grieuous to him, than it was dishonourable to Carthage. Neither doe I thinke that the Carthaginians could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination : saying, That the Eomans descrued to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinarie practise 50 to vse others in the like fort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customarie. It was the Roman fashion, to whip a most to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were fuch, as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Where-

fore it feeme : not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall infolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselues.

The confideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius his intolerable demands; and of the fudden valour, whereinto the Cathagimans feare was changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reafonable grace bath beene denied. In fuch cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approning the true rules, from which our passions carrie vs away.

In the yeare 1378, the Genorales wonne fo fast upon the Venetians, as they not only draue their Galiles out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of Venice it felle. This bred fuch an amazement in the Citizens of Vemee, that they offered vnto the Genowaies (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But Peter Doria, blowne vp with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; faue the yeelding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the Venetians, being filled with disdaine, thrust out to Sea with all their remayning power, and affaile Doria with fuch desperate surie, that they breake his fleet; kill Doria himselse; take nineteene of his Gallies, fourescore boats of Palos, and foure thousand prisoners; recouer Chiezza, and all the placestaken 20 from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of Genea, enforcing the Genomates, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disaduantage, being besten; which being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1280. when having taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell revenge vpon the Gantois, herefused mercieto the rest; who in all humilitie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citic, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnadu. fedly refused, and was resoluted to extinguish them vtterly; theyiffue out of their Citie with fine thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperateresolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter Bruzes (peil-mell) 30 with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe under an heape of straw in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saued himfelfe. Such are the fruits of infolencie.

#### I X.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against ATILIVS: How the Romans having lost their fleet by tempeft, resolue to forfake the Soas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations divided by the Sea.

Y the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had beene loft in Africk, returne to the obedience of Carthage. Only Clopes stands out; before which the Carthaginians fit downe, and affaile it, but in vaine: For the Romans, hearing of the loffe of Attins with their forces in Africk, and withall, that Clypea was belieged make readic a

groffe Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by At. Amilius, and Ser. Fuluiw, their Confulls. At the Promontorie of Mercurie two hundred Carthaginian Gallies, fet out of purpose, vpon the bruit of 50 their comming, encounter them ; but greatly to their coft. For the Romans tooke by force an hundred and fourteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to Cly-Per; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene befleged and this done, they made amaine toward Sicil, in hope to recouer all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this haltie voyage they despile the aduice of the

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the scason threatned some \* There is no violent stormes, which ever hapned betweene the rising of Orion, and of the \* Dogpar of the start. Now although the Pilots of the Roman Fleet had thus fore-warned World, which them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coastlo naturation to the certaine times. Stell had no good Ports, wherein to faue themselves vpon such an accident: yet this

sections of the state of the st of three hundred and fortie ships: so as their former

great victorie was denoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recoursed Rome. The Carthygimans, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Veffells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land. 20 forces lince the overthrow of Ailius. They fend Afdrubal into Sicil with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armic and fleet he arrives at Litybeam; where hee beginnes to vexe the Partisans of Rome. But advertitie doth not discourage the Romans: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships;

with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to Panormus, or Palerms, the chiefe Citie of the Africans in Sicil, and furround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to Rome.

Very desirous the Romans were to bee doing in Africk: to which purpose they imploied C. Servillius, and C. Sempronius, their Confulls. But these wrought no 30 wonders. Some (poile they made upon the coasts of Africa: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to have perished, neare vnto the leffer syrtes, where they were faine to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off then, having with much a doe doubled the Cape of Lilyb.cum, in their paffage from Panormus towards Italie, they loft an hundred and fiftie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the watres favoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enricht them with you the Land, Neptune robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now loft, besides what they loft in fight, foure hundred and fixe ships and galiles, with all the munition and 40

The exceeding damage hereby received, perfivaded them to give over their Nauigation, and their fight by Sea, and to fend only a Land-armic into Sicil, under L. Caalius, and C. Firius, their Confulls. These they transported in some threefcore ordinarie paffage-boats, by the straights of Melfana, that are not aboue a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like fort, the ouerthrow which Addin receiued in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them effecholerickagainst the Carthaginians, than before; so that for two yeares after they kept the high and woodic grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champian Countries. But this late refolution of for faking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for 50 them to success those places which they held in Sieil, without a Nauie, much lesse to maintaine the warrein Africa. For whereas the Romans were to fend forces from Messans to Exestia, to Lily baum, and to other places in the extreme West parts of Siail, making fometimes a march of aboue an hundred and fortie English mile by land,

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteene daies; the Carthaginians would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene Canutus, and Edmond Ironside. For Canutus, when he had entred the Thames with his Nauic and Armie, and could not prevaile against London, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the West, landed in Dorfet-fbire, so drawing Edmond and his Armic thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, and entred the Seuerne, making Edmond to march after him, to the succour of Worcesterto fire, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had Edmond there, he failed back againe to London: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least helpe, which the Wetherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwcaried, and entire, with all the Munition and Artilleric belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have beene able to doe it. Of this, an inflance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to Breds: 20 making countenance either to befiege Boifledue, or Gertreuiden-Berg; which the enemic (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as foone as the winde ferued, he fuddenly fet faile, and arriving in the mouth of the Menze, turned upthe Rhine, and thence to Ysel, and fatedowne before Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could march over land round about Holland, about fourescore mile, and ouer many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Againe, when the Spanish Armie had ouer come this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince Maurice, making countenance to faile vp the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and failing downe the streame, he was set downe before Hulft in Brabant, ere the Spaniere's had knowledge what was become of him. 30 So this Towne healfo tooke, before the Spanish armie could returne. Lastly, the

Spanish armie was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Hulft, fet faile againe, and prefented himfelfe before Nymegen in Gelders, a Citie of notable importance, and mastred it.

And to fay the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coalts admirably fortified, to defend it felfe against a powerfull enemie, that is mafler of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spaine than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second, had fully resoluted to hinder Sir John Norris in the yeare 1,89. from presenting Don Antonie, King of Portugale, before the gates of Lysborne; and that he would have kept off the En-40 glifb, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mightie Armada, by the fleet of Queene Elizabeth, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to refift our cleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue beene bestowed? If about Lysborne; then would it have beene case vnto the English, to take, ranfack, and burne the Towne of Groine, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations, of the Earle of Altemira, the Marqueffe of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastic leavie of eight thousand, under the Earle of Andrada, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sr. Iohn Norris, and his Affociates: 50 confidering, that the English charged thefe, at Puente de Burgos, and patfing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and purfued them over all the Countrie, which they fired. If a

roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus

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CHAP.I. S.9. begunne the warre in Galicia; I thinke it would have made the Spaniar as to quit the guard of Portugale, and make haste to the defence of their St. Iago, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir John Norris his maine intent was, to bring Don Antonio, with an Armic, into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed : could they have hindred his landing in Portugale? Did not he land at Penicha, and march ouer the Countrie to Lysborne, fixe daies journie? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promises failed) passe along by the River of Lysborn to Calcaliz, and there, having wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart?

But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they Englishmen. Let vs confider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against England, in landing an Armie, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, Whether an inuading Armie may be refilled at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is alreadic handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations vpon Cesars Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our flipping: and comparatively; as, that it is a more fafe and easie course, to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer an enemie to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely, I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemie from 20 treading vpon our ground : wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him wish, that he had staicd at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumflances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positive, Whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a first victorie to an enemie, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall Monlue, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guienne, 30 they of the Protestant religion; after the battaile of Moncounter, entred that Countrie, and gathered great (trength and reliefe thence; for if the King (faith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, j euse bien garde a Monsieur l'Admiral, de saire boire ses Cheuaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne. Monsieur de Langey, on the contrarie side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemie, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour Charles, when he innaded Prouence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countrie as France is, strengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And 40 it was of invalions upon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countrie, and the place left to the choice of the Inuaden. Hercunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countrie: except eucry Creeke, Port, or fandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie in each of them to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot; and that those twelve thousand be laied in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nesse, and fixe thousand at Foulk- 50 flon, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troups (vnleffe some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemie, setting faile from the Isle of Wight, in the

first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the Neffe, and thruit their Armie on shorothere; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margat (twentie and four flong miles from thence) rocome time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the Ae/le. Nay, how shall they at Foulkston bee abie to docit, who are nearer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemie, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred that of great Artillerie, and quickly put the first three thoufund, that were intrenched at the Neffe, to runne; or elfe give them fo much to doe, that they shall be glad to fend for helpe to Foulkfton; and perhaps to Margat : wherto by those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand Kentilh Souldiers arrive at the Neffe, ere the enemie can be readie to ditimbarque his Armie, fo that he shall finde it vnfafe, to land in the face of fo many, prepared to withfland him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (having libertie to goe which way he lift) under couert of the night, fet faile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at Margat, the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainely, there is nothing more calle than to doe it. Year the like may bee faid of Weymouth, Purbeck, Poole, and of all landing places on the South coaft. For there is no man ignorant, that thips, without putting themselves out of breath, will calify 10 out runne the Souldiers that coast them. Les Armees ne volent point en joste; Armies neither fle, nor runne post, faith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of flips may be seene at Sunne-Set, and after it, at the Lisard; yet by the next morning they may recouer Portland, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in fixe daics. Againe, when those troups, lodged on the Sca-shores, thall be forced to runne from place to place; in vaine, after a fleet of thips; they will at length fit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at adventure. But fay it were otherwife; That the inuading enemie will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Armie of ours readie to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders 20 and Captaines, shall be drawne together (as they were at Tilburie in the yeare 1588) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the desence of the Citie of London: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie

There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being enery where hard of accesse; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Nauie of friends; and vpon every coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approch of an enemies boat. Yet when Emanuel de Sylva, and Monstear 1582. 40 de Chattes, that held it to the vic of Don Antonio, with five or fixe thousand men, thought to have kept the Marquelle of Santa Cruz, from feeting foot on ground therin; the Marqueffe having the wed himfelfe in the Roade of Angra, did fet faile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des Moles, farre diffant from thence, where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere Monsieur de Chattes, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Strofte, flaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold bloud, had instructed de Chattes and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to Port des Moles. Whether our English would bee perswaded to 50 mike fuch diligent hafte, from Margat to the Welle, and back againe, it may bee doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Tercera; whereof the French-men had not measured the one halfe, when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of Spaine.

likevnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parms should have

The He of Tercera hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in fuch a cafe.

landed in England.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in England, Hhhhh

France, or elfewhere, ynlesse it be hindered, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at Fayal, in the yeare 1597. is alleaged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may bee defended against a strong fleet. I landed those English in Fayal, my selfe, and thereforeought to take notice of this inflance. For whereas I finde an action of minecited, with omission of my name; I may, by a civill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that theenterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voiage, who aduised me not to vidertakeit: 10 and I hearkned vnto them, fomewhat longer than was requifite, especially, whilest they delired me, to referre the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coail, than to inuade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea euen there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that bulineffe, than of fatetic. For I thought it to belong vnto the honor of our Prince & Nation, that a few Handers should not thinke 20 any aduantage great enough, against a fleet fet forth by Q. Elizabeth: and further, I was vnwilling, that some Low-Countrie Captaines, and others, not of mine owne squadron, whose affistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men affured, Comanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaties, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brooke , Sir William Harney , Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Skot , Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henrie Thinne , Sir Charles Morgan , Sir Walter Chute , Marcellus Throckmorton, Captaine Laurence Kemis, Captaine William Morgan, and others, fuch as well vnder- 30 Hood themselues and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffes, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or fixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great losse. This I could have done with leffe danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reasons before alleaged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen about named, though more priuate, than to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of braueric, and 40 take the shorter course; having it still in mine owne power to fall off, when I should thinke it meet. It is callly faid, that the Enemie was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie fuch a fmall peece of feruice, by feeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember, that the same enemic troubled vs more in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when wee had wonne good footing, would needes 50 follow vs to the Towne, were driven by him, to for sake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselves to an hastie trot.

For end of this digreffion, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Majesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no leffe disdaine, than any Nation under heaven can doe, to be beaten

youn their owne ground, or elsewhere, by a forraigne enemie; yet to entertaine those that shall affaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our Kentifs Capons, I take to be the wifest way. To doe which, his Majettie, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment ypon the shore.

How the Romans attempt agains to get the mastrie of the Seas. The victorie of CAE-CILIVS the Roman Consult at Panormus. The siege of Lilybaum. How a Rhodian Gallieentred Lilybaum at pleasure, in despight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good hips. The Romans, by reason of grienous losses received, under CLAVDIVS and IVNIVS their Confulls, abandon the Seas againe.

Hen, without a strong Nauie, the Romans found it altogether imposfible, either to keepe what they had alreadic gotten in Sicil, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa, or elfewhere, they refolged once againe, notwithstanding their late misaduentures, to strengthen their flect and thips of warre. So cauting fiftie new Gallies to be built, and

the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Confulls, C. Milius, and L. Manlius. On the other lide, of drubal perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they received by Xantippus in Africa, were leffe daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Confulls was returned into Italie, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that Cacilius, with only the other halfe, remained at Pa-30 normus : he remoued with the Carthaginian forces from Lilybaum towards it, hoping to prouoke Cacilius to fight. But the Confull was better aduised. For when Aldrubal had made his approaches somewhat neare the Towne, Cacilius caus d a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground fufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till fuch time as the African Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those bealts he commanded them to retire, by flow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinck of the new trench, which they could by no meanes paffe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they 40 were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vtterly disorderedthem. Cacilius, espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and

them to their heels, making a great flaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants. The report of this victorie being brought to Rome, the whole flate, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred faile, which they fent into Sicil, to give end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteene yeares. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolue to attempt Lilybeum, the only place of importance which 50 the Carthaginians held in Sicil; and all (indeed) faue Drepanum, that was neare !joyning. They fet downe before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of acuantage neare vnto it, especially of such as comand the hauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fix towres of defence; & by forceable engines weaken so many other parts of the citie, as the defendants begin to despaire.

charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put

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Yet Himileo, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious fallies, and giueth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reucaled by an Achean, called Alexon, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, faued significantum. Himiles vieth the helpe of Alexon, to affure the hired Souldiers; and imploieth Hannibal to appeare the troups of the Gaules, which did waver, and had fent their agents to the enemie. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vn-10 able to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to line in the Roman campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to descrue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their reliefe, hauing Hannibal, the sonne of Amilear, for their Conductor: who, in despieht of all refistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the belieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by Himileo with hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the Romans in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the fiege, or (at least) to take from them, or fet on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermos, with great flaughter on both sides. But the Romans being more in number, 20 and having the advantage of the ground, hold ftill their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of Carthage desire greatly to understand the state of things at Lilybaum; but know not how to fend into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian undertakes the fernice; and having received his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to Agusa, a little Hand neare Lilybeum. Thence, taking histime, he steered directly with the Port; and having a paffing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channell, and recouered the water gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to 30 be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he fet faile, and shipping his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recourred the Hauens mouth, and the Sca, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompaffed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre-off, the aduenture which this Rhodian made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the 40 best appointed Fort of Europe, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie pecces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him, and threaten to teare him in preces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when Denmarke and Sweden were at Warre; our East-Land fleet, bound for Leif-land, was forbidden by the King of Denmarke to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatned to finke their ships if they came through the streights of Elfenour. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her Maiesties, called the Minion, to defend them) made the aduenture; and, full ayning some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But so the Minien, commanded (as Itake it) by William Burrough less ing the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of Elfensur; which at that time was not fo well rampared as now purhaps it is : and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any

wound received. Neither was it long lince, that the Duke of Parma, befieging Antwerp, and finding no pollibilitie to mafter it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, fo well to purpofe, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blowne vp by any winde of gloric, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme dearein Antwerp, passed in boats of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of sloud fauoured them; as also with a contrarie 10 winde, and an obbing water, they turned back againe : fo as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado ouerthwart the River, to his meruailous trouble and

The Fort St. Philip terrified not vs in the yeare 1596, when we entred the Port of Caliz; neither did the Fort at Puntal, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from fixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The fiege of oftend, and of many other places, may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the pasface of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is fo fet, as that of Angrain Tercera, that there is no paffage along be-26 fide it, or that the faips are driven to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in fuch places, is it of great vie, and fearefull:

But to returne to our aduenturous Rhodian : He arrives in fafetic at Carthage. and makes them know the chate of Lilybeum. Others also, after this, take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romans therefore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great flories, and finke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it against inpart: but they grounded to many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest riting and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the paf-30 fage. Hereby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was

taken. Now comes the brane Rhodian, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this Carthaginian Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chace, and gathered vpon him; he findes what shee is, both by her forme, and by her swiftnesse; and being not able to runne from her, refolued to fight with her: But shee is too well manned for him, fo that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybaum, after this, is greatly diffressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans woodden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lalybeum, were 40 ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no fooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became relistlesse, and in the end burned all to alhes, and melted the brasen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they refolue, by a long fiege, to Herue the Defendants.

Vpon relation of what had pail, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, under M. Claudius, the Confull. He arrives at Mellana, and marcheth over land to Lilyb.eum: where having re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the furprise of Drepanum, a Citie on the other 50 lide of the Bay of Lilybeum. This feruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Confull imbarques his troups, and arrives on the fudden in the mouth of the Port. Adherbal is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new fupply arrived at Lilybaum, was at first amazed at their sudden approch; but having recovered his spirits, he per-Hhhhhh 2

fwades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promifeth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall descrue them; offering to leade them himselse, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Hauing sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Confull, deceiued of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adherbal findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Confusi into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, having the land on his back; hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way 10 from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of relistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away : all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. Adherbal for this service is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indifcretion and flight, as much differed at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away L. Innius, their Consull, 10 take charge of their businesse in Sciol. Innius arriues as CMasselfans, where he meets with the whole remainder of the Roman sheet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Libbusm. One hundred and 20 twentie Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which wereladen with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great sheet he arriues at Syrausse, where he states a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of sale, to keepe companie with him along from Messans. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards Libbusm, his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of

his victuallers, with some Gallies for their conuoy.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victorie: but studied how to vic it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to Carthalo, who had threescore and ten 30 more vnder his owne charge, and sent him to trie, what good might be done against the Roman sleet, in the Hauen of Liybaum. According to this direction, Carthalo studenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he sindes the Roman snore attentiue to the keeping in of the besieged Carthagains, than to the desence of their owne against another seet. So he chargest hem, boords and takes some, and sire the rest. The Roman Campetakes larme, and hastens to the rescue. But Himiles, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the Romans in great distresse, gives Carthalo good leisure to goe through with his enterorise.

After this exploit, Carthalo ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, deuising how 40 to worke mischiefe to the enemie: wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neare at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the vistipaliers, which the Consull lumius, more hastily than providently, had fent before him towards Liphoum. Carthalo was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastiens to encounter them. It sell out according to his expectation. The Roman had no minde to sight: but were glad to seek shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder cower of a poore Towne, 50 belonging to their partie; that could helpe to saue them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, where with to beat off the Carthagier, that saided them. Carthalo therefore, hauing taken a sew of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rocks, but would be forced,

by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to faue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loffe of all their lhipping. Whileith ewas builed in this care; the Confull lanius drew neare, and was difcouered. Against him Caribaio makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither meanesto file, nor ablittie to fight. Therefore he likewife ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger log great, as that of the enemie. The Caribaginan, Iceing this, betakes himfelfe to a Station betweene the two Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first fittre, with a refolution to affault that, which is flould first dare to put telest into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on

The South coast of Stat, betweene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilybeum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The Carthagnians, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding belike some swelling billow (for so we doe in the Weit of England, before a Southerly storme) hasted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to couer themseliues from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to sight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any soule weather in the entrailes of their beasts, their Southayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly ouertaken with a boisterous South winde, and all

their Gallies forced againtt the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This calamitic fo difcouraged the \*Romans\*, that they refolued againe to for fake the Sens\*, and truft only to the feruice of their Legions woon firme ground. But fitch a refolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or elfe they must not make warre in an Iland, against those that have a mighte seer. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their warn of skill. Here I cannot for beare to commend the patient vertuce of the Spaniarsis. We feldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniarsis have done, in their status Discourses. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an inuincible constancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempetts and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, petilence, and all manner of discases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, haue beene the enemies,

wherewith every one of their most noble Discouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeares have passed over ome of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not been edishearthed. Surgley, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they en-

40 joy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue

in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

). XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recoursed by AMILCAR; Who stoutly holds warre with them fine yeares. The Romans having emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of Lvc TATIVS the Confull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.



He Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of itrength at Sea. Therefore they continue the fiege of Lilyb.eum, and fecke to make fure to themselues all places, whither the tybeam, and tecke to make ture to themselves an places, whittier the enemies thips could not bring reliefe. The Confull tunius, to cure the wound of difhonour, which hee had received, bethought him

what enterprise to vidertake. In the end he resolued to attempt the Mountayne and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of Venus Erycina: which was the fairest and richest of all the lland; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Erys was commodiously scated betweene Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restraine the Carthaginians from making 20 roades into the Countrie. Wherefore Innius fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, ( both which places were very detencible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the tenth yeare of this warre, the Carthaginians fent forth Amilear, furnamed Bareas, Father of the great Hannibal, with a fleet and armie, who failing to the coasts of Itahe, did throughly repay the spoiles which the Romans made in Africa. For he first orall wasted and destroied the Territories of the Lecrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicil; and finding there no walled Citic in the Carthaginians power, that ferued fitly to infelt the Romans, he occupied a peece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to 30 confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himfelfe betweene both Armies with admirable refolution.

The place that Amiliar had seized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoure all the coalt of Italie with his fleet, waiting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicil heheld the Romans to hard worke : lying neare vnto Panormus, wherein three yeares abode he did many notable acts, though not of much confequence, for that the enemic could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormia, he vndertooke a ftrange peece of worke at Eryn. The Roman Garrifons, placed there by junius, on 40 the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuertheleffe Amlear found a way, lying towards the Sca-fide, by which he conueighed his men into the Citic of Errx, that was about the middelt of the ascent, eretheenemie knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the Mountaine, were streightly held (asit were) besieged. And no lesse was Amiliar himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such ascameto relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeares more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Caribaginius, was bent 50 vnto the profequating of this bufinesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as Hanni-Lia.Du.3. Lio. bal, in Line, spake vnto Scipio) that the affaires of Carthage neuer stood in better termes, fince the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Ro-

mans had veterly for faken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held refittlesse; smilear, with a fmall Armie, had fo well acquited himfelte, to the honour of his Countrie, that by the triall of fine yeares warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was judged equall, if not functiour, to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastrie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that Amilear, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common treasurie was exhausted : and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one Quinquereme; which example wrought fo well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, joyned with some others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another: with condition to be repaied, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new Quinqueremes: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lilyheum, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to C. Luclatius Catulus; who past with the same into Sicil, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum: indepouring by all meanes to have forced the Citie. But being advertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late loffes which his Predeceffours had received; he was care-

full to put himfelfe in order, against their arrivall. Hanno was Admirall of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wife in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of feeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthic than himfelfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking a-30 mong the ancient fort, whose cold temper is auerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great forelight, confirmed by enery losse received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moft grieuous oppressions of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall fuch batred, as turned it all to their

those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dilhonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which loft not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counfaile, when, having showed himselfe an vnworthie Captaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Historics, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preferue the League betweene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee descrued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the Carthaginians to a miferable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard condi-

great loffe. He had ere this beene imploied against the Numidians, and wild A-

fricans, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of

tions, that peace which he thenceforth commended. Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the belt of his qualities) but he had neither beene carefull in trayning his Marriners, to the practing of 50 Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with flout fellowes. Hee thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert Romans give way: forgetting, that rather the relifflesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to for sake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either

conceiued a-right, or elle was fent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, sirst of all to faile to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and having thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboord some part of the Land-armie, together with Amilear himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the enemie repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have beene performed. But Catulus vied all possible diligence, to preuent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that seared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with Amilear. Wherefore although the weather get to greatly, and the Seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was deferred; 10 yet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to fuffer this convoy to passe along to Eryx, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunitie in the future. All that Hanno should have done, Catalus had performed Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightned his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthen; and hee had taken aboord the choice men of the Roman Land souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter, were etterly broken and defeated; having fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and funke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronefu.

The state of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to refolue. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and Amilear, vpon whose valour and judgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now furrounded by his enemies in Sicil, where he could not be relieued. In this extremitie, they make a dispatch vnto Amilear himselfe, and authorize him to take what courfe should seeme best vnto his excellent wisedome; leaving all conclusions to his election and fole counfaile.

Amilear, whom no aduerlitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recoucrie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that 30 the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolued to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to Luctation the Consull an Ouerture of peace: who confidering it well, gathered fo many arguments from the present pouertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkned vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Ile of Sicil. Secondly, that they should neuer vndertake vpon Hieron 40 King of Syracuse, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and fend back into Italic, all the Romans, whom they hold prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeares next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not throughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicil, to make persect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and requi- 50 red a shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthagmians should not only depart out of Sicil it selfe, but should also with draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betweene it and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Punick Warre, that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or thinwrack, about feuen hundred Quinqueremes; and the Carthaginians, about five hundred : the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to proue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of Polybius, That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselves the braver Nation: and Amilear, the most worthing Captaine.

## CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

Of the cruell warre begunne betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercinaries.



HE Romans, having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gaue them rather meanes and leifure to helpe themselues in a following warre, than cause to hold themselues contented with the present peace. It is a true rule, Quod leges @ curt.la. à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis; That lawes are given by the Conquerers, and received of the conquered. But the Romans had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the Prinernates; or

else had forgotten to follow it, in this waightic businesse. For when one of Privernum, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator; What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in 40 these wordes. Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithfull that you give vs, it will be perpetuall; if it beill, then of little continuance. To this answere, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was faid, Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi poffe, villum populum, aut hominem deniá, in ea conditione, cuius eum paniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleeve, that any people, or indeede any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened estate, than meere necessitie didenforce? Now if the Romans themselves could make this judgement, of those Nations, who had little elfe, befides their manly refolution, to defend their libertie; furely, they grofly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, 50 who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themselves, would fit downe any longer by the loffe and dishonour received than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only prinate men, but Kings and publique States, have more prenailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue;

with held the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most scarefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick Warre was ended; Amilear, leaving Eryx, went to Lilybeum, from whence most conveniently the Armie might bee transported into Africk : the care of which butinesse he committed vnto Gesca, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. Gefco had an especiall consideration of the great fummes, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercinaries; and, withall, of the great disabilitie to make paiment. Therefore he thought it the wifelt way, to fend them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that To the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Com- 10 paniesarriued. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not beene hard to per-Iwade any small number, lodged within so great a Citic as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinelle of the common Treasurie did require : so that the first might have beene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whileft their disjunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique state, by remitting a great part of their ownedue; and box by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and can tion. So they detayned the first and second commers, telling them, that they 20 would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increafed, and many disorders (athing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regardit was thought fit, to remoue them all to some other place where they might be leffe troublesome. This must be done by some colourable wordes of perswasion : for their number was alreadie fo great, that it was not fafe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sieca: receiving enery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wines, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly 30 to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the Carthaginians have no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truffe vp their fardells, that they might have none occasion left, to make any errands this ther. So to Siccathey remoued, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Bulineffe they had none to doe, and therfore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their monie came in; how much would fall to enery single share; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticisms; and he was thought a man of worth, that could 40 finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable wordes and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time paffeth away; sutilithe whole Armie being arrived, and lodged in Sica, Hanno comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be maderich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause: So thinke they all; and affemble themselues to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to helpe his 50 memoric in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made whother when the sum of the

charges, whereat the common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally defires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out or the love which they bare vnto the citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his difcourse: for the Carthaginian Armie was composed of fundry Nations, as Greekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceived the whole tenour of his speach, had informed the rest what cold comfort hee brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad men, fo that nothing would ferue to appeale them. Hanns would faine have affwaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee leffe vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither eafily ftirred up to mutinic, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage, The best that Hanno can doe, is to vie the helpe of Interpreters, and meifengers. But thefe Interpreters miltake his meaning; lome, for want of fkill; others, of fet purpose; and fuch as deliuer his errandes in the worst sense, are best beleeved. Finally, they thinke them felues much abused, by the Carthaginians, and resolute to demaund their owne, in peremptorie termes, at a nearer diffance. In this moode they leaue Sieas, and march as farre as Tunis, that is within a little of Carthage, and there they 20 incampe.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat Fortibus & miferis :

Haue special care, that valiant pouertie Be not opprest with too great inturie.

But this proude citie, having neglected the rule, hath also beene carelesse in provi-20 ding to fecure her felfe against the inconvenience that might followe. She had fuftered the whole multitude, whereunto shee was like to give cause of discontent, to joyne it felfe into one bodie, when the feuerall troupes might easily have beene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these pooremen, which had thee retained in thewe of kindnette, thee might have yied them, as Hotlages, for her owne fafetie; and by imploying a miferable pennie father, in her negotiation with men of warre, thee bath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely enough it is, that Amilear had no defire to be viedas an infirument indefrauding his owne fouldiours of their wages: especially considering, that as he to beficould beare witnesse of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereto may be added a probable conjecture, that Hanno, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to Amilear, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counfaile, vpon the liberall promifes made by the Captaines Amilear therefore did wifely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had ihuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begunne. They furnish a market at Tunis, for the fouldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they lift, and at what price they lift. They fend euer and anone fome of their Senatour's 50 into the Campe; who promife to fatisfic all demands, as farre foorth as it should be polible. And thus, by thifting from one extreame to another, they make the fouldiours understand, into what feare the city was driven; which cannot but adde much infolencie to the passions alreadie stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the

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CHAP.2. S.I.

Armie, which thereupon growes wife, and finding the feafon fit, labours to make a great baruett. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have loft their horfes, in publique service of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had lived some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their silowance of victuals from Carthage. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ferue. They faid that they had beene fometimes driven to buy; and that (fince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the 10 dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might casily have beene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilest the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this corne-monie; the Souldiers have denifed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater fumme of monic, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies, which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, thould be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of Gesco : partly out of good liking to him, who had 20 thewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, espacially when they were to be transported into Africk: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of Amilear; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So Ge/co comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without monie: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of Hanno. Hee calles vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the feuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; aduising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good feruices. After this he beganne to put 30 hand to his purse: offering to give them their whole paie in hand; and then after to confider of other reckonings, at a more convenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might have ferued to bring all to a quiet paffe; if two feditious ringleaders of the multitude had not flood against it.

There was in the Campe one Spendius, a flurdie fellowe, and audacious, but a flaue; that in the late warre had fled from a Roman whome hee ferned, and therefore flood in feare, left hee should be delinered backe to his Master; at whose hands hee could expect no leffe, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raifing such troubles, as might ferue to withdrawe men from care of private matters, and make his owne resti- 40 tution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With Spendius there affociated himselfe one Matho; an hote-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as hee could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should bee made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This Matho deales with his countrimen, the Africans; telling them, that they were in farre worfe condition, than either the Gaules, the Greekes, the Spawiards, or any forreyne mercinaries. For (laith he) thefe our companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and fo get them gone : but wee, that are to flay behinde in Africa. Shall bee called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; so that wee shall have cause to wish, that wee had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with 50 the monie, which (little though it be) shall breake our backes. Tee are not ignorant how tyrannically thefe our haughtie Masters of CARTHAGE decreione over us. They thinke it reasonable, that our lives and goods should bee at their disposition; which they have at other times beene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to

deel we their Sourceigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as free men, and beene bold to fet a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others have done? Ye all doe knowe, that it were a very shame for vs, if having beene as forward in euerie danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithfranding yee may affure your felues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as foone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wife; and confider, that they hate and feare us. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past : unlesse wee now take 10 our time, and, whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatlie, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their flrength confileth in monic, wherewithall they have hired others against vs , and vs against others. At the present they have neither monie nor friends. The best Armie that ever served them , whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gates, readie to helpe visif we be men. Abetter opportunitie cannot be expected : for were our fwords once drawne, all AFRICK would rife on our fide. As for the CARTHAGI-NIANS, whether can they fend for helpe? The offeit felfe is plaine : but we must quickely resolue. Either we must preuent the diligence of GESCO, by inconsing these GAVLES and SPANIARDES, and procuring them to draw blood; or elfeit behoueth us to please our good masters, by toyning with them against our fellowes, year by offering to forgive vnto 20 them all our wages, if fo (peraduenture) they may be ewonne to forgive us, or not overcruelly to punish our faults alreadie committed. He is worthily a wretched flane, that neither halbeare to winne his Masters love, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.

By fuch perfivations Matho winners the African Guidiers to his owne purpofe. They are not now to greedie of monie, as of quarrell; which hee that feekes will not milife to finde. When 6% therefore offered to pay them their whole flipend prefently, but referred their other demandes, for horfesand victualles, to fome other more convenient time; they breake into great outrage, and fay that they will have all, evenall at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about Matho and Spendius; whole diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire alreadie blazing. Matho and Spendius are the onelic men to whom the fouldiours will hearken: if any other fland up to make a speach, a flower of slones, shying about his cares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither flay they to consider what it is that any man would fay; enough hath beene saide alreadie by these good spokesmen, so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be cheard, saue onely throw, throve.

Now the Rebellion beginnes to take forme. Matho and Spendius are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no manto make his owne peace, but purfue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the com-40 mon cause. All which not withstanding, Gesco is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himfelte vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and gining gentle wordes; another while he workes with the feuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts defire, if any reason would content them. None of them are fofullen, as the Africans: indeed none of them had fo good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to give them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couctous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answere, than of a good paiment. This is more then Gefco knowes: he sees not that Matho hath any more than bare words, to bellow vpon them. Wherefore, as 50 tebuking their inconfiderate heat, he telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, Matho. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought; yeavpon him also, and althat are with him: Iiiii 2

as intending to take this in part of paiment, and, for the rest, to take another course. Matho and Spendius are glad of this. It had little pleafed them to feetheir fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the Carthaginians that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. Matho follicites all Africk; and his Embaffadours are euerie where well entertained. Neither is it needefull to vie perswasion: the verie same of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole countrie into it. Now must the Carthaginians bee plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as she is ever affin- 10 red to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The Africans, finding the Carthaginians hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impolitions were mercileffe; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne, that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vaffals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruclties the Carthaginians themselues have forgotten: but the people, that have fuffered fo much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely fuch as can beare armes, are readie to doe feruice in this great Commotion; but the verie women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to fale for maintetenance of foiust a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, 20 Matho and Spendius are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and tenne thoufund Africans: and are moreouer furnished with monie, not onely to fatisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begunne. though it should bee of long endurance.

#### d. II.

Diverse observations upon this warre with the mercinaries.

#### †. I

Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driven to whe helpe of mercinaries.

Ere let vs reft awhile, as in a conucnient breathing place: whence we are may take prospect of the subicet, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a go warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessaries with a deadlie warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessaries, that a tyrannic should be evpheld by mercinatic forces: it is common that mercinatics should be false: and it is common, that all warre, made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hateand crueltie. Yet wee seldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannic is procured or sought, by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldome or neuerdoe we reade of any warre, that hath beene prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which wee properly call Tyrannie, is Aviolent forme of gonernment, not respecting the good of the subtest, but onely the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely so forbeare to say, that it is the vniust rule of one ouer many: for verie truely doth Cleon in Thurydides tell the Athenians, that their dominion ouer their subjects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselues were

were a great Citie, and a Popular effate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, violent: since it may well and eafily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practife of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for lome Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very flaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheleffe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto noto tice of the difference which might bee found betweene the worth of feuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, bath fo good a rellith, as continually inflames the T yrants appetite, and will not fuffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds, to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should have riches in goodly abundance. He harh taken a great deale from enery one; but enery one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now hee hath enough: but (as Couctoulnesse is never fatisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a flock, though 20 it were indeede a good yearlie Income. Therefore he denifeth new tricks of robberie, and is not better pleased with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this; and he knowes it well: but hee thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspeeteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale crastily; but if Innocencie be not fafe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in feare, fince the Traitor is no worferewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee canthinke vpon none other fecuritie, than to difarme all his Subjects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustic Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not bee of his 30 owne Countrie: for if not every one, yet some one or other, might chance to have a feeling of the publique miferie. This confidered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vnhonest that can bee found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose only fauour they are maintayned. Now left any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth give, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe; they shall all be permitted to doe as hee doth; to robbe, to rauish, to murder, and to fatisfie their owne appetites, in most outragious manner; being thought so much the more affured to their Master, by how much the more he sees 40 themgrow hatefull to all men elfe. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write: I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some Englift-man perhaps, that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this leafe, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to show, both how tyrannie growes to stand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercinaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmely assured vnto the Tyrant.

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†. II.

t. I I.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subjects is worfe, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise wse mercinarie Souldiers.

Now concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subjects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life : the leffe neede hath shee therefore, to se- 10 cure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needes the leffe, to pluck from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie fummes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution casic, or the taking excusable. Indeede, no wrongs are so grieuous and hatefull, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith Caligula the Emperor, to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And lunenal reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell Roman Dame vpon her flaues; that whileft thee was whipping them, shee painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of 20 neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest gricuances, wherwich a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all fense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although defire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throts, and maintaine them in all villagie. as a Dionysius or Agathocles must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrific, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselues, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to descrue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this not with standing, it shall appeare, That the miseries, where with a Ty-30 rant lodeth his people, are not so heavie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some apparance of truth, it may bee said, that Lust, and many other prinate passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall have neede to vie the helpe of fuch distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lascinious, when Cato was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his gravitic, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By comon practise, and generall approued custome, we are to censure the qualitie of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice, of any one man; nor by metaphyficall abstraction, of the universall from the fingular; 40 or of the Corporation, from these of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I have faid elsewhere) That it were better to line vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe : but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate socuer, if they cannot be fatisfied, yet they may be wearied; hee is not able to fearch all corners; his humour may be found, and foothed; age, or good advice, yea, or fome vnexpected accident, may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his Successout may proue better. Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthic Kings and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditarieto their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Gouernement, euen 50 a lawfull Monarchie. But they that live vnder a tyrannicall Citie, have no fuch hope: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they bee pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receive the bridle of a more mightic Chariotier. This is wofull : yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull

of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the fame fore, out of which, others had alreadic fucked their fill. A new Gouernour comes yearly among them, artended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home emptic to their hines, without a good lading of waxe and honie. These sie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with enery mans wealth, or whatfoeuer elfe, in all the Province, is worthie to be defired. They know all a mansenemies, and all his feares: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he fearethmost. To grow into acquaintance with these matterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vnder-gone) and such as eto pery one hath not meanes to goe about : but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successiour of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wise or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemie to both his fore goers, who feekes the ruine of all that have beene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyrannie are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civill warre. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, or Of Recoverie, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it served not wholly to restraine their Prouinciall Gouernours; who prefuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Proninces, to 20 worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of Rome groned under such oppressions; what mult we thinke of those, that were vasfalls vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthen some tributes: they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for having beene ill Gouernours. At Carthage all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable statesman, whose robberies had beene

fuch, as might affoord a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples

of this Carthaginian practife, are not extant : the government of Verres the Roman,

nour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in scare of no such condemnation, as Verres

vnder-went. By profequating this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Pro-

polition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subject Provinces so mildly, as a King:

but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyrannic of a Citie is farre more intole-

20 in Sicil, that is lively fet out by Tullic, may ferue to informe vs, what was the demea-

rable, than that of any one most wicked man. Suteable to the crueltie of fuch Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and againe, futeable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it sollowed, that, in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vie the service of African souldiers; in Africk it felfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther 40 fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick Warre, shift his mercinaries out of their owne Countries; VI Afriin Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melier Liu, Dec. 3. Liv. procul ab dome futurus vterą, miles, velut mutus pignoribus obligati fipendia tacerent; That the Africans might ferue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them ike to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obiged by mutuall pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African, and Spanish birelings, could properly be termed Mercinaries: for they were subject vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet feeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere defire of

gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely fland vpon proprietic of a word, but

50 hold them, as Polybius also doth, no better than Mercinaries.

t. III.

The dangers growing from the Use of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries,

The extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of fuch Souldiers, is well observed by Machiavel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, denourers, and destroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commo- 10 ditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their detence, who have entertained them, but revolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that have trusted them. These Mercinaries (faith Machiauel) which filled all Italie, when Charles the eighth of Erancedid paffe: the Alpes, were the cause that the faid French King wonne the Realme of Naples. with his Buckler without a fword. Notable was the example of sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by Queene Joane of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of Arragon. Like vnto his father was Francis Sforza, the first 20 of that race Duke of Millan: who, being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his flaues, even with the same Armie which themselves had levied for their owne defence. But Lodouick Sforza, the sonne of this Francis, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had beene. For, having waged an Armic of Switzers, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them delinered vp vnto his enemie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches to his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in vling the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We 30 fee, that when the Emperor of conflantinople had hired ten thou and Turkes, against his neighbour Princes, he could neuer, either by persualion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon Asia side: which gave beginning to the Christian servicus, that soone after followed. Alexander, the sonne of Cassander, sought aide of the great Demetrius but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, such the same Alexander who had invited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syraean the Turke was called into Agypt, that Saladian his Succession but this Turke did settle himselfe so furely in Agypt, that Saladian his Succession became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Eurry Kingdome, in effect, can furnss hy the English into Ireland: but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alleaged, the good successe of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherland's, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low Countries have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Seamen, and therein is their excellencies, neither are they bad, at the desence of a place well fortissed: but in open field they have seldome beene able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessities therefore compelled them to seek helpe abroad: and the like 50 necessities made them for beare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintay ned the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they speed well. Surely they speed as ill as

might be, whilest they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witnesse it: and that braue Commander, Count Lodowick of Nassau, telt it to his griefe, in his retrait from Groeninghen; when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and for anne away. This was not the only time, when the hired souldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize under a shew ofgreedinesse; or at least, by meere concrousnesse, have ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples : for they themselves will not denicit. Neither would I touch the honour of Monsieur to the Duke of Anion, brother to the French King; faue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that fuch Aiders make themselues Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with fuch another as this Monfieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee lined to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whilest he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginaric forrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to bee surprised and wonne; the death of the Count 20 St. Aignan, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citic, discharged against his owner roupes, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his owne French, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguilh of minde; wherein, finiting his breaft, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me? So the affaires of the Netherlands will not ferue to proue, that there is litle danger in vling mercinarie fouldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithillanding they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wifely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen 20 of England refused to accept the Soueraigntie of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemie, purfued him with continuall warre; when the heire of England raigned in Scotland, a King too just and wife (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miferies, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance : then might the Netherlanders very fafely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The fouldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receive; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand; or if any were cold in his deuotion, to the fide whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, 40 by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would have rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the Spannard. They were therefore trusted with the custodic of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitic of the poorer fort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three fuch Princes, raigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countric, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure ofher Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other bulineffe in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may 50 well hold true in generall. That mercinarie, and forraigne auxiliarie forces, are no leff dangerous, than the enemie, against whom they are entertained.

CHAP.2. +.4.

### t. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gavethem affurance to vee the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vee and benefit of the like moderation.

Here may it be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to vse feruice of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how 19 happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoide the inconueniences aboue rehearfed? The answere is; That their Armies were compounded viuallie of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the Campanes, Hetrurians, Sammites, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did implie so many,) tenne Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting : which serue to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Armie than themselves. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they en. 20 ioved, made them affured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they lived almost at libertie, as being bound to little elfe, than to ferue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke. how easie soeuer, seemes trouble some to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of Italie haue taken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselves from the Roman subjection. But still they have beene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion have sharpely punished; and the people, by degrees, have obtained fuch libertic, as made them effecme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italie. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off remooued, even to Tarfus in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne. That all the Burgesses should bee free of Rome it selfe. 30 This fauour was conferred absolutlie vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wontto pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readic way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition, when the reuiew of harder times past, should rather teach them to fearear clapfe, than to hope for better in the future, by feeking innouation Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the Romans good gouernment, That when some, for their well-descruing, have had the offer to be made citizens of Rome; they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with 49 their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Petellia, a citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, youn any condition, to for fake the Romans; euen when the Romans them felues had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their ownegood, as having beene faithfull to the vtmost. Such love purchased these milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adjoyning thereunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate vse of sourcigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion : it may feeme strange, that the practife of tyrannie, whose checks are contrarie, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I knowe, may bee saide, of all Vice,

and irregularitie what socuer. For it is leffe difficult (who socuer thinke otherwise) and more fafe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; vet commonly our passions lead vs into by-pathes. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, orany the like Affection, feduceth our reason; the same vnrulie appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wife taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannic it is not for for as much as we can hardly describe passion, that is of force to infinuate it felfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It must be confessed, that lawleffe defires have bred many Tyrants: yet fo, that thefe defires have feldome beene hereditarie, or long-latting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants

10 life, fometimes before his death; by which meanes the Gouernment hath beene reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle holds, That Tyran-Arist, Pollibs, nies are of fort continuance. But this doth not fatisfie the question in hand. Why did 6.12. the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie ? why did the Athenians ? why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they beignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherin so many thoufand citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concurre, notwithstanding the much diversitie of temper, and the vehemencie of prinate hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be faine to say, That T yrannie is, by 20 it felfe, a Vice diffinet from others. A Man, we knowe, is Animal politicum, apt,

even by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other delires of Mankinde, are common likewife vnto bruit beaftes; and fome of them, to bodies wanting fense; but the defire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reafon; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the fustentation of their life : as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewife naturall, in convenient measure, both vnto mankinde, and to all creatures that have fense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite : euen so is this defire of ruling or obaying, engratted by 30 Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the orde-

ring of his life, in a ciuile forme of iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vsefull. Neuerthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonic and Drunkenneise, which, in reproach, are called beastlie, by an unproper terme : since they grow from appetites, found in leffe worthie creatures than beaftes, and are yet not lo common in beaftes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of fuch other Poffions as descend no lower than vnto bruit beastes, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more gricuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is belt; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice

40 more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which iffueth from the most noble roote, even the deprayed Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefes, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all thin, s, or That nothing, thould be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie diffemper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to fublift: yet the defective dulnesse that permitteth any thing wil also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more active, and pleafeth it felfe in the excesse, with with a false colour of iu-

50 flice. Examples of Pupiditic, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though fuch natures are enery where found; for this qualitie troubles not it felfe in feeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding him felfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) fome friend or else a wife, is it not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe

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Liu.ibid.

to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowen, is without a name. T yrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowen, but would be reputed honours ble : for it is prosperum & falix scelus , a fortunate mischeif , as long as it can ful fine There is no reward or honour (faith PETER CHARRON) assigned to those, that knowe how to incresse, or to preferue humane nature: all honours, greatneffe, riches, dignities. empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that knowe how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. CAES AR, and ALEXANDER, have vn-made and flaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripeneffe, is none other, than 10 Feritie: the same that Aristotle faith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, iffuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Periurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceede in villanie. the faults of Cluttonie and drunkennelle, that grow from more ignoble appetites, Hereof Seiron, Procruftes, and Pity ocamptes, that yied their bodily force to the dethruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than Phalaris, Lionyfius and Agathodes, whose mischeinous heades were affished by the hands of detestable Russians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of Failie, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen, and flaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himfelfe, so that it is alwates, and simplie, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Realon ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can have ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Fatherouer his whole countries which hee that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God gaue unto Adams, when he said, slave dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the

Generit views gaue vnto Adam, when he faid; thank dominion outer the fifth of the Sea, and out the fowle of the aire, and outer entries thing that moueth upon the earth: which also hee confirmed vnto Nosh, and his children, laying, The search you, and the dread of you, 30

flux be upon eneric beafing the earth, and upon currief owle of the aire, upon all that moneth upon the earth, and upon all the tifles of the Sea; into your hards are they delinered. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue alloan apritude to whic. It. The execution of this power hath fince extended it felfe, ouer a great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no finall numbers of men, whose disabilities to gouerne themselves, proues them, according who Anylandes doctrine, to be naturallie flaues.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulnesse the terror be sufficientlie intimated, where it is said, That a man

fhall not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction,

Eval.e.i.v.i if the seruant line a day or two, because he is his monie; or else by the captiuitie of the 40

Nam.e.5.0.v. 40 Assistantish girles, which were made bondslaues, and the Sanctuarie had a part of

the Sanctuarie that the state of the sanctuarie had a part of

them for the Lor sktribute. Doubtiesse the custome hath beene very ancient: for Nodh laid this curse your Camain, that he should be a servant of servants and Abraham
bad of Pharaoh, among other gifts, men-feruants, and maide formants, which were none
other than slaues. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this olde kinde of
feruilitie: but surelie, they are deceived, that thinke so. Saint Paul desired the si-

### Detailed Detailed One fines, whome he had wonne vnto Chrift: yet wrote hee for this vnto Philemen, by way of requelt, crawing it as a benefit, not veging it as a dutic. Agreement able hereto is the direction, which the fame Saint Paul gineth vnto ferunant: Let east 1.600.0.100 n. yman this in the fame calling wherein hee was called: at then called, being a ferunal? 30

ewe not 'or it, hui if thou mult be made free, wfeit rather. It is true, that Christian religion both procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Mafters shood in feare, of being discovered by their slaues, vnto the perfecuters of religion. Mahomet likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drewe many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbad it, as vnlawfull, vnto his fectatours, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; faue that by the practife of the Turks and Moores, it feemes he did not. In England we had many bond-feruants, wittill the times of our latic time warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning prillenage are ftill in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaues were made free, which were of great vse and service, there are growney parabble of Rogues, Cutpurses, and other the like Trades; slaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion belawfull, or not; Ariflotle hath well proued, that it is naturall. And certainely we finde not such a latitude of difference, inany creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in chate, of the clect & reprobate) the wifelt excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpasse the wifest of beaits. Therfore when Commiseration hath given way to Reason; we shall find, that Nature is the ground cuen of Masterly power, and of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly faid, that fome countries have sublisted long, without the vse of any scruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries have not the vse of any tame cattaile. Indeede the affections which vphold civile rule, are (though more noble) not fo simplie needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the 20 like; or of cuerie one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowell in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, have libertie to show themselves begging in the streetes; there may wee more justly wonder, how the dangerous toile of fea-faring men can finde enough to vindertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may fuffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a defire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleafure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being fo, we finde no cause to meruaile, how Tyrannie hath beene so rife 20 in all ages, and practifed, not onely in the finglerule of fome vicious Prince, but cuer by consent of whole Cities and Estates : since, other vices have likewise gotten head, and borne a generall fway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have vsed well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not bee dilordered? In the government of wife and children, some are vtterlie carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by masterlierigour, hold their owne blood under condition of flauerie. To be agood Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publicke aboue all respects what soener, is the Vertue infly termed Heroicall. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many exam-40 ples. Hector is named by Aristotle, as one of them; and descruedlie, if this praise be due to extraordinarie heighth of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we confider, that a lone of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountaine of all goodnesse: wee shall finde, that no Morall vertue. how great focuer, can, by it selfe, deserve the comemndation of more than Vertue, as the Heroicall doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof. fuch, as Dauid, Iolaphat, and Iolias were. Of Christian Kings if there were many fuch, the world would foone be happic. It is not my purpofe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But hethat can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement 50 either of aduer litie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the general peace and quiet; who not onely vieth his authoritie, but addes the travaile of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to doe instice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gouernment, civilitie is infused, even into those places, that had beene the dennes of fauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite abolished a flauish Brehen Kkkkk

CHAP.2. \$.3.

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one. whose higher vertue and wisedome doth make the prayse, not onelie of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods. of those that are under his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare leffe regardable: he, I say, that can finde tuch a King, findeth an example, worthie to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerlie wanting. Vnder fuch a King, it is likelie by Gods bleffing, that a land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknowen; that Civilitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subsects, shall cause the Nations farre to offremoued, to with him their Souereigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of fuch a King, euen his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue: fince all things tending to the preferuation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspeakeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Least any man should thinke meetransported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I adde hereunto, that such a King is neuerthelesse a man must die, and may erre: yet wisedome and fame shall set him tree, from errour, and from death, both 20 with and without the helpe of time. One thing I may not omit, as a lingular benefite (though there be many other belides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruite of his goodnesse. The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not onclie louing to their Souereigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, than of flout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that rulethas ouer flaues, shall be attended, in time of necessitie, by flauish mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee furious, and flaues outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yeelded vnto flauerie, vniuerfailie it is found true, that Homer faith, God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he cafteth him into bondage.

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Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonablic haue spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so livelie an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vse of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it felfe, as is this present businesse of the Carthaginians; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barelie deliucred, as out of a common place.

#### ð. III.

How the warre against the Mercinarie was dinersic mannaged by HANNO and AMILCAR, with variable successe. The bloodie counsailes of the Mercinaries; and their finall destruction.



Eing now to returne vnto those Mercinaries, from whome I have thus farre digreffed, I cannot readilie finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginan; neither care they to pretend, that they fecke their wages alreadie due so that they are neither Mercinaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all

beene subjects vnto Carthage, then might they justly have beene termed Rebels: 50 but Spendius, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuoured to subuert. Wherefore I will borrowethe name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercinaries, as Polybius also doth.

These ving the advantage of their present strength, belieged \* Vites, and Hip. \* Vites in sea-There ving the addanage of their preferences the beneged with and the ted in the parter A. Cities of great importance, as being feated upon the welferne Hauen of Care great By, that thase, where it is divided by a necke of land; Hippagreta standing inwards upon the enterstowards great Lake ; Vica further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at Tunes aban- Carthage, no t great Lake 37 ma further our voor the Sea. Teetiter was the Campe at Tame about far within the doned, which lay fitly to hinder the Carthaginians, from pathing vp into the Promontone countrie: for Matho and Spendius wanted not men, to followe the warre in all of Arallo. Ac

parts at once. How the Carthaginians were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may Farint, or Bierconceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them haltilie. They are hardly prest on ia; and by the 10 all fides; and therefore travailed their braines to the vttermost, how to thake off felues, Girel these furious dogges from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes aucha, Niger by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. In this exigent Hanno was made faith, that the their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good pre-issuines; and paration: but had gotten together whatfocuer was needefull, as well to relieue a the Hare, Towns belieged, as to batter and affaile any place defended against him. With and any these prouisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to Fisca; so suddenlie called Magathat the enemies, as men surprised, for sooke their Trenches, and retired them selves were ancients unto a rifing peece of woody ground, where they might be fafe against the violence and builtieof his beafts. Hanno, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, whose custome first that is to was, after any losse, to flict two or three whole daies journie off; presently entred the in-special parameter.

Towne; to flew himfelfe, after this his victory. But thefe good fellowes, against being aringe whom he was to warre, had learned of Amilear, to retire and to fight againe, many was fet very times in one day, as neede required. Therefore as foone as they perceived, that he canbege was knewe not how to vie a victorie; they affailed their owne Campe, and with great thrown down flaughter, draue the Carthaginians out of it; forcing them to hide themselves with in the thank the in Vica; and got possession of all the store, that Hanno had brought for the reliefe w & Warre. Faof the Towne. This bad beginning Hanne followed with sureable indiscretion: mous it was by loofing the benefite of many faire opportunities, and fuffering the enemies to take cato the youpossession, of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

The Carthaginians, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did there- victor, that forelet fall their thete anchor; fending to the field their great Captaine, Amilear, worthy Divine whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seuentie Elephants, thereof, in the Amilear had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the ene-time of Gentemievpon equal ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries who lived a!! had occupied, Hanno had fuffered them to winne the onely Bridge, by which the the time of River Macar, or Bagradas, was paffable vnto those, that were to travaile into the that Tyrant, Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get and hath writouer: but vpon them all was kept fuch guard, as gaue to Amilear little hope of pre- of his civeluailing in feeking way by force. As for the Bridge it felfe, Matho & his followers were ties.

40 there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intentiue onely to the custodie thereof. But Amilian had observed, that the very mouth of Bigradas y fed to be fometimes cloyed with fund and grauell, that was driven in by certaine customarie windes, and could not be driven out againe, by force of that flow River, till the wind falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vie; and taking his opportunitie, passed the River; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemie, or of his owne

There was no neede to bid spendius looke about him, when once it was heard, that Amilear was come over Bagradus: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the 30 newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident gravitie of Hanno, but with an able spirit, even with their owne Master in the Art of Warre; whomethey admired, though they hated him. But this feare was foone changed into prefumption; when more than fifteene thou fand of their owne focietie, were come from Vica; and other tenne thouland from the gard of the Bridge. Their Kkkkk 2

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Armie was farregreater, than that of Amilear; and they were, in their owne judgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resoluted to charge him on all fides, and beate him downe, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this refolution they attended vpon him; watching for some advantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onfet. Especiallie they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneffe was fuch, as tooke from them their former circumspection. Amilear held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armic. Neither made hee shewe of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, 10 till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would bee little for their good, if hee should turne vpon them, he hastened his march, even to such a pace, as made a thewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presentlie fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was readie to runne away-But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driving at the heeles of those that had the Rearc; Amilear wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, fo that amazed with the apprehension of inexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were fix thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two 20 thousand taken; the rest sled some to the Campe at Vices; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither Amilear followed them fo fast, that he wanne the place eafily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto Tunes, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it, caused many Townes revolted, partly by seare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about Numdia and Africk, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recoucrie of their freedome; hee perfwaded Spendius, and Autaritus that was Captaine of the Gaules, to wait upon Amil- 20 ear, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to pressethe Towns of Hippagreta with an hard fiege. It was necessarie for Amilear, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not levell. Therefore Spendius, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground : the Carthaginians lying in a Plaine, furrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie; the same of Amilear his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For Naranafus, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the Numidians, was glad of this occasion serving to get the acquaintance & 40 loue of so braue a man, which he much defired : and therefore came vnto Amilear, fignifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all fernice. Amilest joyfully entertained this friend; promifed vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following Naranasus turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe hee gaue battaile vnto Spendius. wherein the Numidian laboured to approuch is owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were flaine ten thousand of Spendius his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but Spendius himselfe, with Autaritus the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischiese. Amilear dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vinwilling to become 50 his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatning to take sharpe reuenge vponall, that should breake this Couerant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, as

tending to winne from them, the hearts of their fouldiers. Wherefore they refolued to take fuch order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of Amilear, nor to hope for any fafetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertifement, wherein was contained, that some of their companie, respective onely of their private benefit, and carclesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betraie them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto Gefce, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme Spendius makes an Oration to the fouldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie;

10 and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of Amilear, toward fome, was none other then a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemie Geseo would proone, if hee might cscape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale; were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth Autaritus, and speakes his minde plainly: faying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetic, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were dividing to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those, that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of Gefco his life, than to trouble themselues with looking to his custodie; that by such a course cueric one should be ingaged in the pre-

20 fent Action, as having none other hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that fuch as would speakehere against, were worthie to bee reputed Traitours. This Autaritus was in great credit with the fouldiours, and could speake fundrie languages, in such fortthat he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that Gefa, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheleffe there were some, that for loue of Gefee, fought to alter this intended crueltie; but they were forthwith floned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithall contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be served in like fort: and that the subjects or friends of 30 Carthage, should loofe their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they observed

cuerafterwards.

Of this crueltie I need fay no more, then that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of ving it, it was like vnto the counsaile of Achillornel; All Ifrael fiall heave, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, bestrong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they bee more innocent; and to avoide the punishment of leffe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull spirits of those that have beene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some desiciencie of Lawes, in distinguishing the pu-40 nilhments of malefactors, according to their decree of the feueral crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If PHOCAS be a coward (saide the Emperour MAVRITIVS) then is he murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in taking reuenge; is thought a point of honour, and a defensative against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opolite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie difcouered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would have repented, and fought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought fo much woe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, and his Africans, to suspect even their gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes and Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the same 30 punishment, is awarded vinto the lesse offence, and vinto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconveniences, Mercie and Severitie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which Amilear failed. For as long as these his own fouldiours were any way likely to bee reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanitie

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Vntill this time Hanne, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from Analear, and done little, as may feeme, for that nothing is remembred of hims, fince his late losses. Neither was Analear foriet owant his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grewe to such extremitie, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other side: then was Hanne sent tor, and came to Analear, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this access of strength Analear was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe to nothing; such was the hatred betweene him and his vinworthic Colleague. The Towness of trica and Hippagetas, that had stood alwaises firme on the Carthaginian partie, did now reuost vnto the enemic, murdering all the solutiours that they had in Garrison, and cassing their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouisson stopps to by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were sold in solutions to made a sufficient of the Armie, were sold in solution and Spensius consulted, whist one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vied, as the fafest course, to fend forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practife of those two 20 mightic Cities, Athens and Rome; which other States and Princes have often imitated; perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vie the greater diligence. They have also iouned two chiefe Commanders in equal commission, upon this further confideration; the better to restraine the ambition of any one, that should be trufted with fo great a firength. For hereofall Common-weales have beene iealous, having been etaught by their examples, that have made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point, the Venetians have beene fo circum spect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they have made. It is true, that the equal 30 authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ferueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truft:but in mannaging the warre it felfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made neare vnto Rome it felfe, when two good friends were Confuls, or fuch two at leaft, as concurred in one delire of Triumph; which honor (the greatest of any that Rome could give) was to be obtained by that one yeeres feruice; it is no meruaile, though each of the Confuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end than victorie. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was defired, one Distator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed 49 the manner, to fend forth both the Confuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Province; vnleffe one bulineffe feemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was fo, that the Romans did many times preuaile with their joynt Generals: yet was this neuer or feldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modestie hath often beene such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equal authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commaunders of one Armie, received great and most daungerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second Punick warre wee shall finde examples. 50 On the contrarie fide, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they feldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those tenne Generals, which served the Athenians at the Battaile of Marathon, it may truly be faid, that had not their temper beene better, than the judgment

of the people that fent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of Militades; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled Nicias and Alcibiades together in Sicil: the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hastic, as all came to nought that they undertooke; whereas Cimon alone, as also Aristides, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkeable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of turie than of judgement, and so the contrarie, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslipt, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably to undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was flaine after the Battaile of Iarnae, (which Prince, together with the Admirall Chastillon, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the faid Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselues, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their assaires. For so much did the valour of the one, outreach the adusednesse of the other, as whatfoeuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to loofe, by beeing ouer-confident in his owne courage.

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But we need no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this prefent business who, though they were fill licke of their ill grounded loue to Hanne, and were vnou willing to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armic that served under them. The judgement of the Armic was, that Hanne should depart the Campe; which he did, and Hannibal was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by Amilian; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somewhat better. Mathe and Spendius had brought their Armie neare vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a singe. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much, hauing in their Campe aboue fittie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuerthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to winne by assault: and the entrance 30 of victuailes they could not hinder, if any should bee sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of Syracufe, though during the warres in Sicil he affifted the Romans, and fill continued in their Alliance, yet now fent fuccours to the Carthaginians: fearing their fall, and confequently his owne; because if no other State gaue he Romans: 6 omewhat to trouble their difgestion, the Principalitie of Syracufe would foone be deuoured by them. The Romans also gaue them some slender affistance, and for the present refused good offers made unto them by the Mercinaries. This they did, to shew a kinde of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequele manifestly proued,

Whilest Matho and his followers were busily pressing the Citic, Amilear was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their sipply: so that finding the miclues more straightly beferged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue in the field: where Spendius, and one Zareas an African Captaine assisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde Amilear worke; scauing Mathoin Tamis, to negociate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of Naraussus, made Spendius scarefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his former method of watre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the 50 straightst passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might show it selse,

with little diaduantage. But Amilear had more skill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of Spendius. Hee drew the enemie to many skirmifles; in all which the fuccesse was such, as added courage to his ownemen, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and

day: still intrapping some of them, and someti, aes giving them the overthrowin plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough, to perceive their owne disaduantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomach to fight; but awaited for helpe from Tunis. Amilear prudently foreseeing, that necessitic might teach them to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miferably for succour, that came not: and having spent all their victuailes, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they fuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deferued any fauour from Cartha- 10 ge; and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driven to fuch extremitie, that they were faine to denoure their owne companions, and yet faw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obftinacie was broken; and they threatned their Captaines with what they had deferued, vnleffe they would goe foorth to Amilear, and feeke fuch peace as might begotten. So Spendius, Zarxas, and Autaritius, fell to consultation, wherein it was refolued, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselues, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereupon they fend to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with Amilear in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet 20 by the conditions which Amilear granted, it feemes that they tooke the blame vpon themseliues, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaginians should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be difmissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; Amilear told these Ringleaders, that he choose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest hee forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armicin order. The Rebeis, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle articles, thought themselves betraied: and therefore amazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them, and the same 30 aftonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto Amilear both colour of inflice, in accomplishing reuenge, and case in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more,

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to Carthage; and terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. Henceforward Amilear, with his Narusties and Hambad, carried the warre from Townet o Towne, and found all places readie to yeelde: Vica, and Hippagreta, onely standing out, you feare of deferued vengeance; and Tunes, being held by Matho, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefe strength of 40 the enemic. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth Spendium, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walles; to terrifie those of his olde companions, that were full in armes. With this rigour the feige began; as if speedie victoric had been assured. Itamibal quartered on that part of Tunis which lay towards Carlhage; Amilear on the opposite side: too farreafunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circums fieed.

Matho from the walles beheld his owne definite, in the miferie of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwife, than by a caft at dice with fortune. So he brake out you that part of the Carthoginian Armic, that lay fecure, as if all 50 danger were paft, under the command of Hannibal: and with fo great and wise pefted furic he falled, that after an exceeding flaughter, he tooke Hannibal prisoner; on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the Carthagian prisoners, he prefently reunged the death of Spendius by the fame torture. Of this Annibar knew nothing

till it was too late; neither had be thrength enough remaining, after this great loffe, to continue the felige; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the River Bagradus, where he incamped.

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The terrour was no lesse within Carthage, ypon the same of this losse; than had beene the joy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, under stame, whom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines surroung the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one sole Generall, neare vnto their Citie (for they are knownet to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hashie exigent, to deuise about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring stame to Amilears campe, and by all good perswassions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched Amilear in his honour, that the carelessesses of the senate to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemie to moderate his proceedings. Neuerthelesse after many confreences, the authoritie of the Senatours preculaid? A milear and them were made striends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, stame tooke warning by stambals calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and times. As addedly harted.

In the meane feafon Matho was come abroad; as meaning to vse the reputation 20 of his late fuccesse, while thit gaue some life vnto his bussinesse. He had reason to doe ashe did: but he wanted skill to deale with Anticar. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein Anticartained his Carthaginians, did so farre abate the strongth, and withall diminish the credit of Matho, that he resolved to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthaginians were no lesse prone, than Matho: as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it selvin many trials 3 and well as fured of Anticar his great worth, whereunto the enemie had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inuigoting their friends to helpe; and drawing foorth into the fielde, all that lay in Garison.

The iffue of this Battaile might have beene foretold, without helpe of witchchraft. Matho, and his followers, had nothing whereon to prefume, faue their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmilhes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The Carthaginians had reason to dare, as bauing often beene victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a commander, as was not cafily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the defire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their 40 State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the Carthaginians wanne a great victorie, wherein most of the Africans their enemies were flaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and Matho himfelfe was taken aline. Immediatly upon this victoric, all the Africans that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: Vica onely, and Hippagreta stood out, as knowing how little they described of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleafed the victours. Matho and his fellowes were led to Carthage in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and a-50 bout foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the Cathaginians whose fubicets did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercinaries, have prevented in the beginning.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Handers. The faithleffe dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia. contrarie to the peace.



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Hilest Matho and Spendius were making this terrible combustion in Africk; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire 10 in Sardinia: where murdering Boffar the Gouernour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vie. Against these one Hanno was sent with a small Armie, (fuch as

could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the fudden. But these companions that followed Hanno, finding it more for their safetie, and present profit, to iowne themselves with those that were alreadic revolted. than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practife with the Sardinian Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away 20 all icalousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander Hanno, and performed it. A common practife it hath beene in all Ages, with those that have vndertaken the quarrell of an vniust warre, to enjoyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offerto partake, and to affift the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some fuch Actions, as are equally vnpardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratefull Mantineans murder a Garrison of Achaisms, fent vnto them for their defence against the Lacedamonians, by Aratus; who, when hee had formerly poffett himfelfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did 39 not onely spare the facke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equal freedome with the rest of the Cities united. These Renolts are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conqueîts of newe fortunes, and making of newe parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. Ces font les coups de viville eferime. Thefe, (fay the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercinaries in Sardinia were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were Spending, and his affociates: onely they wanted a Matho among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Handers were no leffe glad, than the fouldiours, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Countrie: but they 40 could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The Sardinians thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the fouldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwife, the foundiours were of opinion, that the title of the Carthaginians to that Ile, was devolved vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have rifen, betweene Spendius with his Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of Carthage, had ferued to content them all. But in Sardinia, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not eafily taken up. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to faue themselves in 112-50 lie. Before their departure out of Sardinia, they had inuited the Romans into it; with as good right, as the Mamertines had called them into Sicil. Yet this offer was refufed, vpon reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieued Matha and Spendim with corne; of whom

the Carthaginians tooke almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hercof was made a great complaint: so that the Romans sent Embassadours to Carthage, requiring fatisfaction. It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: they quietly veelded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carrie all prouisions to Carthage. And vpon the same reason, did they forbeare to meddle with Sardinia, or to accept the Citie of Vtica, offering it felfe vnto their subjection. This might have ferued, as a notable example of the Roman faith, to all posteritie: had not the iffue proved, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriuing better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of Carthage depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of Amilear: who had he beene ouerthrown by Spendius or Mathe, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled her felfe under prorection of the Romans, with whom shee had lately striuen for superioritie. That extreame necessitie, whereinto Matho reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of Tunis, is enough to proue, that Carthage was not farre from fuch amiserable choice. Wherefore it was not wisely done of the Romans, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but 20 finking thippe, to runne her felfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was we'll ended in Africk, and the Carthaginians began to prepaire for the recourie of Sarainia: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The Romans perceiving that Carthage, beyond their hope, had recoursed her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercinaries, that were fled out of Sardinia; and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impourrished Citie, under a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for SARDINIA, were made indeed against Rome it selfe. The Carthaginians knew themselves vnable to relist; and therefore yeelded to the Romans demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in Sardinia. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in re-20 compence belike (for I fee not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured, of an invalion from Carthage. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently fought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the Carthaginians patience; and the monie was paied, how hardly focuer it was raifed. From this time forward, let not Rome complaine of the Punick faith, in breach of Covenants: she herselfe hath broken the peace alreadie, which Amilear purposeth to make her dearely repent; but what Amilear lives not to performe, shall be eaccomplished by Hannibal his renouned fonne.

How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the lecond Punicke Warre.

He iniurious dealing of the Romans, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; ferued to instruct the Carthaginians in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient vnto those that were more mightie. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easilie tooke place: and

the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The frength, and the icalousie of the Romans, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranseas; but the riches of Spaine, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknowen to Rome: whereforethat Province might ferue, both to exercise the Carthaginians in warre, and to repaire their decaied forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this Spanish Expedition, the charge and sourraigne trust was committed vnto Amilear: vpon

Hanne, with some other envious men, that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards Amilear and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthie of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; adulting men to beware of prouoking the Romans, in whole amitte they faid, that the felicitic of Carthage did contift. By such discourses, harth to the cares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Commonweale; they got none other reputation, than of fingularitie : which the ignorant fort suspected to be wisedome.

But the gloric of Amilear was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable fernices that he did, to the fingular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of Hercules, (now called the Streights of Gibralter) and landed on the westerne coast of Spaine; in which Countrie, during nine yearesthat he liued there, he subjected vnto the State of Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, ina battaile that he fought with a Nation in Portugale, called the Vettones, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and same, by which in many fignall victories, he had aquired the name of a fecond Mars.

After the death of Amilear; Asidrubal his sonne in law was made Generall of the 20 Carthaginian forces in Spaine. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practife and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthage: adding so many subicets and confederates thereunto, that the Romans began to growcicalous againe of this hastic increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of Granado, opposite to that of Oran in Africa, and gaue it the name of New Carthage, which to this day it nearely retaineth, being called now \* Carthagena. With this successe of the Carthaginians in Spaine, the Romans were not a little troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formetly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of Sicil, as suspecting their 30 neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselues in a warre of farre leffeimportance, (whereof I shall speake anone) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the Gaules, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to bee feared: it is enough if hee request; fince his request shall have the vertue of 2 command.

Yet were the Romans vtterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them 40 to intermeddle in Spaine. The Spaniards were then vnacquained with Rome, whereof (in probabilitic) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no Mamertines, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of Sardinia, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in Spaine. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that Afdrubal had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had beene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbeare to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of Iberus. In addressing their messengers, rather to Asdrubal, than to the Citic 50 of Carthage; they seeme to have hoped, that how socuer the generalitie of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to avoide all occasion of warre with Rome: yet the braueric of one man might proue more fastidious, and, resenting the injurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell,

quarrell, that they fo much defired; and might embrace at leafure, when once they had found apparent cause. But Astrabal finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diflike at all; and whereas they would have this infolent copenant inferred into the articles of peace; he tooke voon him to doe it, of his owner nower, with fuch appearance of conformitie to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.2. \$.50

If it had beene so, that the State of Carthage, thereunto preffed by the Romans, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by Afdrub. 1; yet should it not have Rood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also beene extorted, to make all fure. But fince all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritic of Afdrubal; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of periurie, (as they after did) for refusing to fland to it.

By this Treatie with Afarubal, the Romans wanne some reputation in Spaine. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the Citie which would needes be militeffe ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiving blowes from a stouter Dame; there were foone found fome, that by offering themselves to the protection of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-feruants with Carthage. But the Car-20 thaginians will shortly teach them another lesson. The Saguntines, a people on the South fide of therus, entred into confederacie with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the Romans, to admit the Saguntines, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemic in warre to the Carthaginians) into their focietie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the Carthaginians, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with Rome. Neverthelesse, if wee consider the late agreement made with Afdrubal; wee shall finde that the Romans could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River Iberus a bound, over which they themselves would not passe, in any Discoucrie or Conquest by them intended to bee made upon Spaine: in which 30 regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians; though Rome as yet had no foote, on the one fide of Iberus, whereas Carthage. on the other fide of that River, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were; this indignitie was not fo cafily digefted, as former injuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthaginian, should behold Saguntum resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to doe themselves right: warre against Saguntum was generally thought upon, let the Romans take it how they lift. In such 40 termes were the Carthaginians, when Afdrubal died, after hee had commanded in Spaine eight yeeres: (being flaine by a flaue, whose mafter hee had put to death) and the Great Hannibal, fonne of the Great Amilear, was chosen Generall in his

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of the fame name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeare 1532. was fackt by the Engl fb n the yeare 1585

\*The Spaniards

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The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigne of PHILIP the Conne of DEMETRIVE



N the long terme of the first Punick warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The to

whole countrie had recoursed, by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each upon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, asnot onely ferued to defend themselues, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like diffensions and tumults in Macedon, as had beene in Greece, when Philip first began to incroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of Macedon, betweene Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the Gaules: Antigoniu, the sonne of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning sixe and thirtie 20 yeeres; yet fo, that hee was divers times thence expelled, not onely by the Gaules. and by Pyrrhus, as hath beene alreadic shewed, but by Alexander the sonne of Pyrrhus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him by the reuolt of his fouldiours, even at fuch time, as having overthrowne with great flaughter an Armie of the Gaules, hee was converting his forces against the Athenians, whom hee compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his yong sonne Demetrius raised an Armie; wherewith he chaced Aexander, not onely out of Macedon, but out of his owne Epiru, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this yong Prince Demetrius (though in another kinde) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corinth; which was justly termed the fetter of 30 Greece. This Citadel called Acrocorinthus, flood vpon a fleep rockie hill on the North fide of the towne; and was by nature and art fo ftrong, that it feemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that running betweene the Lecan and Ionique Seas, joyneth Peloponnesus to the Maine of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of Greece vnto the other; besides the commoditie of the two Seas, youn both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. Alexander, the sonne of Polysperchon; and after his death, Cratesipolus his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great huffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betweene Alexanders Princes. Afterwards it paf- 40 fed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing elfe, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The device was this. Antigonus sent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court Nicas, and seeke her marrage. The foolish olde widdowe perceived not how unfit a match the was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was enen as readie to consent, as was his sonne to desire it, and came this rher in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all forts of games: in the middeft of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose icalousie had been ex- 50 ceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauitie beseeming his old age. But as bee had stollen it; so was it againe stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being alreadie spent with age.

#### CHAP.2. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

Demetrius, the sonne of this Antigonus, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten veeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The Dardanians, Etolians, and Achaans, held him continually busied in warre : wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the Macedonians began to decaie : and the Grecians to call off their yoke.

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Philip, the onely fonne of Demetrius, was a yong child when his father died and therefore Antigonus, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minoritic of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though hee refnected Philip as his owne fonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This Antigonus was called the Tutor, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called Dalon, that is as much as Will-gine, because he was flow in his liberalitie. He represfed the Dardanians, and The falsans, which molefted his Kingdome, in the beginning ofhis raigne. Vpon confidence of this good feruice, hee tooke state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, than onely a Protectour. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appealed by faire words, and a seeming unwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouernment. The tehaians tooke from him the Citie of Athens, foone after Demetrius his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that hee held in Greece, if their owne estate had not beene endangered by a nearer enemie. But citile diffention. 20 which had ouerthrowne the power of Greece, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it eafily now againe, when it had fearcely recovered tirength after a long fickneffe: and gaue to this Antigonus no leffe authoritie therein, than Philip, the father of Alexander, got by the like aduantage.

These Achaians, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greekes. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their elemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not onely draw all others by their lone and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, to bee governed by one Lawe, and to vse

20 one and the same fort of waights, measure, and monie.

Aratus, the Sicyonian, was the first that vniced them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had beene by the Macedonian Captaines divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the Heraclide, when Tisamenus the sonne of Orestes posses the Territorie of Achaia. In this estate they continued to the time of Gyges; after whome, when his fonnes fought to change the Legall government of their Predeceffours into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as feeming most equall. This forme of Commonweale had continuance, with some small 40 changes according to the diuerlitie of times, till the reigne of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve Cities, called the Cities of alliance, whereof Helice, and Bura or Olenus, the Sea had caten vp a little before the Battaile of Leuclres; were, by disturbance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a warre, no leffe foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentith Olympiad, in which, or neare it, Ptolomie the sonne of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Piolomie Ceraumus, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the Patrenses and the Dimai, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For having 50 beene, some of them Partisans with fundrie Atuedonian Captaines, and others hauing beene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to fasten themselues in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the Olympiad before spoken of, and partly, at such time as Pyrrhus made his first voiage into Italie. Now after the vniting of the Patrenses

and Dimei, to whome also the Cities of Tritea, and Phara, ioyned themselves;

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Agira chased out her Garrisons: and the Burians, killing their Kings, entred with the Ceramians into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentic and fine yeares, vied the same forme of Gouernment with the Achaians; who by a Senatoric and two Prators, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and some after, by one Pretor, or Commander: of which, Marcus Carynensis was the first, and Aratus the second

CHAP.2. S.6.

This Aratus was a noble yong Gentleman of Siegon, who living at Argos in exile. whilest his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of An- 10 tigonus Gonatas King of Macedon, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the Greekes, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of Antigonus, the Sicronians entred into the Achaian league: which though at that time it received more increase. by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ferued well enough against Antigonus, whose subtletie was som what greater than his valour. As the industrie and counsaile of Aratus delivered his Countrie from bondage, and fortified it by the Achaian league: fo further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuerties, betweene the banished Sicyonians, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same 20 mony he drew many others to affift him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the fingular good of all Achaia. The monie he obtained of Ptolemie Euergetes King of £gypt; who partly had a defire to hold fome strong and sure friendship in Greece, partly was delighted with the conversation of Aratus himselfe, that made a dangerous votage to him into Egypt, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of Sieyon excelled.

The first of Aratus his great attempts, was the surprize of the Aroscorinthus or Citadello sCorinth, which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some therees that he had hired for the purpose, who situing in the place, had practifed to rob Artigonus his treasurie, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was 30 he faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeed Antigonus his Souldiers were rather oner-come by their owne searce, than by any force of the assains were midfuling left the Achaians were more in number, than in truth they were, and hausing loss of the placeal readie, ypon which they had prefumed; before they were aware of any enemie.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practifes, Aratum was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some case approued) might looke pale and tremble, when the beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortiude were dimerssible, when the sundrienatures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto seuerall forts of action. In resoluting which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standed in neede of little practife; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vs. good successes, and other helps, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was Aratus in matter of Warre. In sincere assection to his Countrie he was unreproueable, and so acknowledged: as his sollowing actions will resiliate.

When Assessing has deaded and the Epidaurians: whereby this new credit of Abbia, the Megarians revolted foone after from Antigonus, and entred into the fame Corpogration. So did the Treezenians, and the Epidaurians: whereby this new credit of State grew for powerful, that it aduentured to take Athens, from the Macconiums; and arges, and Megalopolis, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprife vpon Athens was of none effect. For though Aratus wasted the Ile of Salamis, to they his strength,

and fent home the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to allure the Citie by thew of loue; yet the Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honelt flaues to the Macedonians. Vpon Argos the aduenture was carried more strongly. The Achaians came sometimes to the gates of the Citic, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have wonne it, if the Citizens would have lent any helpe to the recoucrie of their owne freedome; fundrie times, and with diverse event, they fought with the Tyrants (who rose vp one after another in Arges) in open field, and flue one of them in battaile; but all fufficed not: untillat length Ariflomachus the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by Aratus, that he consented to refigne his estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus that had oppressed the Phliasians. Whilest this businesse with the Argines was on foot, Lyliadas the Tyrant of Megalopolis was fo well handled by dratus, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of Achaia: whereby he got fuch credit, that hee was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeares together by one man) cuery fecond yeare, for a certaine while, Hee and Aratus succeeding one another by turnes. Butthoselate Tyrants, and new Citizens, Lysiadas and Aristomachus, were carried with private passion, from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed Aratus, to the great hurt of Achaia, as shall appeare 20 in due time.

The Acheans having obtayned so much puissance and reputation, that Ptolanie King Of £27pt was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon Demetrius the Sonne Of Antigonus Genatus, for the libertie of Athens. It is strange and worthie of noting, That when Aratus in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the Athenium wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, that had wonnet he victorie. Such were now the Athenium become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude. Aut humiliter servit, ant suppose the minimum is to the strain service, or insolant in command. Neuerthels of when Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that by monie which he could not by sorce; and corrupting the Captaine of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased libertieto the Athenians, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the Athenians, lowing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entrednot, scorning it belike, in regard of their owne

out-worne gloric. Now as the Common-wealth of Achain daily increased within Peloponnesus, by inflice and honestie; so did the Ætolians, in the vtter part of Greece, yea and within Peloponne fus it felfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves 40 against Antipater and Craterus; partly by daring to doc and suffer much; partly by the naturall strength and fastnesse of their Countrie; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other bulinesse, as hath beene related. They had molested Cassander, in favour of Antigonus; and were themselues as much plagued by him, and by the Asarnanians, a little, but stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with Demetrius, the sonne of the first Antigonus, and more or lesse, with all the Kings of Macedon succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the Acarnanians, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities in Peloponne fus: fo that they were hardened with perpetual travaile; seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserved the name of va-50 lour, seeing they had no regard of honestic or friendship; measuring all things by their owne infolent will, and thinking al people base minded, that were not as sierce

andoutragious as themselues.

These Etolians had lately made great spoiles in Pelaponness, and occupied a good part of the Acheans; taken and sacked L1111 3

Pallene 5

Pallene; where although they were foundly beaten by Aratus, yet their defire of gaine made them greedie of a new voiage thither, as to a Countrie wherin som what was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by Demetrius the fonne of Antigonius Gonatas: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to feeke helpe of the Achaans; which they obtained. The warre which the Achaans made vpon Demetrius, without Peloponne fus, in Attica, though it tended to expelling the Macedons out of Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the . E. tolians, at whose instance it was set on foot : for thereby were the Macedonian forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the Etolians, giving thankes in wordes, devised how to require the benefit 10 with some great mischiefe. They saw that the Achaens were desirous, to bring all Peloponne us into their Alliance and Corporation : of which intent, the Lacedamonians were very icalous. Wherefore these Etolians laboured carnellly, to set the Lacedamonians and Acheans together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and fo get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their device vnto Antigonus; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many loffes, that his Kingdom had fustained by the Achaans. Of this plot Aratus was aware : who therefore determined to fuffer many indignities, rather than to give the Lacedamonians cause to 20 take armes. But this refolution was taken fomewhat too late; and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had beene medling with the Arcadians, that were dependants of Lacedamon: and thereby had prouoked the Lacedamonians to looke about them; feeing that all Peloponne fus, excepting themselves, the Eleans, and a few Arcadians their friends (who also were attempted) was alreadic become Achean.

The Citic of Sparta was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. Pyrrhus had greatly weakned it; The Etolians entring Laconia with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Anarice and Luxurie raigned among them. the poore was oppressed by the rich, and the generositie of spirit, that had sometime 20 beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in Sparts no more than feuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not about one hundred had lands; all the rest were needle people, and desirous of innouation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. Agia a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of Lyeurgus his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an A&, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of lands. All the yonger, and the poorer fort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta were two Kings) who tooke their part; being himfelfea diffolute man, as one trained up in the 40 Court of Syria, whence also he had his wife. In this contention Leonidas was expelled the Citic, and a new King chosen in his stead. But Agis his friends and Counfailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commoditie. They were hastie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themfelues were deeply indebted: but the division of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in Sparta, which these menincreased, by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine Leamidas was brought home, and reftored to his Kingdome, and the two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuarie; out of which, Cleombrotus, the late-made King, was difmissed into exile: but Agis was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his 50 enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in Sparia: and ( which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the Ephori, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the lawes, vling their power, and more power than to them belonged,

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes required.

The death of Agis was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ferued to effabilith the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppreflors. In which case Aratus might well hope, to adioyne Lacedamon to the Achaan Common-wealth: though it were great multice to take sinch aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of Peloponness, and to the benefit of Spartait selfe, if it could have beene wrought by perswassion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of Sparta, and reuenged the death

10 of Agis, did also requite the iniust attempts of the Achaans, even in their owne kinde: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all Peloponne u; though little to their good liking, for that the Lacedamonians and their King, should have beene the principall; not they and their Prætor. Leonidas having thus caused Agis to be flaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in mariage (perforce) to his owne some Cleamenes. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and fought to winne-her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband Agis, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein Agu had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all 20 occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which Agis, by proceeding formally, in focorrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the Ephorigaue him in charge, to take and fortifie Athenaum, a Temple on the marches of Laconia, to which both they and the Megalopolitans pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof Aratus made no complaint, but fought to take by surprise Teges and Orchomenus, Cities then confederate with the Lacedamonians: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painefull nights trauaile, and discouered his enmitte to Sparta; of which Cleomenes was nothing forrie-By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto Aratus had discovered the Atolian practife, and therefore would have staied the quarrell from proceeding 30 too farre. But Lyfiadas and Aristomachus would needes fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing Cleomenes was so vrgent. Aristomachus was at that time General of the Acheans, (He & Lysiadas being of great account, fince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who fent vnto Aratus, lying then in Athens, and required his affistance in a journie to be made into Laconia. No diffwasions of Aratus would ferue: therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, litlepleafing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with Cleomenes, hedurst not fight; but opposed himselfe against Aristomachus, who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the Achaans twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas Cleomenes had no more than finethousand in all. This game repu-40 tation to the Lacedamonian, and raifed an ill report vpon Aratus; which Lyfiadas helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuerthelesse the Acheans would not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the year following, against Lysiadas his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe: it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the flanderous wordes of Lyfiadas. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the Eleans: but was met withall on the way, neare vnto the Mount Lycaus, by Cleomenes; who vanquished him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to have beene slaine, This misaduenture Aratus recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly have been ex-50 pected, had he been victorious. For whilft there was no fulpition of any great matter that he could vidertake, he fecretly wrought with some of the Mantineans, who did let him into their Citie. The Mantineans had once before joyned themselves with the Athaians; but shortly vpon seare, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the Atolians; and from the Atolians, presently after this victoric, to Cleomenes, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the Achaan societie. As this good fuccesse repaired the credit of Aratus; so another battaile almost ruined it. Cleame. nes and he encountred neare vnto Megalopolis; where the Achaans had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon Lysiadas, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the Lacedamonians, whom hee routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driven back vpon their owne Companions; in fuch fort, to that finally all the Armie was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great loffe. and incenfed the Acheans against Aratus: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercinaries which he had waged. This Aratus tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheleffe; wherein though Cleamenes wanne fome Townes, and A. ratus got the better in one small fight, yet litle of importance was done; the Acheans being wearie, and the Spartan King intentine to another businesse.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painefull journies, for sooke the Achean warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to Sparta, where hee flue the Ephori, and restored by force 20 the ancient discipline of Lyeurgus. Then gave hee an accompt of his doings; and shewing by what degrees the Ephori had incroched upon the power of Kings, and many disorders had growne in the Citie; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal I division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: fo that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether fland in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to faue it felfe from the Atolians, Illyrians, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the Spertans well fatisfied; and Cleomenes himfelfereadie in the field, ere his enemies could take advantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The Acheans hearing of this great alteration in Sparta, thought that it would be long, ere Cleomenes durst iffue forth of the Citic, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long cre they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrie of Megalopolis; hadranged over all Arcadia at his pleasure; and was admitted into Mantinea. and readic to take other places, even of Achaia. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when Cleomenes had shaken off the power of the Ephori, that curbed his authoritie, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His Laced amonians refumed their ancient courage; and he himfelfe had the heart to demand the Principalitie of Greec. Hedid not therefore henceforth contend, about the possession 40 of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or loofe all. The Atolians, in facour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side; and whereas he had gotten Mantinea, Tegea, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that Antigonus with the Atolians, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which Cleomenes had thus begunne. Therefore hee denifed how to prouide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not bee) to faue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, hee refused; fearing to bee so farre prest as to hazzard in one battaile all so the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, fo was his manner of warfare otherwife. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner

of the Irifh, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not for fake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that Megalopolis could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that Mantines had not only opened her gates vnto Cleomenes, but flaine the Achean Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once T yrant of Argos, and since Generall of the Acheans, was now revolted vnto the enemic, following the fortune of Cleamenes. Prolemie was too farre off to helpe; and the nearenefle of Antigonus was very dange-10 rous ; yet might be viefull, if this King would (as Polybius faith) like others, be friend or enemic, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, Aratus practifed with some of Megalopolis, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and intructed them how to deale with both Antigonus, and the Acheans.

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.2. S.6.

The Citie of Megalopolis had beene well affected to the Macedonians, ever fince the time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay nearest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deferued fuccour; yet could not well bee relieued by the Acheans, with their owne proper ftrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should bee sent vnto the generall Councell of Achaia, requesting scaue and 20 good allowance, to trie the fanour of Antigonus in their necessitic. This was granted, for lack of what elfe to answere : and the same Embassadours dispatched away to Antigonus. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecesfours; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delivered the more generall matter, wherein Aratus had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of Cleomenes, and violence of the Ætolians, might redound to his owne great loffe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how Aratus himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the Achaans under the Patronage of 30 Macedon: then beganne Antigonus to lend a more attentiue eare to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote vnto the Megalopolitans, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the Achaans good liking. Particularly he commended himselse, by these Messengers. to Aratus; affuring them, that he thought himselfehighly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have beene grounded vpon any hatred to the Macedonians, but only vpon a just and worthic loue to his owne Nation. With this answere they returne to Megalopolis: and are presently sent away to the Councell of Achaia; there to make some speedie conclusion, as the ne-

cessitie of the time required. 40 The Acheans were gladto heare, that Antigonus was fo inclinable to their defire; and therefore were readicto entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto Aratus gaue his consent; and praised the wisedome of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safetie; adding neuerthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to trie their owne a bilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus hee shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that hee might not afterward fustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; fince it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that to leifurably, the generall confent.

Neuerthelesse in true estimation , this finenesse of Aratus might have beene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had beene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yeelding vnto Cleomenes that power which they gaue vnto Antigonus: fince therby he should both haue freed his

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Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should have restored vnto the vniucrfall state of Greece, that honorable condition, whereof the Macedonians had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue having rifen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principalitie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hastie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it fees it felfe likely to bee ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the Lacedamonians there was none; than that they lately had been in dangerous case : neither could any reason be found, why Aretus should prefer Antigonus before Cleamenes, than that he had flood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherfore he was justly plagued, when he faw 10 his owne honors reuerfed by the infolent Macedonians; and in itead of living as a companion with Cleomenes, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of Hercules, was faine to doe facrifice vnto Antigonus, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by Philip, whole Nobilitie was but of flue descents, and whom perhaps he might have feenehis fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the Macedonians, the love of Ptolomie was loft: who forthwith tooke part with Cleamenes, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had vied to the Acheans; being warned, as may feeme, by their example, to be more warie both intrusting and diffourling. Cleomenes himselfe, whilest this businesse with An. tigonus was a foot, paffed through Areadia with an Armie, and laboured by al meanes 20 to draw the Acheans to battaile. At the Citic of Dymes in Achaia were affembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their efface, without feeking helpe of the Macedonian. Thither went Cleomenes, and there fought with them; where hee had fo great a victorie, that the enemie was no longerable to keepe the open field. The calamitie was fuch, that Aratus himselfe durft not take upon him to be their General, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the Achaens were compelled to fue for peace; which was granted upon this casie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of Peloponnesus, but suffer the Lacedamonians (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would 30 condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prifoners ranfom-free: also that they should enjoy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of Cleamenes was very pleasing to the Achaens: who desired him to come vnto the Citic of Lerna, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre. Now feemed the affaires of Greece likely to bee fetled in better order, than they

had ever beene fince the beginning of the Peloponnesian. Warres, yea or fince the Perfian Inuation: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which Cleomenes dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme fick, and so could not be present at Lerna, but caused the Parliament to 40 be deferred to another time. Neuerthelesse he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners. to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the Acheans in their defire of his friendship: who affembled againe at Argos, there to establish the League. But Aratus was violently bent against it; and sought by great wordes, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of refoluing. When all would not ferue turne, he betooke himfelfe to his cunning; and fent word to Cleomenes, that hee should doe well to leave his Armic behinde him, and comealone into Argos, receiving Holtages for fafetic of his person. Cleomenes was alreadie farre on his way, when he met with this advertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had beene an easie matter, to have told him so so much at the first, and not have made him come so farre with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would ad-

uenture himselfeinto the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might breede respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which Aratus feared, and for which he fought to hinder his comming thither in person : lest the people, hearing the promifes of Cleamenes ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle wordes, and finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore Cleomenes wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these ingling tricks: and Aratus was not farre behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and renerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. Cleamenes , tooke his aduantage of their present weakenesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Citics yeelded vnto him willingly; many heeforced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne Arges, which neuer King of Sparta before him could doc. In this cale Aratus fent his owne sonne to Antigonus, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed Acheans. Intigonus gave as good words as could be wished: saving that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might first have Acrocorinthus put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promifed to helpe the Horse against his enemie the Stagge: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himselfe to bee sadled and bridled Aratus was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the Corinthians had no way descrued, to be thus given away to the Macedonians. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the Corinthians, perceiuing what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and fent word to Antigonus, that the Castle should bee readie to let him in. The Corinthians on the other fide ranne to Cleamenes; who lost no time, but made haste with them to Corinth, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to faue it from Antigonus, by furrounding it with Trenches, that none might iffue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was in doing, he tooke speciall order, that Aratus his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom hee sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agree-30 ment, and not to bring in the barbarous Macedonians, and Illyrians, to Peloponnesus: promiling that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would hee give him double the same pension, which hee had beene wont to receive of King Ptolemic. As for the Castle of Corinth, which was the gate of Peloponnesus, and without which none could hold affured foueraigntie of the Countrie; he defired that it might not becommitted vnto his owne disposition, but be joyntly kept by the Lacedamonians and Acheans. All this entreatic ferued to no purpole. For Arains, rejecting veterly the motion, fent his owne sonne as an Hostage to Antigonus; and laboured with the Acheans, to put Acrocorinthus into his handes. Which when Cleomenes vnderflood, he leifed upon the goods of Aratus in Corinth, and wasted all the Countrie of Sieyon, 40 whereof this his Aduersarie was natiue, Antigonus in the meane time drew neare to the Isthmus; having passed with his

Anticopus in the meane time drew neare to the Islamia; finding parted within Armie through Eubaa, becaule the Æleian; held the fireights of Thermopple againsh him. This they did, either in fauour of Cleomenes, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatmess, where the Meacedonians might attaine by the good successed of the southern of the Meacedonians might attaine by the good successed of this internance; and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to bazzard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. Anticopous therefore laboured hard to make his way by sorce; but he was not able so to doe: hee secretly got into the Cerinthian Hauen; but was 50 violently driven out againe, with great losse of men, finally he resoluted to turne a fide, and secke a passing outer the gulfe of Cerinth, to Siegon, or some other part of Achaia; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily

In this perplexitic newes from Argos came by Sca, that greatly comforted Antigonus, 408

Antigonus having shewed himselfe at Argos, and commended the Citizens, went into Arcadia; where he wanne such Castles as were held for Cleomenes, and restored 30 them to the old Poffesfors. This done, he tooke his way to Egium, where was held a Parliament by the deheans: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The Achaans were not behinde withhim; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somwhat longer, Aratus was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart : carrying him to Sicyon, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only feafted him as a great Prince, but fuffered more than humane honours, as facrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of Aratus and his Si- 40 cyonians, was followed by the rest of Achaia: which had made (for sooth) a very wise bargaine, if in stead of Cleomenes that would have beene a King, it had obtayned the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his Macedonians, imposed the burthen upon the Achean. This was hardly taken : yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was Aratus himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in Arges, were againe creeted by Antigonus; or when the statues, which he hade rected, of those that had taken Acrocorinthus with him, were all throwne downeby the same King, and one only left vnto himselse at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuerthelesse in taking re- to uenge vpon those that offended him, Aratus did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these Macedonians. For with extreme torments he did put Aristomachus to death, who had beene once Tyrant of Argos; afterwards Generall of the Acheans; and from them revolting vnto Cleomenes, did fall at length into their hands. In like fort

handled hee (though not as yet) the Mantineans, for their ingratitude and crueltie shewed to the Acheans. For he flue all the principall Citizens, and fold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-flaues; dividing the spoile; two parts to the Macedonians, and the third to the Acheans. The Towne it selfe was given by Antigonus to the Argines: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and dratus hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to beenew named Antigonia. Surely of this crueltie there can bee no better excuse; than euen the flatterie, which Aratus was driven to vie to Antigonus: forasmuch as it was a token of servilitie, whereinto they had veged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speake of this change, which the comming in of the Maced nian wrought, in the Civill state of the Acheans; Let vs returne vnto his warre against

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CHAP.2. S.6.

the Lacedamonian. The next Sommer Antigonus wanne Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, Herea, and Telphulla. Muntimes he dispeopled, as was faid before; in Orchomenius he placed a Garrison of his Maccelonians; the rest he restored to the Acheans: with whom he wintred at Agium, where they held a Parliament. Once only Cleomenes had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of Laconia, where hee lay readie to defend his owne Territoric. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed Antigonus to Mantinea, and to those other Townesthat hee wanne, was this: Hee had few Souland diers, and not monie enough to wage more. Ptolemie the Egyptian promifed much, but would performe nothing, valetic he might have Cleamenes his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into Egypt; yet the aide came not. For Ptolemie was flow; as dealing in the businesse of Greece, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. Cleomenes therefore prouided for himfelfe, as well as his owne abilitic would ferue. He manumifed all the Heilotes, which were the Lacedamonian flaues: taking monie for their libertie, and arming two thoufand of them, after the Macedonian falhion. Having thus increased his forces, hee came on the fudden to Megalopolis; that lay fecure, as having defended it felfe in more dangerous times, and having now Antigenus neare at hand in Agium. The 30 Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, tole hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Towns and goods to them againe, if they would bee of his partie. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to Spartua great bootie that he found therein. These newes altonished the Achesins at Æzium: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. Antigonus fent hastily for his Mucdonians, out of their wintering places : but they were fo long in comming, that Cleomenes was fafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfe to Arges, there to passe the rest of this valuekie winter, somewhat 40 further from the eyes of the grieued Achaans. When he had laine awhile at Argos, Cleamenes was at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than Antigonus had then about him. The Argines perceiuing that their Countrie would be spoiled, if Antigonus did not iffue into the field; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wifer, than to be moved with their clamours; and fuffered them to fee their villages burnt sto bid him refigne his Office of Protector, vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish wordes; rather than hee would be over-come in fight, and thereby loofe more honour than could eafily be repaired. By this Cleomenes had his defire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers nor other strength, vnto Afterwards, when the scason was more fit for warre, Antigonus gathered toge-

ther all his troups; meaning to requite these brauado's of his enemie, with the conquest of Sparta. Cleomenes on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his ownegates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of Argos, where he made Mmmmm

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fuch hauock, as drew Antigonus thither, from his intended invalion of Laconia. Many great affronts the Macedonian was faine to endure, in coasting the Spartan King ; that ranging over the Countrie of the Argines, Phliasians , and Orchomenians. draue a Garrison of his out of oligyrtis; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face. in the suburbs of Arges, without the Temple of June, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the Achaan fide, and to fill the enemie with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard, of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by fetting vp his rest, without more delay, vpon Sparta it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot, and 10 twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as Macedonians, Illyrians, Gaules, Epirots, Buotians, Acarnanians, and others; together with the Acheans, and their friends of Peloponnesus. Cleomenes had of all forts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at Selafia: fortifying flightly the other passages into Laconia, through which the Macedonians were not likely to feeke entrance. Antigonus coming to Selafia, found his enemic to strongly incamped, upon and between the hils of Ena and olympus, that he was confirmined to fpend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which hee greatly defired, without the hazzard of his whole Armie, in affayling their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes 20 and feares) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; Antigonus attempted with his Illyrians, to force that part which lay on the Hill Ena : but his Illyrians were fo ill seconded by the Achean foot, that the Spartan horse, & light-armed foot, incamped in the streight vallie between those hils, issuing forth, fell your their skirts; and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If Cleamenes himselfe had stood in that part of the bataile, he would have made great vse of such a faire beginning. But Euclidas, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing : who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke fuch benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay. Philopamen the Areadian of Megalopolis, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, ferued then on 30 horse, as a private yong man, among the Acheans. Hee seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their Illyrians were driven to fall back upon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the Achean horse, to breake upon the Spartan Mercinaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth, and want of charge; partly, for that Anigonus had given order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they received a figne from him, which was not as yet. Philopamen perceiving them to be more orderly, than well aduifed; entreated fome of his owne Countrimen to follow him; gaue a charge upon the Spartans; and forced them not only to leave the Illyrians, but fecke how to faue themselves. Being so farre advanced, he found the place which the Illyrians had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, 40 through the vnskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perfwaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like : the folly of Euclidas being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that as cended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight your even termes. So he recoucred the Hill top; where though he was fore hurt, yet hee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the Lacedamomans were beaten from it, with great flaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of Euclidas, made Cleomenes loofe the day : who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon Olympus, against Antigonus himselfe; was like to have beene furrounded and loft, if he had not withdrawne himfelfe with an ex-50 traordinarie speede. In this battaile, ended the glorie of Lacedamon; which, as a light readie to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes

Cleomenes fled vnto Sparta: where hee had no defire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of fixe thousand Spartans that hee had led vnto this battaile, and most of hishired Souldiers dead, or goneaway. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves vnto antigonus; and promiting to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for Agypt. He was louingly entertayned by Ptolemie Euergetes; who vindertooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gailant behaviour and qualities. In the meane feafon hee had a penilon allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yearely. But this Ptolemie died; and his sonne Ptolemie Philopater succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince. wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore Cleamenes was desirous to returne into Grecce, whither the troubles in Peloponnesus did seeme to inuite him; Ptolemie, and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he defired) to trie his owne friends in Greece, because hee was too well acquainted with the weakeneile of Egypt: nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they deutled matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last of him was; that with thirtie of his Countrimen, hee vndertooke 20 a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the A exandrians torchell, and feeke their libertie. In which attempt hee flue fome enemies of his that he met; and having walked vp and downe the streets, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) He, and his Companions, agreed together to bee Ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie Ptolemie was bold to fliew his indignation : and flue his Mother and Children, that had beene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wines of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of Cleomenes; a generous Prince, but Sonne of Leonidas, who had caused Agis, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to 30 come to fuch a bloudie end, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grandchildren.

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After the Victorie at Sellasa, Antigonus without relistance entred Sparta: whereinto neuer the force of any Enemic, before him, could make way. Hee kindly entreated the Civizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Governement: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he haftened out of Peloponnesw, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedie departure was, an advertisement that he received out of Mucedon; how the Illyrians over-ranne, and destroicd the Countrie. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had Cleomenes either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wife tarried, a few 40 dayes after the fight, in Sparia: the Kingdome of Lacedemon would have stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all Greece. But God had otherwise de-

Antigonus foughtagreat battaile with the Illyrians, and ouer-came them. Yet therein hee caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-strayning his voice; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space similhed his life, who was troubled before with a confumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto Philip, the sonne of Demetrius, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that Antiochus, surnamed (I know not why ) the Great; and Piolemie Philopater; beganne to raigne in Asia, and Agypt; Boies all. Of these, Ptolemie, 50 though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuenteene yeares of his raigne. The vnripe age of Philip and Antiochus, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsuall in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the Romans; vpon Mmmmm 2

CHAP.2. S.7.

which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

## ð. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.



Hilest thinges thus passed in Greece; and whilest the Carthaginians were busie in their conquest of Spaine: the Romans had found themselves worke among the Sardinians and Corficans, that were eafily fubdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the Illyrians, wherein they got much honour with lit-

tle paine. With the Gaules they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather. as Liuie faith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all thefe light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from ruft. How they got the Ilands in the Mediterran Sea; it bath beene shewed before: of their dealings with the Illyrians and Gaules, it is not meet to be vtterly filent.

The Illyrians inhabited the Countrie, now called Slauonia: a troublefome Nation, 20 impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without other regard of friend or foc. They were inuited by Demetrius King of Chacedon, to helpe the Mydionians, his friends, that were belieged by the Etolians, for that they refused to be of their focietie. Before the Illy rian fuccours came, the Mydionians were fo farre front. that the Atolians contended about the bootie: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honor of the victorie, and the division of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the fiege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the French in later 20 ages, who thought vpon dividing the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they loft, at Poitiers and at Agincourt. The Liolians wifely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should bee ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and have equall authoritie, in distribution of the gettings. But the illyrians finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the Atolians; and though good refistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the Mydionians, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly fallied out of the Towne. Many of the Atolians were flaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was loft : the Illy- 42 rians tooke the spoile, and went their way; the Mydionians creected a Trophic, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chosenew Officers at the fame time) as the Atolians had directed them by example.

The successe of this voiage, highly pleased Agron King of the Illyrians: not only in regard of the monic, wherewith Demetrius had hired his affiftance; or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the Greekes, bee found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For joy of this, he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a Pleurisie, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto Tenta, his wife.

Tentagane her people free libertie, to robbe all Nations at Sea, making no diffe rence betweene friend and foe; as if thee had beene fole Mistresse of the falt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and fent it into Greece; willing her Captaines, to make

Warre where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of Peloponnesus; where they inuaded the Eleans, and Messenians. Afterwards they returned along by Epirus, and staied at the Citic of Phanice to take in victuailes and other necessaries. There lay in Phanice eight hundred Gaules; that having beene Mercinaries of the Carthaginians, went about to betray, first Agrigentum, then Eryx, to the Romans; but failing to doe either, they neverthelesse revolted, and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained by these Epirots, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Towne. The Gaules were foone growne acquainted with the Illyrians, to whom they betraied Phanice 3 which deferued none other, in trufting them. All Epirus was prefently in armes, and hastned to drive out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the Epirots lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another Illyrian Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one Scerdilaidas; whom Queene Teuta had fent to helpe his fellowes. V pon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards Antigonia, to make good that Towne, and the streights adjoyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrie; another part of them remaines at Phynice, to continue the fiege. Neither the one, nor the other, fped well in their businesse. For Scerdilai das found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were befreged within Phaniee, fallied out of the towne, and gaue fuch an ouerthrow to the Epirots, as made them despaire of fauing their Countrie, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the deheans and Ætolians: crauing their helpe, with very pittifull termes of entreatie. They obtayned their fait; neither was it long, before an Armie, fent by these two Nations, was readie in Epirus, to present battaile vnto Scerdila; las. But Scerdila; las was called home, by letters from Teuta the Queene, that fignified a rebellion of fome Illyrians against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered compolition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the Epirots might ransometheir Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the Illyrians should quietly depart, with all their bootic and slaves. Having made this profitable 20 and honourable bargaine; the Illyrians returned into their owne Countrie by Land. fending their bootic away by Sea.

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Attheir comming home, they found no fuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voiage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many Italian Marchants, whilest they lay at Phanice; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the Roman Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of Teuta, that shee should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebells, and brought all to good order, fauc only the towne of 1//a, which 40 her forces held streightly belieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly affoord a good looke to the vinmannerly Romans; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, Pyracie, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, shee vouchsafed to tell them, That injurie in publike shee would doe them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they best could, by Sea. But (faid the yonger of the two Embassadours) we Romans have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those private wrongs, that are borne out by publike authoritie: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine : as if that had beene the way, to set her heart at rest; which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The Romans, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Mmmmm 3

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Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by Sea, take twentic of their ships; and enforce the

Queene Teuta to for sake the coast, and to couer her selfe in Rison, farre within the

Land. In the end, part of the Romans hastethem homeward, and leave the best

cutes the warre, in such fort, that Teuta was forced to begge peace: which shee ob-

tained upon miferable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of

Illyria, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships

of warre, towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Iland of Liffa: except it were some

After this Illyrian warre, the Romans sent Embassadours into divers parts of

Greece, fignifying their love to the Countrie, and how, for good will thereunto, they

had made warre with good successe vpon Teuta, and her people. They hoped be-

like, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage:

matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thankes; and a de-

cree made at Corinth, That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the 1/th-

mian pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine Greekes, and

therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrian Expedition got nothing in

20 which if it hapned, they were wife enough to play their ownegames. But no fuch

one or two vessells, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

10 places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; an other part staics behinde, and prose-

After this good beginning, the Confull failed alongst the coast, to apollonia; accompanied with Demetrius, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailer and guide. Citie near To Apollonia came also Posthumus, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, num- Pyrrachium, or bred at twentiethousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten to- the Sea-coast wards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had belieged; but vpon newes of the Roman Pinetus calls it Armie, they disperse themselves. From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Sujopolis.

dours fent by their enemies, not vnto themselues, but vnto somethird, whom they 10 life of another, much leffe may an Embaffadour doe it, without incurring justly the fame danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him 10

against her. Shee was indeede in an errour; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and leffe than shee, both before and since : Hauing more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things. The Greekes were at that time more famous than the Romans; the £tolians and Epirots had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had shee easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the Romans shee should be litle troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought 30 fuch wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheleffe, it prevailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; thee would have continued to vie her advantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that shee should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her selfe. But shee was a woman, and did what shee listed. Shee sent forth a greater fleet than before, under Demetrius of Phares; with the like ample commission, to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it selfe; and one part of it fell with 2 Dyrrachium; the other, with Coreyra. Dyrrachium was almost surprized by the Illyrians; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In b Corcyra the Illyrians landed; 40 wasted the Isle; and belieged the Towne. Hereupon the Atolians and Acheans were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; loofing, belides others of leffe note, Marcus Carynenfis, the first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus succeeded. The Towne of Coreyra, difmaied with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto Demetrius Pharius; who tooke possession of it, with an Illirian Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the meane season, Teuta was angrie with her Captaine Demetrius: I know not why; but so, as he resolued to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The Romans were cuen readie to put to Sca, though vncertaine which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fuluius the Confull, of Demetrius his 50 feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of Coreyra fo well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the Illgrian Garrison, and Submitted it selfe vnto the Roman protection.

Sea, confifting of two hundred faile, commanded by C. Fuluius; the other by Land, led by A. Posthumus. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring fatisfaction: for this injurie is of fuch nature, as must be requited with mortall warre, It is indeede contrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation. there would never be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a leffontaught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, and in fafetie, betweene enemies. Neuertheleffe, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassashould draw into the quarrell; then is it as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embasfadours (thus imploied, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subjects, of an enemie. And so might the Athenians have answered it. when they flue the Lacedamonian Embassadours, that were sent to Xerxes, to draw him into a warre vpon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadours, which prachife against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law what soener. For whereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practife against the no printledge at all. But we will leave this dispute to the Civilians, and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the Romans, for the flaughter of their Embaffadour Coruncanus. The Illyrian Queene was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to stirre

d. VIII.

Greece, faue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the comming of HANNIBAL into Italie.

He Gaules that dwelt in Lumbardie, were the next, against whom the Romans tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome; fometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the affistance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke Rome, and burnt it: though the issue of

that warre proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit vnto Roman Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. 40 Many ouerthrowes they received; and if they got any victorie, it yeelded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more serce, than well aduised: lightly stirred up to warre, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were faid to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwaies carefull heede to their approch, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was fudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon Rome, were called warres, but tumultus Galliei; tumults of the Gaules; and right. ly. For they gaue many alarms to Italie, and vied to rife with great Armies: but 50 after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow; they would rest ten, or twelue yeares, fometimes twentie or thirtie: till they were stirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested; the state of Rome, that against these made only defensive warre, had leisure to grow, by setting

à Dyrrachium, Cometime called Epidamnus, and now Durazzo, scated vp5 the Adriatick Sea, betweene the Ilands of Phares and Corcyra. b Corcyra, an Iland of the Adriatick Sea, not farre from Duraggo; called now Corfu. and in the polfession of the Penetians.

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vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raife: that the Gaules never fell vpon Italie, with a mightie power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest Pyrrhus was trauailing in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former Punick warres: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the Gaules had no better intelligence in the affaires of Italie, than strangers had in Gaule. At least, they knew not how to vie their times : and were therefore like to fmart, when focuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leifure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first Punick Warre. Once before this, the Romans had beene bold, to set 10 vpon the Gaules in their owne Countrie: and that was three yeares before the comming of Pyrrhus into Italie. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gaules invading Hetruria, and belieging Arretium, had wonne a great battaile, and flaine L. Cacilius with the most of his Armie. Manius Curius the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassadours they sue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it fo well, that they expelled these Senones out of their Countrie, and sent a Colonic of their owner to inhabit it. This caused the Boi, another people of Gaule, to scare the like meafure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the Hetrurians to their fide. But the Romans overthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them fue for peace, 20 which lasted untill this end of the Illyrian warre.

It vexed the Gaules, to see a Roman Colonie planted in their Countrie; who had been eaccustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpines ( fo the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alpes, though to vs they are nearer; like as they called cifalpines, or by-bither the Alpes, those who dwelt betweene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their partie: reasonably presuming, that as their diffunction had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the Cisalpines and Transalpines, fell together by the cares: putting the Romans only to a tumult, without fur- 20 ther trouble of warre: Soone after, they were viged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in Rome, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, belides one Colonie alreadie planted in the territorie of the Senones, as many more should be carried thither, as would ferue to people the whole Countrie betweene Ancona and Ariminum: exterminating vtterly those Gaules. Such an offer, were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or Guiana it felfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commonaltie of Rome tooke this in so good part, not with standing all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the Boy: who being Neighbours 40 to Ariminum, feared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the Guides had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be erooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Influrian, which inhabited the Duchie of Milan, joyned with the Boy, and ypon a common purse entertained the Gessides, Nations about Rhodamus, wageable as the Switzers in these times. The Gessides, Nations about Rhodamus, wageable as the Switzers in these times. The Gessides, Concolitanus and Antrees, start who with the Boy and Insurians, compound an Armie of fistic thousand foot, and two tie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that cuer invaded the Reman Territorie; to whom, the Sono-galli, that had beene beaten out of their possessides, and those of the possessides, the soften perfect of the Romans and the Feenomanni, adhered to the Romans: as better beleeuing in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For seare of whose incursions therefore, the Guiles were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of Milan: With the rest of their forces they entred into Tusane. The Romans hearing of this danger,

f Cenomanni, are the people about Ergama, on the Northide of the River Po in Italie. There were also of these Cenomanm in France, and inhabited the Countie

of Main.

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e There were

diners nations of the Bon; as

in Pannana. Il

lyria, Germanie,

in Bou-bonois in France, and in

Aquitave ; but

thefe Bon were

race, & dwelt

at this time

mouth of the

Riuer of Po.

about the

one Nation: who are alto called Salentines, Peneccias. Apul:ans. and Calabrians. The Countrie is tiethouland; of which, reckoning the Romans apart, there were an hundred and fifnow Apulia. tie thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Calling vp the whole forces of all containing the the Propinces in Italie, both of the Romans and their Confederates, it amounted to h-ad-land of feuen hundred thousand foot, and seuentie thousand horse. But the number is h A people of fomewhat miffe-cast by Polybius; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead the Kingdome paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horfe too many, he falls short nine thouof Napies. i Ptolomie cals them a people of Italic. led to this day Ferentines Janh

fend Amilius to Rimine, to ftop their pallage; and in the place of C. Anilius their other Consult, who then was in Sardinia, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of Tules (2).

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the confideration of this powerfull Armie, which the Gaules had affembled, they caused a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themfelues, to oppose the incurtions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne defirmation could not bee preuented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: bea cause they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consulls they fent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne : euery Legion confuling of fine thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand text, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any miladuenture came to thele) of the Sabines and Hetrurians fiftie thouland foot, and foure thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria. Of the Vinbri and Sar/inates, which inhabited the Apenines, there were twentiethousand; and of the Venetians and Cenomans, other twentiethousand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the Boij, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the Gaules should be thereby greatly dimi-20 nilhed. There were befides these, to bee readie against all uncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fifteene hundred horse, garrisond in Rome it selte, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Ouer and about these great troupes; in the Roll of the Latines, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thousand foot, and fine thousand horse; in that of the Sammites, seventie thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the B Tapyges, and Mellapyges, fiftie thousand foot, and sixteene thousand horse: the Lucans sent a lift of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the h Marli, i Marrueini, k Ferentani, and the Vestini, of twentic thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The Romans had allo two Legions in Sicil, and about Taventum, 20 contayning eight thousand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. So as of the Remans and Campans jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twen-

fand two hundred of the foot.

How great focuer this Muster was, it seems to have beene like vnto that, which learn a people of the late of the foot of the late o

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the Ganles keepe on their way: and entring into Tuseme, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards Rome; hoping to finde the Romans, rather indeliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

Rom.

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Roman Armie, fent into Tufcane, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had miffed of them came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their journic. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head; and in the fame cuening discourred the Roman Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratageme: that shewed no great fineneffe of wit, but fuch, as well beformed those that had none other occupation than warre; and flood them in good flead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as might 10 rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The Romans, interpreting this their hallie departure, as the Gaules delired they should, follow them in disorder. The Gaules returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand upon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of advantage, and defend themselues, till L. Emilius, being at Ariminum, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Confull, the Gaules confult, whether they should give the Romans battaile, or forbeare. In which difpute, Ancrocflus, one of their Kings, perswades them , rather to returne into their owne Countries; where after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, peffer, or other impediment. This aduice they all 29 embrace; for feeing they that were Mercinaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wiscdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeede had beene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemie had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemie, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In furbeafes the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forfakes 30 the field, perceives, and feares, fome advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betraier of those succours that Reason offereth, when it bath once possess the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make theretrait, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, seare to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, runne, and perish, if those that sauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miferable overthrow, that the French received in Noples, in the yeare 1503. vpon a retrait made by the Aurques of Sal, doth tellifie no leffe. For although a great troupe of French borfe, fullayned the purfuing enemie a long time, and gaue the foot leifure to trotaway; yet being retarded by often tur- 42 nings, the Spaniff foot ouer-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the warres betweene the Imperialls, and the French; Boili and Mont were loft at Brignolles, who in a brauerie would needes fee the enemie, before they left the field. So was Streft ouerthrowne, by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the Marques his arrivall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wifely : when without respect of point of honour, he distodged from before Landerfey, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not sinding themselues in case to give battaile) have done. It ne tronue point ( faith the Marshall MONLVC) au fait des armes chose si disficile, qu'one retrait; I finde nothing in the arte of warre fo difficult, as to make a fafe retrait. A fure Rule it is, that there 50 is leffe dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof Mr. dela Noue gives this judgement, of a daies retrait, made in France, presently before the battaile of Moncountour. For (faith he) fraying vpon our reputation, in shew not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day:

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthic Gentleman 2 Count Lodowick of Nussua. Drother to the late famous prince of Orange, make the retrait at Moneountour with so great resolution, as hee said the one halfe of the Protessant Armie, then broken and dissanded, of which my solic was an eye witnesse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gaules, embracing the fafe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemic, and their faces homeward. Amilius followes them, as near eas he can, without ingaging himelfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, C. Atthus the other Confull, with the Legions of Sardinis, lands at Pifa; so as the Gaules, inclosed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and front. To suffaine Amilius, they appoint the Gelfates, and the Malanois; in the Front, they range the Piemonois, and the test of the Gaules inhabiting upon the River of Po. The manner of the sight Polybius defibeth at large: which was well soughtofall hands. But in the end the Gaules sell; and so did Atthus the Confull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gaules, Concolitanus and Ameroeisus, with fortic thousand of their Vallalls.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the Gaules loft courage; and, ere long, all that they held in Italie. For they were inuaded the yeare following this ouerthrow, by the new Confulls Fuluius, and Manlius. The Romans knew well how to vie their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time, to the Gaules, to repaire their forces, as the Gaules had done to them. These new Consults beat the Boij; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that raigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeare, Furius, and Flam. nius, inuade the Milanois; and prevaile very farre, being strongly affished by the Cenomanni and the Venetians. Neuerthelesse these Consulls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of Rome, and compelled to religne their Office: because the Augures, or Sooth Jayers, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all forts of their divination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not 30 only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. C. Flaminius, receiving letters of this revocation, from the Senate, and being otherwiseaduertised of the contents, was not hastic to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrie; then pervsed the letters; and returning home obtayined a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee fided in faction with the Commonalaic, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that Flaminius, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrie of the Senones among the people of Rome, the Roman the first, or one of the first, 40 that underflanding the Majestics of Rome to be indeptic whealy in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commission; did not sand highly von his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfee, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly elevemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side and found imitatours, that rose by the same arte; which in processe of time, grew the only or chiese way to preferment.

Flaminins and his Colleague, being deposed; McLaudius Marcelius, and Cn. Cornalius Scipio, were chosen Consulls, for the rest of that yeare. The Gaules about this time desired peace, and were like to have obtayned it: though the new Consulls 30 were against it, as searing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the Gessaus, following their King Britomarus, were come ouer the Alpes, and joyned with the Insulvins: all other discourse, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consulls hasted into their Province, where they besieged Acerre, a towne not farre from Xouro (so farre had the Romans pierced alreadie) in the Duchie of Milan. To divert

then

them from this siege, Britomarus sate downe before Classidium, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the Insubrians, to attend vpon the Consulls at Acerra, and to looke to the defence of Milan. But this would not fuffice, to make the Romans breake up their fiege. Marcellus, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at Clastidium. Britomarus heard of the Confulls comming; and met him vpon the way : fo suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to rest themfelues after their journie, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein Britemarus had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast, He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot : but hee thought so well to of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking amy one to fight with him. Marcellus was no leffe daring, than the barbarous King; whether more wife in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that fufficed to commend him. He flue and difarmed Britomarus, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke fuch courage, and his enemies were fo difmajed, that without much trouble of fight, the Romans obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that euer any Roman General flue the General of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only Romulus, Collus, and this Marcellus, had the honour; yet I dare fay, that the two Scipio's, and divers other Roman Captaines, especially Cafar, 20 were better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered up to IVPITER, Opima Spolia: The Armour of a Generall flaine by themseliues, when they were Generalls, nor perhaps affected to to doc.

After this victorie, Acerra was yeelded to the Romans; and Milan Soone after: with all that belonged to the Cifalpines, or Gaules, that dwelt in Lumbardie. Thus was that valiant and mightie Nation, that had for so many yeares vexed the State of Rome, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territorie possest by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting Italie, fo many as would not subject their necks to the Roman voke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in 30 the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Theeues. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeares, following the peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at fuch leifure, that they closed up the Temple of Ianus: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) faue once, in the raigne of Numa; nor in long time after, vntill the

raigne of Augustus. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had ever beene, was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchie as farre, as their ambition could res could reach:

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Of the Second Punick Warre.

10 Thewarres of HANNIBAL in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians. HANNIBAL besiegeth and taketh Saguntum; whilest the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.



ANNIBAL, the some of Amilear, was about fixe and twentie yeares old, when hee was chosen Generall of (a) the Carthegunan forces in Spaine. Hee was elected by the Armic, as foone as A (drubal was dead : and the election was rathied by the flate at Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleafed. This was now the third of the Barehine familie (fo called of Amilear, whole furname was Bareas) that had Mi command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have beene leffe enuied, by these domesticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends

of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and been theonly men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This generall goodwill, as it was first purchased by the most worthie deserts of Amilear, in fauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it 30 with treasures, and great reuenewes; so was it retained by the same good artes, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partifans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was unreproueable; nor to performe the like feruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselues, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous aduice, of not prouoking the Romans. This they Cafoned other whiles with detraction; faying, that the Birchine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citic. But their malicious wordes were varegarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens, (very few excepted) no leffe Barchine, than Hannibil himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the ar-40 ticles of peace, affoorded no fecuritie to Carrhage; were shee never so quiet, and officious; vniesse she would veeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the Romans could finde fome good advantage, to renew the Warre : it was rather defired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the warre should beginne; than that in some vnhappie time of famine or peftilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon termes of difaduantage.

This disposition of his Countrimen, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he 50 ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time denifed of this bufineffe) that in making warre with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armicinto Italie, without molefation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistants, even of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could never be offe.

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Acd, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginism, how glad focuer they would be, to heare that he had fet the warre on foote, would neuerthelesse be flow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpole, but with fuch particulars as must be difcourfed of, in procuring allowance to his defligne. This might suffice to disorder the whole Proiect. Wherefore, he refolved to lay liege vnto Saguntum; which might feeme not greatly to concerne the Romans; and would highly pleafe the Carthaginians, that had fresh in mind the indignitie, of that Spanish Townes alliance with their 10 false friends. So should hee affaie both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he nevertheleffe went faire and orderly to worke; and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approched vnto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (faith Liuie) to give fome colour to his proceedings: as it he had not principally intended the warre, against Saguntum, but had beene drawne thither by course of builnesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such to malities, it was needefull to finish the Conqueit of the rest, before he did any th ngthat should prouoke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpon the Territoric of the \* Oleades; and having befieged Althas (Lime calleth it Cartein) their chiefe 20 Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Mafter not only thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first vindertooke, being subdued, and the But in theold winter at hand; he rested his Armic in New Carthage, or Carthagens; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he purfued the warre against the a Vaccai: and without any great difficultie, wanne first Saimantiea, now called Salamanea; and after it, & Arbacala, by affault: though not without along fiege, and great difficultie. But in his rearne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all fuch of the Vaccai, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate by the spoile of their Countrie, with those of Salamanes, and of the Oleades, that 20 had escaped in the late over-throw, joyning themselves with the Tolerans, compounded an Armie of an hundred thouland able men; and flayed Harmbal on the bankes of the River Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisbourne in Portugale. These foure Nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that be neuer faw enemie, vpon whom hee durft not giue charge; were throughly refolued, that his naturall valour would at this time no leffe neglect the cold advice of differentian, than at other times it had feemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vieit. But hee that makes himseise a bodie of Crystall, that all men may looke through him, and differential the parts of his dispolition; makes himselse (withall) an Asse and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or 40 driue him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in all that is iust and vertuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this fubrile Ca thaginian, when he ferued under Afdrubal, was, of all the men of markein the Armie the most aduenturous. But that which may befeeme a Captayne, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath fometime facceeded well with fuch great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wife. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diffemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himfelfefrom the River fide, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multi- se tude, from their bankes of aduantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such fort, as Hannihal delired that they should; thrust themselves in furic and disorder, into the fwift fir ame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie fide. But when Hannibal

(faith Sie badefeription of Spaint, in Ortelus, they are found neare Tages; and by b dibisiala or in and Citie of the Paccel in Aragon.

faw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; hee turned back his Elephants, to entertayne them at their landing : and thrust his Horse-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the River. These, carrying a kinde of Lance de gay, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middelt of the staffe; had such an advantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, under their strokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or shift their bodies, as on firme ground : that they slew all those, (in a manner) without relistance, which were alreadic entred into the water; and purfued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that fide the River of Iberus, (the Saguntines excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their handes against the Carthaginians.

The Saguntines, perceiuing the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They fent Embassadours to Rome, and bemoned themselves, as likely to fuffer that, which afterwards they fuffered indeede; only because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable Citie, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that Saguntum was aireadic belieged. Hereupon some crie out, that Warre should bee proclaymed by Land and Sea; as alfothat the two Confuls should be fent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Africk. But others went more Roman-like to worke; and carryed it. So it was only concluded; that Embassadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of 20 their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the Saguntines. For if Hannibal intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plaulible occasion to take armes against him : if hee had no such purpose; yet would it be in their power, to determine what they listed themselues, vpon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gravitie, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embasfadours Linie reports, that they found Hannibal before Saguntum; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But Polybius, an Historian of finceritie leffe questionable, tels, that they found him at Carthagena; and had conference with him, though fuch as 30 left them doubtfull. This is more agreable to the rest of Hannibal his whole course. And furely wee might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as Linie confesseth) and fail to disputation about the cournants of peace; if they had rejected that which was fent upon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, Hannibal prepared not only his forces, but some Roman pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his helpe against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani; a Nation adjoyning to Saguntum, and having many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly 40 among Neighbours) of which, Hannibal himfelfe had hatched fome. Finding therefore such an occasion, what soeuer it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first prouoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more adoc, but fatedowne with his whole power before their Towne. Hee was now more fecure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertayned the Roman Embassadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeares they had beene wont. Neuertheleffe, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions: not only because the warre, which he so much defired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemie, before hee could fet foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrarie defire. They were glad 10 of the quarrell: as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hastie to threaten, before they were readie to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readinesseto be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the seate of the

In the meane while, Demetrius Pharius, whom the Romans had made King ouer a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them: either for that hee found himselfe ouerftreightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions; or rather because hee was of an vnthankefull dilposition. The commotion of the Gaules, and afterward, the same of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perills, euen with the hazard of his whole estate, which hee had received of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of Greece: against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further, and sei- 10 sed vpon some places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begunne fooner, or rather if he had staied somewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the bulinesse with the Gaules, was ended; with Hannibal, not throughly begun: when he declared himselse, by his doings, an enemie, and was vanquished. The Roman Conful, Emilius, was fent against him : who in seuen daics wan the strong Towne of Dimalum; and thereby brought fuch terror vpon the Countrie round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citic of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, prepared to relift: which it might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not been too foolish. Æmilius landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and be- 20 flowed them in couert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twentie ships before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauen. Demetrius with all his power iffued out against the Conful; and was soone intercluded from the Towne, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths, to a creeke, where he had shipping readic for him, and embarqued himselfe : leaving all his estate vnto them, of whose liberalitie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of Saguntum; before which Hannibal fate downe, ere Amilius was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the fiege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the braue fallies made by the Saguntines; in one of which, their Generall received a dan- 30 gerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Neuerthelesse he was not unmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raife certaine moueable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot affault was given: but it was fo well fustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and camp. Neuerthelesse the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an 40 hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so weariethe townesimen with continual trauaile, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the Citic, by some counter-workes of the Saguntines, that were also readie to be won. In this extremitic, there was one Alcon a Saguntine, that conueyed himselfeout of the Towne, to treat with Hannibal for some accord. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered, were so seuere, and without all compasse of honour, as Alcon durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For Hannibal demanded all that they had; gold, filuer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfeto be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that hee would affigne some other place for their habitation : not allowing them, to carrie out with 10 them any other thing, wherewith to fustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better have submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and faued the honor of their wives and daughters)

daughters) than to hauerested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wines and daughters were defloured before their faces; and all put to sword, that were aboue fourteeney exerces of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their bloud at the dearest rate, they shut themselues up like most were they had: to dying unreuenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, Hamnibal kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, he divided among his Souldiers; reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his softeness as a Carshage, and to animate them who to the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans; who had good cause to because ie at their owne flownesse, in forbearing to fend helpe vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe revenge. To this end they sent Embassadours againe to Carthage : demanding only, Whether it were by generall confent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that HANNIBAL had made warre upon Saguntum; which if they granted (as it feemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answere was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect. That this their second Embaffage, how focuer qualified with milde words, was indeede more in folent than to the former. For in that, they only required justice against Hannibal; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of Carthage, was veged to pleade guiltie, or not guiltie. But (faid the Carthaginian speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in Spaine, in belieging Saguntum, have only followed his owne counfaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the Romans ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or dispute, is; Whether it were lawfull, or unlawfull, for HANNIBAL to doe as hee hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge vs, if wee have done any thing contrarie to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with Luctatius the 30 Conful, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended : but the Saguntines were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betweene you and Adrubal, wherein you will fay that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught vs, how to answere that particular. For what focuer you found in the Treatie betweene vs and Luctatius, to your owne disaduantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promifing those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it bee lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Confuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the 40 fame libertie may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which Adrubal hath made for vs, without our commandement and confent.

This was an impertinent answere, and little better than a meere cauill. For Lutatium the Confull, in his Treatic of peace with the Carthaginians, had express year ferred the allowance thereof to the people of Roma. It had beene therefore much better, to have dealt plainely; and to have alleaged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the slie of Sardinia, and with all of twelve hundred talents: which perjuric the state of Carthage, being now growneable, would revenge with open 10 warre. As for the Sagantines; it little skilled that the Roman had admitted them into consideracie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatic of peace with Midwids! Seeing that the Treatic with Midwids!, and all other businesse between Roma and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better than Roman injuries; as implying this commination, Doedinia, were no better than Roman injuries; as implying this commination, Doedinia, were no better than Roman injuries.

what focuer wee require, elfe will wee make warre, without regard of our oath, which wee baue alrea lie broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alleage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polybius takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since Liuie himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the fpirit of Amilear with defire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this injurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinarie force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian 10 Senate moued the Roman Embassadours, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long deterinited against them : as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within Iberus; those were but then pretences. Wherupon Q. Fabius gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if fomewhat had beene laid in the hollow thereof, made this fhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Mafters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euch which of them you your felfe haue a fancie to offer vs. Marrie then (quoth Fabius) take the Warre and share it among you. Which all the Affembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had refolued to make warre, it was meerely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have ever been emaintayined by the partie vinwilling, or vinable to fulfaine the warre. The ruftie fword, and the emptie purfe, doe alwaies pleade performance of couenants. There have beene few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwisevnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne advantage : and commonly (feeing peace between ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best-aduised haue rather begunne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois with the French in Naples; Henrie the second, of France, with the Imperialls, when he wrote to Brifac, to surprise as ma- 20 ny places as he could, ere the warre brake out; Don John, with the Netherlands; and Philip the fecond, of Spaine, with the English, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But Hannibal, belides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the Romans. His father Amilear, at what time he did facrifice, being readie to take his journie into Spaine, had folemnely bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiese, as soone as he should be a man, and able. Hannibal was then about nine yeares old, when his father caufed him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make 40 this vow: fo that it was no meruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this fort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom wee are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predeceffors, that as foone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselues enemies to the people of England.

ð. II.

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HANNIBAL takes order for the defence of Spaine and Africk. His iournie into Italie.



Arre being thus proclaymed, Hannibal resolued, not to put vp his fword, which hee had drawne against the Saguntines, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the fecond Punick Warre; fecond to none, that ever the Senate and People of Rome sustained. Hannihal wintred at Carthagena; where he li-

cenced his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother A/drubal, for the gopernement of Spaine in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troupes of Spaniards into Africk, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that fo the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africa thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horie; also eight hundred flingers of the \* Baleares. Belides these, he selected foure theusand foet, all youngmen, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be garrifond Minner. 20 in Carthage it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostiges: for among those fourethousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that swayed most in their scuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftic and seuen Gallies; whereof thirtie feuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans, and other Nations strangers, he left with him about twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

Having in this fort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk; he sent Discoursers before him, to view the passages of the Pyrenean Mountaines, and of the allees. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gaules, 30 to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armic entire into Italie, and not becompelled to diminish his forces, by any warrein the way, till heecame to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors, and Discouerers, being returned with good fuisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the River of Iberus, with an Armic confilling of fourescore and ten thousand soot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued; and appointed Hanno (not that old enemic of his house, who sate fill at Carthege) to gouerne Spaine on the East side of therus; to whom he left an Armic of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine. fome of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking leaue; which that o-40 thers might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journie seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With therest of his armic, confissing now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand fand horse, he past the Pyrenees and entred into Gaule. He found the Gaules that bordered vpon Spaine, readie in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, heecame to the banke of Rhodanus; where dwelt, on each fide of the River, a people called Volca. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to 30 keepe him from paffing ouer the water. But he was greatly affilled by some of those Gaules, that inhabited on the West side of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of Vuaretz and Lionnois. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrie of Daulphine, thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet fuch as remained, being desirous to free their Countrie of so many ill guests,

were better pleased to have their Countrimen beaten, which had abandoned them. than to have their owne store of corne and cattaile wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the River; and lent him guides. When the veffells for transportation of his Armie were in readinesses he fent Hanne, the fonne of Bomilear, vp the River : himfelfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that Hanno charging the Gaules vnawares upon their owne fide, and Hannibal, at the fame time, passing the River in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with fome difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in con- to ucying ouer his Elephants; who meruailously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another, of the fame fort, but loofe, vpon which the beafts were towed ouer.

Hauing past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cifalpines, that inhabited Piemont and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. Theseinformed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which not with standing; hee found himselfe extremely incumbred by 20 the Savoians: and loft, both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely affailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other fide. And whereas this journie ouer the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes trauaile, he was euery day, more or leffe, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grieuous weather and fnow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now readie to receive them; with the affiftance and conduct of the Cifalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often inuaded the Roman Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on: having no- 30 thing else of difficultie remayning, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and refolution; namely the Roman Armies, and reliftance.

## ð. III.

How the Romans in vaine (olicited the Spaniards and Gaules totake their part. The rebellion of the Cifalpine Gaules against the



He Countries of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had beene follicited peroie, by the mane Embaffadours, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. The case a cooke Spaine in their way home they were inftructed by the Senate, tooke Spaine in their way home-ward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance,

as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volleians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open affembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answere. With what face (faith 50 he) can yee Romans perswade vs to valew your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines, to be more wife, than fo? For they, relying on your faith, and promifed affiftance, have beene vtterly rooted out, and defiroied by the Carthaginians; whom

they might elfe haue held their affured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of Spaine have found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answere for the rest of our Countrimen) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our handes: who are resoluted, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitic. From the Volcians, the Embassadours tooke their way towards the Gaules; vsing their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the Carthaginians to passe into Italie, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themselues, their firength, and large Dominion. But the Gaules laught them to Icorne, and had hard-

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10 ly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by relisting Hannibals passage into Halie, entertaine a warre which is not meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our felues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedie pace from vs, towards our ancient enemics? Haue the Romans described so well of vs, and the Carthaginians so ill, that wee should fet fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning ? No, weeknow it well, that the Romans haue alreadic forced fome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

20 With this vnpleafing answere the Embassadours returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were Confederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the cifalpine Gaules gaue haltic proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italie, that the Carthaginians had passed therus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boij, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the Carthaginian fuccour, which they supposed to benow at hand; they laid atide all regard of those hostages, which they had given 30 to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it feemes that they

could not winne; for Hannibal (hortly afterfailed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to Modena: where they belieged them. The fiege of Modens had continued fome small time; when the Gaules, having little skill in affaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and feemed defirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detayned. Atanlian the

40 Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the belieged. But the Grules, having laid a strong ambush inawood ioyning to the way, fel vpon the Prætor 10 opportunely, as he was veterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by fast running, a little village, but defencible, vpon the Riuer of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. Atilius, another of the Prætors, was haltily fent, to relieue the belieged, with one Legion, and five thouland of the Roman affociates : which forces were taken out of the Confuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie

As the Gaules were too rash and hastie : so were the Romans too slow, and indeede too ill-aduised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that 50 Carthage, which had almost seruilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so braue and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italie it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Africk: refling secure of all danger at home. Titus Semprenius tooke his way toward Africk, with an hundred and threescore Quinquerenies, or Gallies, of flue to an Oare; which preparation may feeme to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neare. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Conful, made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Prouence; and vsed such diligence. hauing the winde also fauourable, as in fine dayes he recoursed Massilia. There hee was aductifed, of Hannibal his having paffed the River of Rhodanus; whom hee thought to haue found busie yet awhile in Spaine. Hannibal had also newes of the Consuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor forrie; as not meaning to have to doe with him. Each of them fent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings: Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were to beaten: yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, having flaine only two hundred. and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when scipio drew neare, to have met with the Carthaginians; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found affuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of Rome, This interrupted his intended voiage into Spaine. Neuertheleffe hee fent away thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against Afdrubal, and the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Scato Pifa; and so passing through Tuscane into Lumbardie, drew together the broken troupes of Manlius and Atilius, that lately had beene beaten by the 20 Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull journie.

## ò. IIII.

Scipio the Roman Conful over-come by HANNIBAL at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Confuls beaten by HANNIBAL, in a great battaile at Trebia.



Jue moneths Hannibal had spent in his tedious journic from Carthage. na; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to have been only twentie thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. Hannibal him-

felfe, in his Monument which he raifed, in the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the bankes of Rhodanus, he had with him eight and thirtie thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembred by himselsein as the Inferiorion of his Altar in Iuno's Temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, Rivers, and Mountaynes; which mischiefes had devoured, each, their seucrall shares.

Hauing newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armiein the Countrie of Piemont; he sought to winne the friendship of the a Taurini, who lay next in his way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Infubrians, which were his good friends, and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he affaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three dayes. Their spoile ferued well to hearten his Armic; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more adoe, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many so for good-wil, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the Carthaginians; when the newes of Scipio the Conful his arrivall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters ; what

a Thefe dwelt about furme, a goodly City, now fubicat vnto the Doke of Savey: which from them name of Augulla Taurinorum.

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was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the xo-

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man Conful was already gotten through the most defencible pallages, creany speech had beene heard of his approch : many fate still, for very feare, who else would faine haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their feruice against the Carthaginians, whom neverthelesse they will ed

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hatten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called Paula; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition: Hanni-10 bal thinking it strange, that the Conful, whom he had left behinde him on the other fide of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himfelie in the Plaines; Scipio admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaynes, and the great spirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed, at Hannibals successe, and sudden arrivall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all hafte vnto Sempronius, the other Conful, that was then in Siedla , guing him to understand hercof; and letting him further know, that whereas he had beene direare the warre in Africa, it was now their pleasure that hee should forbeare to profecute any such attempt, but that hee should returne the Armie under his charge, with all possible speede, to saue Italie it selfe. According to this order, Sem-20 prontus fent off his Fleet from Lilybeum; with direction to land the Armie at Arminum, a Port Towne not farre from Rauenna: quite another way from Carthage, whither he was making hatte. In the meane while, Scipio and Hannibal were come fo neare, that fight they must, ere they could part afunder. Hercupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the belt arguments they had : voto which Hannibil added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he showed upon certaine prifoners of the Savoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italie. For these, having beene no lesse miserably settered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their defire, than to be deliuered from their miferies by any kinde of prefent 30 death; were brought into the middle of the Armie; where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companion. till the one of them were flaine; with condition, being the Vister, to receive his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chiefraines of the Guies were wont to vie in fingle combats. Enery one of these vnhappie men wished, that his owne lot might speede; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miscries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, who fe good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutedly : as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having 40 none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally for all these poore creatures were willing, upon what socuer vneuen termes, to ridde themselves out of ilauerie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them; wrought also vpon the Circhaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordayned. For they deemed happic, not only him, that by winning the victoric had gotten his libertie, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being slaine in fight had escaped that miferable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them; beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect. That he had laid before 50 them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetual flauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common fence, could promife to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri432

Scipio, on the other tide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Rauer of Ticinus, did not neglect to vie the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie heled; putting thom in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Anceitors; against how many Nations they had premailed; and oner how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armic commanded by Hannibal, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no 20 better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Theenes, than an Armie like to encounter the Romans; but so weather-beaten, and harued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustayne the first charge that should be given vpon them. Nay (faid he) yee your selucs may make sudgement what daring they have now remayning, after so many transiles and miseries; feeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the Roane, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Campe, but Hannibal himselfe, tearing our approch, ranne head long towards 20 the Alpes: thinking it a leffe diffionour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the tharpe fwordes of the Romans, which had so often cut downe his people, both in Africa and in Sicil.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre advanced before the groffe of his Armic, with his Horfe; and the Roman having also with him fomelight armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discourred the approach one of the other; Scipio sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to beginne the right, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground bet veene their troupes, to affilt them: himselfe with his Roman men at armes, following foftly in good order. The Gaules (whether defirous to trie the mettall of the so Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the Romans) behaued themselues couragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shranke at the first brunt, or rather sled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This not with standing the Gaules maintayned the fight, and did more burt than they received as prefuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conful vnmindfull to relieue them : their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the hastie slight of those that should have flood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee adventured himfelfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed Africanus) had not brought him off: 10 though others give the honour of this refeue, to a Ligurian flave. Whilest the Romans were busted in helping their Conful; an vnexpected storme came driving at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. Hunnibat had appointed his Numidian light horse, to give vpon the Romans in flanke, and to compaffe them about, whileft he with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well : cutting in peeces the feattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened upon Hannibal and Scipio. By this impression, the Romans were shuffled together, and rowted : so that they all betooke them to their speede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

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When Scipio faw his horse thus beaten and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wiledome, having lost so many of his Fleet you the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the to tempelt ouer-tooke him. For he law by the lowring morning, what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner ftole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over Ticinus, which he had formerly built. But not with standing all the baste that he made, heeleft fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him, who were the last that should have passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, Steertamen quandog, dubium videatur, taquam miles arripiat fugam : fuga enim aliquando laudanda : which must be understood in this fort; If a Generall of an Armie, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or findethis Armie fewefull or wavering; it is more profitable to steale a safe retrain, than to abide the uncertaine event of battaile.

10 It was two dayes after, ere Hannibal could paffe the River; Scipio the whileft refreshing his men, and casing himselfe of his wound in Placentia. But as soone as Hannibal presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their campe; the Gaules, that hitherto had followed Scipio for feare, gathered out of his feare courage to for fake him. They thought that now the long-defired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than Aneroeffus, Britomarus, and the Gellates, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Roman campe; wounded and flew many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the Car-20 thiginians, and prefented their fernice. Hannibal received them exceeding courteoully, and difmift them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vie to him, in perfwading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other feruice at the prefent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conful stale a retrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. Hannibal had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, fent the N umidians after him: following himfelfe with all his Armie. That night the Romans had received a great blow, if the Numidians, greedie of spoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, faue some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the River 40 of Trebia, and faue themselves. Scipio, being both vnable to travaile by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conful; incampes himfelfe firongly vpon the bankes of Trebia. Necessitier equired that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day, more and more of the Gaules fell to the Carthaginian fide; among whom came in the Boy, that brought with them the Roman Comillioners, which they had taken in the late Infurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeeme their owne Hostages : but now they deliuer them up to Hannibal, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, Hannibal, being in great scarcitie of victuailes, 50 attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Towne wherein the Romans bad laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundusian, whom the Romans had trusted with keeping it, fold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, ra-00000

ther with a defire of hastic reuenge, than any great forrow for their loss received, seeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away Sempronius, that was newly arrived, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him sent out of Sieil, awaited his comming. He therefore hasted thirther; and from thence he marched speedly towards his Colleague: who attended him you the bankes of Trebia. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to bee done: Sempronius receiving from Seipio the relation of what had passed also also arrivals; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or misaluenture the Romms were therein foiled: which Seipio chiefly laid on the revolt and treasons to

Sempronius, having received from Scipio the state of the affaires in those parts; fought by all meanes to trie his fortune with Hannibal, before Scipio were recoursed of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtayned. He also feared the election of the new Confuls: his owne time being well-neare expired. But Scipio perswaded the contrarie; objecting the vnskilfulnesse of the new-come Souldiers : and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him, that the Gaules, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the Carthaginians; those of them inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Trebis, and Po, being alreadic revolted. 20 Sempronius knew all this as well as Scipio: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made hafte to finde out the dishonour, which he might otherwise eafily have avoided. This resolution of Sempronius was exceeding pleasing to Hannibal, who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, confishing in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of Sempronius, it fell out so, that about the same time, the Gaules inhabiting neare vnto Trebia, complained of injuries done by the Carthaginians. They did not supply Hannibal with necessaries, as hee supposed that 20 they might have done; although hee daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their fakes, and to let them at libertie, hee had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his wordes, he was bold to be his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, fay that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyne with Hannibal. Scipio cared not much for this : he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutabilitie. But Sempronius affirmed, that it flood with the honour of Rome, to preserve the Confederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the Gaules. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which com- 40 ming vnlooked for vpon Hannibal his forragers, and finding them heavie loaden, cut many of them in pecces, and chaced the reft euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the Carthaginians fallic out against them : who caused them to retire fafter than they came. Sempronius was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the cremies. Hannibai did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the Carthaginian had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consul would have it called) made the Romans in generall desirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the persuasions of Stapio to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hamilas was advertised by so the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bethought himfelie how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces. He found in the hollow of a water-course, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit

trench to couer an ambush. Thereinto he cast his brother Mago, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed. and well fed themselves, in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Conful. Early in the morning, he had fent ouer Trebia form companies of Aumidian light horse: to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. Sempronius was readie to take any opportunitie to fight; and therefore not only iffued out of his campe, but foorded the River of Trebia, in 2 most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes; which, together with the want of foode, did so enjecble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armesthey bare, Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines : having of the one, fixteene, of the other, twentiethouland. The maffe of these they ranged in a groffe Battalion, guarded on the flankes with three thousand horse; thrusting their light named, and Daugers, in local troups in the head of the reft, in the nature of a Wantguard. The Carthaginian nombers of foot, were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse, When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flankes of their foor were broken by the Numidians; when their foor were charged both in front and flanke, bythe Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preft in the Reare, by Mage and his two 20 thouland, that role out of their place of ambulh: then fell the Romans, by heapes. under the enemies fwordes; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in diforder, as flying towards the River, by the harle-men that purfued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all forts, Horse and Foot.

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Three great errours Sempronius committed, of which energy one deserved to be recompensed with the losses that followed. The first was, that hee sought with Hamibal in a Champaine, being by fare inferiour in horse, and wichall thereby subject to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds, and woodlands, would hause beene of noy like. His second errour was, that he made no discover of the place vpon which he sought; whereby he was großly ouer-reacht, and instared, by the ambush which Hannibal had laid for him. The third was, that he drench his soot men with emptic stomachs, in the Riuer of Trebia, even in a most cold and frostic day, whereby in effect they lost the vise of their limbs. For as one sint well; There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Armie, the generosities of minde is but as an varprossibally vapour.

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by Scipio, who got therewith into Plaentia; Itealing away the fame night, which was exceeding raynie, from the Carthaginian; who either perceiued him not, because of the shewers; or 40 would not perceiue him, because they were ouer-wearied. Sempronius cleaped with extreme danger; shying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies borle. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a fecret slight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance; if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheless hee goraway, and came to Rome, where hee did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeare following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against Hamnial.

O0000 2

The departure of HANNIBAL from the Cifalpine Gaules into Hetruria. FLAMINIVS the Roman Conful Staine; and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymen.

He Winter growing on apace, was very tharpe, and vnfit for feruice:

to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keep 10 the field, lay warme in Placentia, and Cremons. Yet Hannibal did not fuffer them to reft very quiet : but vexed them with continuall alarmes; affayling diners places; taking some; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the Ligurians to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two Roman Quæltors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such Prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in streight places, loden with yrons, and miserably sed: those of their followers hee not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore vndertooke the Warre in Italie, to free them from the 20 oppression of the Romans. By these meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and affistance. But the Gaules were not capable of such perswalions: They stood in scare, lest hee should make their Countrie the scate of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more gricued than feafon willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the advice, were readie soone after to practise against him; but were in like fort detected. He was therefore glad to vie Perwigs of haire, and false beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine hee would have passed 30 the Apennines, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the Gaules, till hee had seene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolued to take his leave of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, having his Armie greatly increased with Ligurians and Gaules; more seruiceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the Apennine Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet fince the Roman Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon Hannibal, when hee was transiling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the 40 extremitie of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journie. Neuertheleffe to avoid the length of way, together with the relistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene erected upon the ordinarie passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tuscane. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recourred the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about Arretium: where hee somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the 50 Roman Confuls.

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Seruilius had of late beene chosen Consuls for this yeare: Seruilius, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; Flaminius,

an hot-headed popular Orator; who basing once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Confullhip, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be ferued fo againe, vnleffe hee quickly finished the warrei. This jealous Conful thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entred into his Office, left his advertagies, by fayning fome religious impediments, should detaine him within the Citie or finde other bufinesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed ferretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, remoked him by Embassadors : but to he neglected their injunction; and halting to meet with the Carthaeinians, tooke his

CHAP.3. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

way to Arretium, where he shortly found them. The fierie disposition of this Consplictormised vnto Hannibal great affurance of victoric. Therefore he pronoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman : hoping thereby to draw him vato fight, ere Servieus came with the reft of the Armie. All the Countrie betweene Fefula and Arretiam , hee put to fire and fword, even ynder the Confuls note; which was enough to make him flirre; that would not have fitten full schough diametal had been quiet. It is true, that agreat Captayne of France hathfaid ; Pays gallen'effe par perder; A maffed Countrie is dot thereby lost. But by this waste of the Countrie, Plantuins thought his owne honour 20 to be much impaired a and therefore advanced towards the Enemies Many advifed him (which had indeede beene best) to have parsence awhile; and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare having, that he came not roidefend Arretium, whilest the Cartheginian went, burning downe all state before them, to the gates of Rome of Therefore he tooke harles and commanded the Armicto march. It is reported as ominous that one of their Entignes fluck to fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Enligne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falle, Tullie makes a jeast : faying, that the dowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardily pitched it into the earths. Neither was the answere of Flaminius (if it were true) disagreeable heroto. For he commanded, that 20 it should be digged up, if feare had made the hands too weake to life it; asking with all; whether letters were not come from the Senato; so hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousie, both hee, and the Senate that gone him cause likely to a a libe of the my improvement and high province...

All the Territoric of Cartona, as faure as to the Lake of Thrafymene, was on a light fire; which whileft the Conful thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he purfued Hannibal fo vnaduifedly, that he fell, with his whole Armic ainto an ambush cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of Gartons, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all fides, (fauconly where that great Lake of Perulia, permitted neither his enemies to come at him; not him to flie from them) knowing 40 not which way to turne, or make refulance. So was bee flaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thou fand dead sarkaffes of his Countrimen 11 About fixe thoufand of his men, that had she Vantguard, tooke courses as for the most part happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recouered the tops of the Mountaines. If the fe had returned, and given charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. Burthat violence of their feare, which, kindled by necessition had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they cealed to despaire, of fauing their lines by flight. They food still in a cold fweat, upon the Hill-top; hearing under them a terrible noise, but not discoso uering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning.

When it grew toward noone, the nive was cleared, and they might pluinly distorte the lamentable flaughter of their fellowes. But they flaid not to lament it for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were descried; and attached by adaka kin intelesional giological kina seria in a seria

the enemies horse. This they should have thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For descried they were, and Maharbal sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a village, which hee furrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring their armes, vpon his promise of their lives and liberties. This accord Hannibal refused to confirme; faying, that it was made by Maharbal, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith : and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they lifted; if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, 10 besides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and beelimited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans. whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can Hannibal bee as Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his handes : of which all that were not Romans, he fet free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their fakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the Romans he kept in fireight prifon, and in fetters; making them learne to eate hard meat. This was a good way, to 20 breede in the people of Italie, if not a loue of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome : as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of flauerie, which her ouer-firong enemies would thrust vpon her, in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by fuccesse of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the Carthaginian can get any Italian Partifans.

Presently after the battaile of Thrasymene, C. Centronius, with foure thousand Roman horse, drew neare vnto the Campe of Hannibal. Hee was sent from Ariminum, by Servilius the other Gonful, to increase the strength of Flaminius: but comming too late, he increased only the misaduenture. Maharbal was imployed by Hannibal, 30 to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouenthrow, charged them, and brake them; and killing almost halfe of them, draue the whom on high peece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie, the next day. Servilius himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Gaules 3 against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the es were brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in Hetruria; and made him haften back to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular jealousie, which perfwaded the Romans to the yearclie change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all 40 men are farre better raught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-poers. Flaminius had heard, in what a trap Sempronius had been etaken but the yeare before, by this subtile Carthaginian; yet suffered he himselfe to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten, how Semprenius, fearing to be prevented by a new Conful, and ambitious of the lole honour of beating Hannibal in battaile, without helpe of his companion Scipio, had been rewarded with shame and losse: else would be not, contrarie to all good aduice, have been so hastie to fight, before the arrivall of Servilius. If Sempronius had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the fecond time, and have fearched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: 30 both which this new Consul Flaminius neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of France ten yeares, Cafar brought that mightie Nation, together with the Helvetians and many of the Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene energy years a new Lieutenant sent, they

would hardly, if euer, have beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeares compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to profecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three yeares; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wife, as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Gouernement, fitting the Countrie, they have beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But to it hath ever beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their flothful ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

## ò. V I.

How Q. FABIVS the Roman Dictator, Sought to consume the force of HANNIBAL, by lingring warre. MINVTIVS, the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successefull attempting, adventures rashly up. on HANNIBAL; and whike to perish with his Armie, but refcued by FABIVS.

Reatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did warre, fince Rome it felfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow; that when Pyrrhushad beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all

Italie was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that 20 could worke wonders. But Pyrrhus his quarrell was not grounded upon hate; hee only fought honour, and fought (asit were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himfelfe like a courteous enemie. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasymene, wirneffed his purpose, and his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long beene out of vie, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto comptroll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but vpon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Confuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were for that the Conful (if he flood vpon his 40 prerogatiue) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke vpon them, as having supreme authoritie, to give the Dignitie by their election, to Q. Fabius Maximus, the best reputed man of warrein the Citie. Novum factum, novum consilium expetit; Contrarie windes, contrarie courses. Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this Minutius grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of Fabius, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion : a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. Butifit were true (as Liniereports it) that the bookes of Sybil were consulted, and Lin. 1, 24-30 gaue direction in this businesse of denotion; then must we believe, that those books of Sybil, preserved in Rome, were distated by an euill spirit. For it was ordayned, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warreto Mars, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto Iupiter, and a Temple to Venus; with other fuch trumperie. This

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vehemencie of superfittion, proceedes alwaies from vehemencie of seare. And surely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly diffempered with passion : whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their fonnes returne aliue from Thrasymene, may serue to beare witnesse; though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie, were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe: and all care taken , for defence of Rome it felfe. In this tumult , when the Dictator was newly fet forth against Hannibal; word was brought, that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to Cn. Scipio in Spaine. Against these Carthaginians, Fabius commanded Seruilius the Conful to put to Sea; and taking vp 10 all the ships about Rome, and Ostia, to pursue them : whilest he, with the Legions, attended vpon Hannibal. Foure Legions he had levied in halte: and from Ariminum he received the Armie, which Servilius the Conful had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. Hannihal in the meane while, purfuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vfed all manner of crueltic towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he did put to the fword, all the were able to beare armes. Paffing by Spoletum and Ancona, he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; refreshed his dif- 20 eased, and ouer-transiled Companies; armed bis Africans after the manner of the Romans; and made his dispatches for Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Hauing refreshed his Armie; sed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as Polybius hath it ) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine : he followed the coast of the Adriatick Sea towards Apulia, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of Naples; spoiling the Marrueini, and all other Nationslying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: cally he had affaied Spoletum, a Colonic of the Romans; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the Protestant Armie found true at Poictiers, a little before the battaile of Moncounter; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at St. lean d'Angeley. But Hannibal was more wife. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detayne him, and give the Romans leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Malter of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of batterie. To this end he presented Fabius with battaile, as foone as he faw him; and prouoked him with all manner of bravado's. But Fabins would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer 40 fince they were Boics, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in Spaine, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the Romans; and such, as had no oftner seene the enemie, than been vanquished by him. Therefore hee attended the Carthaginian so neare, as hee kept him from stragling too farre; and preserved the countrie from vtter spoile. He invred his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might sit

Now Minutius had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierie as Flaminius; taxing Fabins with cowardife and feare. But all stirred not this well-adused Commander. 10 For wife men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indifcretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune : It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that defires battaile; and this of Hannibal, was both the invading, and

the victorious. Fabius therefore suffered Hannibal to crosse the Apenines, and to fall vpon the most rich and pleasant Territoric of Campania; neither could be by any arguments be perfwaded, to aduenture the Roman Armie in battaile : but being farre too weake in horse, he alwayes kept the Hills and fast grounds. When Hannibal saw he could by no meanes draw this warie Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the towns flood firme for the Romans, whose Legions were in fight, though a-farre off; he resolved to rest his Armie, that was loaden with spoile, in some plentifull and affured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of Calli-10 cula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by which hee might iffue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which hee had alreadie wafted, into places more aboundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would have beene directed vnto Casinam, whence he might both affay the faire Citic of Capua, which had made him friendly promises under hand, and hinder the Romans from coming theare it to preuent him. But his guide mif-vnderstood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry an other way, from Cassinum to Cassinum, whence Fabius hoped that he should not easily escape. Now beganne the wildome of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap, and wonne the victorie, without blowes. But 20 Hannibal reformed this opinion, and freed himfelfe; by a flight invention, yet ferning the turne as well as a better. In driving the countrie, he had gotten about two thouland Kine; whose hornes he dreffed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemie. What it should meane, Fabius could not tell: but thought it a device to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hilltops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fieric Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ranne therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no leffe afraid 20 of them. So Hannibal, with his whole Armie, recourred fure ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with fome flaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmifle After this, Hannibal made semblance of taking his journie towards Rome: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citic, whilest the Carthaginian wasted all the Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke Geryon, an old ruinous Towne in Apulia, for faken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barnes and Store houses for winter, and incamped under the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time paffed idlely, till the Distator was called away to Rome, about some businesse of Religion, and left the 40 Armie in charge with Minutius, the Master of the horse.

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Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiencie. Hee was fully perswaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans and Spaniards: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie Fabius. In this jollitie of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee beene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee 50 held vindoubtedly his owne; the loue of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing Office in Rome, were enough to faue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer fo hainoufly. Hannibal on the other fide was no leffe glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore heedrew neare : and to prouoke the Romans, fent forth a third part of his Armie to waste the

Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that Minitius incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despited those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two camps; which because it would bee commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But Minitius, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

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The maine businesse of Hannibal at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Sommer: if besides this he 10 could give the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore Minutius did not in many dayes issue forth of his campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in haruest. This advantage Minutius wifely closed, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and fetting it in order presented battaile to Hannibal, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no refistance. This angred Hannibal, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the Romans 20 tooke heart to affaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meere weakeneffe, which held him within his campe, and therfore were bold to despise his great name, that could not relift their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, Afdrubal came from Geryon with foure thouland men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This emboldened Hannibal to iffue forth against the Romans; to whom neuerthelesse hee did not such hurt, as hee had received.

For this pecce of service Minntins was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he lent the newes, with somewhat greater boust than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recoursed 30 spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set upon Hannibal in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with Fabius, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wifely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angric with the breach of discipline; and scarefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he 40 were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie: for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other, taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons enery one cryed out; especially Metellus, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he lift, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (faid he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to bee wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himfelfecan, or dares? It were good to confider what he meanes by this. Into the place of C. Flaminius hee hath not chosen any new Conful all this 50 while; Seruilius is fent away to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and Hee, have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hannibal had indecde forborne to spoile some grounds of Fabius, that so he might bring him into enuic and suspition) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would have the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and have the fole Government both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltic of Rome, which gave him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthice. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour; I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equal authoritic, with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor less enecisive, than was the electing of this Dictator; by the People.

Though all men, cuen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which Fabius had taken against Hannibal, as being neither plausible nor feeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was leffe than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authoritie, besides the Propounder, should stand up, and formally deligits his approparion; not one of the principall Citizens was found fo impudent, as tojoffer that open differen, both vnto a worthic Personage, and (therewithall) varo that Dignitic, whose great power had freed the State at feuerall times, from the greatest dangers. Only C. Terentius Varro, who the yeare before had beene Prætor, was glad of fuch an opportu-20 nitie, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the fonne of a Burcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew. by often brablings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to give an hard puff at the Confulthip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fapouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inucctive, not only against Fabjus, but against all the Nobilitie; faying, that it grieued them to fee the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them , in matter of Gouernement; that they foughtto 30 humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impourrish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne dores, which would foone confume every poore mans lining, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bad them to be wife : and fince they had found one, ( this worthie Master of the horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrie, to reward him according to his good deferts; and give him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begunne. So the Act paffed.

Before this busie day of contention, Fabius had dispatched the election of a new Conful, which was M. Atilius Regulus, in the roome of C. Flaminius: and having 40 finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not beeable to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of Ostinutius his aduancement, was at the campe as foone as Fabius : fo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; afking him at the first, in what fort he thought it best to divide their authoritic; whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successively, for fome longer time, should command in chiefe. Fabius briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator; but that he should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. Minutian was not herewith greatly plea-30 fed; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke fuch wonders, as otherwische hoped to accomplish. Neuerthelesse hee meant to doe his best; and sotaking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though Liuie seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doc. For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor joy-

ned in Commission, but haue each entire and absolute charge of his owne followers. there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two diffinct Armies in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great incommenience. Polybins mather findes fault with this disunction, nor yet reports, that Fabius was vinwilling to command in chiefe fuccefficely (as the two Confuls vied) with Minutius, by turnes. Hee faith that Minutius was very retractarie: and fo proud of his advancement, that continually hee opposed the Lictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces betweene them, as is faid before, or else to have command ouer all by course. This is likely to be true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loofe from the 10 rigour of authoritic, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein confilted

the proofe and affurance of their libertie.

It behould the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no leffe carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was Fabius of avoiding the necessitie. That which Minutius and Hannibal equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countrie lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spatious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, Hannibal bestowed fine hundred horse, and flue thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not 20 be discouered. But lest by any miaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes, he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a pecce of ground, that lay on the other hand : whereby he drew the cies and thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked Minutins, to aductive vpon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like fort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that Hannibal seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest 30 the Romans defended themselves, looling many, and those of their best men: Fabius drew neare, invery good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiuing a farre off, into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrie, than the differece which he had wrongfully fustained, fought rather to approue himselse, by hasting to doe good, than by suffering his enemie to seele the reward of doing ill. Vpon Fabius his approch, Hannibal retyred; fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. Minutius forthwith submitted himselfe to Fabius; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to have beene faued. So from this time forwards, the 40 Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whileft his Office lafled, which was not long, and likewife afterwards, when hee delinered vp his charge vnto the Confuls, that followed his instructions.

Seruilius the Conful had purfued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which hee came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of Italie; tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corficans; passed over into Africk; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countrie, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the losse of 2 thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all hafte, hee returned home by Sieil., and (being for equired by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conful, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

ò. V I I.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warrequickly, choose a rash and unworthing Consul. Great forces leuied against HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Canna. The new Confuls fet forth against HANNIBAL.

Ith little pleasure did they of the poorer fort in Rome, heare the great commendations, that were given to Fabius by the principall Citizens.

He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow: but hee had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparance thereto tending. Rather it might feeme, that the reputation of this his

one worthic act, was likely to countenance the flow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Elfe, what meant the Confus to fit idle the whole winter, contrarie to all former custome; since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall, had willingly fuffered the time of his command to runne away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readic every man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his owne

no private loffe, vpon the ill administration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to C. Terentize Varro, in his fuit for the Confullhip. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot : his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignitie. But the Comonaltie were then in fuch a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinfman, Bibius Herennius, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertic of his place, in faying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modestic. This bold Orator fluck not to affirme, That Hannibal was drawne into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That Minutius indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been over-20 throwne, and was releved by Fabius with the other two: but had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victorie of Minutius, when he comanded ouer all, as Master of the horse; That without a Plebeian Conful, the warre would never be brought to an end; That fuch of the Plebeians, as had long fince been aduanced to honor by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemped the meaner fort, euer fince themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needfull to choose a Conful, who should bee altogether a Plebeian, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the People's love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well descruing of them. By fuch perswasions, the Multitude was wonne, to be wholly for Terentius: to 40 the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the defire of the People, it fellout, or at least was alleaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon Hannibal, to hold the Eiection. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe depoted; either (as was pretended) for fome religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an Inter-regnum, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Confuls. This Inter-regnum tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of Romulus; and was in vie at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted 50 themselues into Tens, or Decuries; and governed successively, by the space of five daies, one Decurie after another in order : yet fo, that the Lietors, or Virgers, carrying the Fasces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chiefe of them with thefe Enfignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Confuls; and put in vie, when by death, or any cafualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

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old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The aduantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there needed no more, than to let flip fine daies, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well affwaged. Vpon fuch change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to fue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publiquely declare themselves to feeke those Offices. But no device would serve, against the generall favour borne vnto Terentius. One Inter-regnum passed ouer; and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this meane, but worthic man, seemed so manifest, 10 that when the People had viged the businesse to dispatch, only Terentius was chofen Conful: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Herevpon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinarie marke had flood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and bot-headed man, one of great fufficiencie, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So L. Amilius Paulus, he who few yeares fince had ouer-come the Illyrians, and chaced Demetrius Pharius out of his Kingdome, was viged by the Nobilitie to fland for the place; which he eafily obtained having no Competitor. It was not the defire of this honorable man, to trouble himfelfe any more in fuch great bufi- 22 neffe of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service; He, and M. Livius that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherin Linius was condemned, and Amilius hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the Romans well in minde. each of them in his fecond Confulthip, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most gricuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happic victorie, that euer befell that Common-wealth.

The fift Booke of the first part

These new Confuls, Varro and Paulus, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the warre: wherein though Varro made the greater noise, by telling what wonders hee would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a 30 fight of Hannibal, whom he promifed to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of Paulus, travailed more carneftly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainely boafted. He wrote vnto the two old Confuls Seruilius and Atilius; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheleffe, to ply the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leaving, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate affisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the flanders, with which Terentius and his Adhe- 49 rents had burdened them. What number of men they raifed it is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and sixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which Varro had so greatly defired, of looking vpon Hannibal

Hiere, the old King of Syracuse, as he had relieued the Carthaginians, when they were diffrested by their owne Mercinaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Stingers, with great quantitie of Whear, Barlie, and other prouisions: searing nothing more, than that one of the set would relieve the still search whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood yright, by hauing them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gaue them also counsalist for send to forces into Aspica; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good advice were louingly accepted; and instructions were given to Titue Ostacilius the Prætor, which was to goe into Sieil, that hee should accordingly passe over into Aspick, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more ferue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger, accompt by Poll, of such as were not eafily drawne into the field, and fitted for feruice. For besides these Armies of the Confuls, and that which went into Steel; twentie five thousand, with L. Pojibumius Albinus another of the Prætors, went against the Gaules, to reclaime that Prouince, which the passage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They fent Embassadors to Philip the Jonne of Demetrius, King of Macedon; requiring him to deliuer into their hands Demetrius Pharius: who having beene their 10 subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illgrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of paiment was alreadic past. What answere they received, it is not knowne: only this is knowne, that Demetrius Pharius was not fent vnto them; and that Philip henceforth beganne to have an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian monie; by the shifts that they were driven some after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little seener) would have beene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any cauill about forfeiture for non paiment of the whole.

mind, as poffibly they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many to skirmilhes they had with him; wherein their fucers[6, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemiss the honour of their other struices, but was indeede the occasson, to draw on the miscric following. Himmed, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neare him, lodged about Cinnussian, and, that they might not be driven to turneaside for all necessary, to the lost of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Cassle of Cannet for the towne was razed the yeare before. This place Hamibal wanne; and thereby not only sursished himsels, but compelled his semies to want many needfull thinges, vales they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, see enabled himsels to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the service of his horse longer than the Romans, shaving so many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when

Whileit the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near vnto Ham-

by Hamibal, would ferue him to command no fmall part of the Countrie adjacent; it then feemed needfull, cuen vinto the Fathers themfelues, to aduenture a battaile with the Carthagnian, rather than fuffer him thus to take roote in the ground of I-take. Neuertheleffe, answere was returned vinto Servalius, that hee should have patience yet awhile: for that the Confuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as neede required.

Seruilius had informed the Senate, letting them understand, how this Peece, taken

When all things were readie in the Citic, and the feafon of the yeare comodious to take the field; the two Confuls, with the tramic, fer forth again! \*Hamibal.\* This was alwaies done with great folemnite: efpecially, when foeuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and folemne Vower, were made vinto \*Iapiter\*, and the rest of their Gods, for good successe and victories: which being performed; the Generals, in wars keature, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with stirredly leauetaking, and good wishes. At this time, all the \*Fathers\*, and the whole Nobilitie, wai50 ted ypon \*\*Emilius Paulus\*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthie of this honor, or likely to doe his countrie remarkable service. Therefuls his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greatnes, than theother was in dignitic. At the parting \*\*Fabius\* the late Dictator, is said to haucex-horted the Consul \*Paulus\*, with many graue wordes, to shew his magnanimitie, not

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only

only indealing with the Carthaginians, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follic of his fellow-Conful. The answere of Paulus was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrie: but if he law his best were likely to beill taken, Hee would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies fword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

# Q. VIII.

Diffen sion betweene the two Roman Confuls. Whether it be likely, that HANNIZAL was upon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans preffed him to fight. The great battaile of Canna.

Helenew Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismissed M. Atilius one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakenes: Seruilius they retained with them, as their Affiltant. The first thing that Emilius thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with

good wordes; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but even their owne great numbers; which were no 20 leffe than all that Rome at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie Rood; how the state and safetie thereof, rested vpon their hands, vling some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectuall part of his Oration was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Armie, had not yet obtained one vistorie by plaine force and valour : but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia and Thrasymene. Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate rafineffe of Sempronius and Flaminius; of whom the one faw not his enemies, vntill hee was forrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkenesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, de- 30 claring what advantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie vvas of those helps, by vvhich he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their boft. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as Æmilius vvas knowne to bee, they should easily prevaile against the Carthaginians: that came farre short of them in all things else, faue craft; which would not alwaies thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire, that they should have heart to fight; nor that they should loofe the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, 40 having preconceived a victorie, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby fought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affe-Eted with the Vulgar desire, of ending the year quickly; wherein since Amilius had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them for bear to vieit? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Conful Terentius; vvho vvas no leffe popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citic. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than vyben the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the doubtfull Passions of Hope and Feare: therefore Terentius, vvho hastned their desire 50 to effect, was likely to winne more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in the performance.

Thus while the Romans thinke themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; Diffension

of their chiefe Commanders. Varro would fight: Emilius would fo too, but faid that it was not yet time; why? because the enemie must shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the Romans wait, till Hannibal, having eaten up his last yeares provisions, returne into Campaniato gather a second Haruest? This would (said Parre) sauour too much of Q. Fabius: And your haste (said Paulus) doth sauour no lesse of C. Flaminius. Their decdes were like their wordes: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably enery day. Amilius lodged fixe miles from Hannibal, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come; hee doubted not to fend them away 10 in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. Terentius therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and befeeching him to stay. Neuerthelesse he sate downe close by Hannibal: who as an unbidden guest gaue him but a rude well come and intertainement. The Carthaginian Horse, and light Armature, sell vpon the Roman Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whileft it was yet in march : but they were beaten off, not without loffe, for that the Romans had, among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, Amilius, who could not handfomly withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped upon the River Aufidus; sending a third part of his forces over the wa-20 ter, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselues. Hee neuer was more viwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemie; with whom hee meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselse; expecting when Hannibal should dislodge, and remove towards Geryon, Canna, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necesfaries: whereof an Armie forraging the countrie, was not likely to carrie about with

it sufficient quantitie, for any long time. Here it would not bee passed ouer with silence, That Line differeth much in his Relation from Polybius: telling many strange tales, of the miscrie into which Han-20 nibal had beene driven; and of base courses that he denised to take, if the Romans could haue retained their patience a little longer. He had (faith Liuie) but ten daies prouision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruly Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that He knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were readic to for sake him, and runne ouer to the Roman side. Yea Hannibal himselfe was once vpon the point, to have stolne away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsaile, Heerefolued to get him as farre as he could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts 40 of Apulia; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficuitie in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early haruest. But whilest he was about to put this device in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they cuen forced him vnto that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open champaine ground : wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in Liuie, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to fay, That, without their owne great folly, they had done paf-

faith; HANNIBAL de fuga in Galliam [dicitur] agitaffe; HANNIBAL [is faid] to have bethought himselfe of flying into Gaule : where he makes it no more than a matter 30 of heare-fay; as perhaps was all the reft of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe, itis very incredible. For if Hannibal, comming out of Gaule, through the Marishes and Bogs of Hetruria, could finde victuailes enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armic, the Sommer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great haruest; since

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ing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he

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he had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the Romans provisions ? Suteable hereunto is all the rest. If Hannibal had taken nothing but corne and cattaile; his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italie: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Countrie, that hee had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like; and loaden his followers with spoile: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemie; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not casie to doe the like. In this point therefore, wee are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who give it as a principall commendation vnto Hannibal, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from sedition, 10 though it were composed of fundrie Nations, no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so doe. hauing not only pronounced, That which of his men socuer fought brauely with an Enemie, was thereby a Carthaginian; but folemnely protested and sworne, (befides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should descrue and seeke it, free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a senslesse deuice. Hannibal, being there with his whole Armie, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should hee now doe there with his horse? or how could hee bee trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to line; having betraied all his Armie; and relinquished his 20 miscrable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore Plutarch omitteth; who in writing the life of Hannibal, takes in a manner all his directions from Liuie. But of this and the like it is enough to fay, That all Historians loue to extoll their owne Countrimen; and where a loffe cannot be diffembled, nor the honor of the victorie taken from the Enemie, and given vnto blinde Fortune, thereto lay all the blame on some strange misgouernement of their owne forces: as if they might easily have wonne all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemie can hope to finde in them another time.

The fift Booke of the first part

Now let vs returne back to the two Armics, where they lie incamped on the Riuer Aufidus. Varro was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good 20 his word vnto the people of Rome : and fince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the confent of Paulus, now at length to vie his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owneday came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But Paulus came to him; and fought, as in former times, to have diffwaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needleffe hazard. Against whose wordes and substantial arguments, Terentius could alleage none other, than point of honour. Hannibal had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his Numidians ouer the River but even the day before, who fell vpon the Romans that 40 were fetching water to the leffer Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to affaile: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of fuch courage, as promifed affured vi-Storie. When Amilius perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, oppolitevnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either Hannibal might bee compelled, to leave behinde him some answerable number, for desence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was leffe able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vponthe Carthaginian Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe fuch accidents) terrific and diffract the Enemies in the heat of fight. This done; the two Confuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the leffer Campe, whence

whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile; the ground on the East part of the River, feeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, paffed likewife ouer, fomewhat higher up the streame, which range from the South; leaving in his owne campe fo many, as he thought would ferue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did fo. And could you (faid he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyne battaile with the Romans upon fuch alcuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to preuaile? They all affented to to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (faid he further) ye are first of all to thanke the Gods, that have brought them hither; and then Vs, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessistie of playing for their lines, where they are fure to loofe them. As for these Romans, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first ; but now vee may even encourage your felues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee haue as often beaten as seene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as to drive them before you out of Gaule; and to winne the open Countrie, and fields of Italie; both of which yechaue obtained: now are yee to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the 20 riches within them; which this victoric shall make yours. Therefore play the sout Souldiers: and ere many houres paffe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the Ro-

When he had faid this; his brother Mago came to him, whom hee had fent to view the countenance of the Enemie. Hannibal asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to have with these Romans? Worke enough (answered Mago) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is Mago. With that hee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their 30 Generall would not be fo merrie, without great affurance. Whether it were fo, that Hannibal, in the pride of his victories alreadic gotten, valued one Mago aboue many thousand Romans ; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no lesse troubled with thinking upon Mago and his Companions, than was Mago with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the fad moode of his brother with a jeft, and thew himselse merrie vnto the Souldiers; this his answere was more manly, than was the relation of his discouerer. But if Hannibal himselfe had beene fent forth by Mago, to view the Romans; he could not have returned with amore gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine Gam, before the battaile of Agincourt, made vnto our King Henrie the fift : faying, that of the Frenchmen, to there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to runne away. Euch fuch wordes as thefe, or fuch pleafant jefts as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but ferue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke

needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boafts. In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile: Hee marshalled his Armie in such connenient order; that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doc 50 best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the Baleares, he sent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velites. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name Enfans perdues; but when we vied our owne termes, the forlorne hope. The groffe of his Armic following them he ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman manner, with the spoiles which they

vpon fuch paffions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other

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had gotten at Trebia, Thrasymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly ferued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these hee ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their owne Countrie manner; their shields alike; but the Gaules viing long broad fwordes, that were forcible in a downe-right froke; the Spaniards, fhort and well-pointed blades, either to firike or thrust; the Gaules, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fierceneffe; the Spaniards, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitic, made a gallant shew : and terrible, because strange. The Gaules were strong of body, and furious in giuing 10 charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt. which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The Spaniards were leffe cager, but more warie; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were ouer-preffed; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly vnto them both. For they faw themselves well and strongly flanked with Carthaginians and other Africans; whose name was growne terrible in Spaine, by their Conquests; and in Gaule, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall 20 vpon them, whilest the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrinke, or forbeare to imploy the vtmost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the Enemie could not preffe farre vpon them, without further engaging himfelfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the Carthaginian had in horse : by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retrait: The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. Hannibal therefore caused these Gaules and Spaniards to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should bee ouerhardly preffed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, Hee made them as it 30 were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the emptic foace from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as ferning only to guide it orderly back, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, fwelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthred and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have beene so great, that it shadowed the Africans, who flood behinde it : though fuch figures, cut in braffe, as I haue seene of this Battaile, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of Africans, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the Gaules and Spaniards, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that Hannibal in person stood betweene the 40 last rancks of his long batalions, and in the head of his reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer Aufidus, were the Gaules and Spanish horse, under the command of Asdrubal: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was Hanno (Liuie faith Maharbal) with the Numidian light horse. Hannibal himselfe, with his brother Mage, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of Hannibals Armie in the field this day, wasten thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and Hee, five to three against them in horse.

The Roman Armie was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somwhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found con- 50 uenient against the Carthaginians, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of relistance against Elephants to make the Rankes thick and short, but the Files long; as also to firengthen well the Rearc, that it might fland fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselves. Thus much

it seemes, that Terentius had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the Carthaginians had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very unprofitable, for a fmuch as their charge is better fultained in front, than upon a long flanke. As for Emilius; it was not his day of command: He was but an Affiftant; and in such cases it happens often, that wife men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horse-men, under the Consul Paulus: On the left wing, was C. Terentiue Varre the 10 other Conful, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other Associates: Cn. Seruilius the former yeares Conful, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly rifen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginians having their faces Northward; the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the Roman Velites and Hannibal his Darters and flingers of the Baleares: Afdrubal brake upon the Conful Paulos, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of service on horse back, vsed in those times, wheeling about Alman-like; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; fo that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake through. Where-10 fore they not only vied their Lances and Swordes; but rulhing violently among it the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were ouer-borne, and driven by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Conful Paulus could not remedie, For Aldrubal, with his boisterous Gaules and Spaniards, was not to bee resisted by these Roman Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the Roman Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell : so strongly, for the while, did the Gaules and Spanish foot make resistance. Wherefore 20 the two points of their battaile drew towards the midit; by whose aide, these Oppolites were forced to disband, and flie back to their first place. This they did in great hafte and feare; and were with no leffe hafte, and follie, purfued. Vpon the Africans, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and for a fmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the fafe retrait, where Hannibal with his Carthaginians was readie to reenforce them, when time should require. In this hastic retrait, or flight, of the Gaules and Spaniards; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe or vtter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concaue surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside out-40 ward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only rurning round, and recoiling very little. So the Romans, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng ofmen rowted, and feeming vnable to make relistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great bodie, that was in a manner dissoluted. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victoric, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselues deepely within the principall ftrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two African Battalions on either side advanced so farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they 10 inclosed them, in a manner, behinde : and forward they could not passe farre, without remoning Hannibal and Mago; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as coucred the Africans; who lay behinde it undifferened, untill now. For it is agreed, that Plus in vit. the Romans were thus empaled wnawares; and that they behaued themselues, as Hannib.

men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gaules. Neither is itcredible, that they would have beene so mad, as to runne head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of flaughter; had they feene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines : but fince the Conful Paulus, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. Afdrubal, having broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by the Consul Paulus, sollowed voon them along the River fide, beating downe, and killing, as many as he could, (which 10 were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driven vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, not withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuerthelesse hee cheared vp his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne from behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of Eoman Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he 20 was compelled, by wounds and weakeneffe, to forfake his horfe. Hereupon all his companie alighted, thinking that the Conful had given order fo to doe: as in many battailes, the Roman men at armes had left their horses, to helpe their foot in distresse. When Hannibal (for he was neare at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Conful had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly faid, I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot : meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was meruailously troubled by Hanno (or Maharbal) and the Numicians : who beating vp and downe about that great fandic Plaine, raifed a foule dust; which a strong South winde, 20 blowing there accustomarily, draue into the eies and mouthes of the Romans. These, vling their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, we aried the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor fuffayring any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happie day of it. For when the battailes were even readic to joyne; five hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselues. This was good luck to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. Varre had not leafure to examine them; but caufed them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bad 40 them rest quietly till all was done. These crastie adventurers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Vnder their lackets they had short swordes and ponyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were flaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmost of the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: fo that they did great mischiese, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus Hannibal, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. Astrubal, having in short space broken the Roman troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of A- 40 milius that rushed into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered formenarrow passage, betweene the River and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came up to the Numidians: with whom hee joyned, and gaue

vpon Terentius. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other fide : fo did it prognosticate a difmall florme vnto those, vpon whom it was readie now to fall. Wherefore Terentius his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to avoide the danger by present flight. The Consul was no lesse wife than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in strining to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not have endured with their assistance. Now hee to found, that it was one thing to talke of Hannibal at Rome; and another, to incounterhim. But of this; or of ought elfe, excepting hastic flight, his present leifure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his slying troupes, followed the light Numidians: appointed by Afdrubal vnto the pursuit, as fittelt for that service. Asdrubal himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backs of the Romans; that were ere this hardly diffressed, and in a manner furrounded on all parts elfe. He brake them eafily; who before made ill relistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull flaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whileft enery one fought to avoide 20 those enemies, whom hee saw nearest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about Amilius, got vp to herfe, and faued themfelues; which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeve it, than suppose that Livie so reporteth, to grace thereby his Historie with this following tale. CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS, galloping along by a place, where he faw the Conful fitting all blondied upon a flone, entreated him to rife and faue himfelfe; offering him his assistance and horfe. But PAVLVS refused it; willing LENTVLVS to shift for himselfe, and not to loof time: faying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe of that dayes losse. Further he willed LENTVLVS to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to FABIVS: wil-30 ling them to fortific Rome, as fast and well as they could, and telling FABIVS, that Hee lived and died mindfull of his wholesome counsail. These wordes (peraduenture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to Lentulus, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or when hee beheld the first defeat of his Horse, at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but Hannibal knew what he faid a good while before this; when he thought the Conful and his troupe, in little better case than if they had beene bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, was inclosed indeede as within a fack, whereof the African Battalions made the fides; the Spaniards, Gaules, and Hannibal with his Carthaginians, the bottome; and Afdrubal with his horse, closed up the mouth; in which part, they first 40 of all were (huffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. Amilius therefore, who could not fit his horfe, whileft the battaile yet lafted, and vyhilest the spaces yvere somewhat open, by which hee might have vyithdrawne himselfe; vvas now (had he neuer so vvell beene mounted) vnable to flie, having in his vvay fo close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile hee fought no leffe valiantly, than hee had yvarily before, both abitained himselfe, and diffwaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day vvas vtterly loft, it had laine in his power to faue his ownelife, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that he either too much difestee-50 med himselfe; or being too faintly minded, was vycarie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if fuch a refolution were praise worthie in Amilius, as proceeding out of Roman valour; then was the English vertue of the Lord John Talbot, Vicount Life, sonne to that famous Earle of Shrewesburie, who died in the Battaile of Chafillon, more highly to be honoured. For Amilius was old, grienously, if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the ouerthrow received: Talbot was in the floure of his youth, vnhurt, eafily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to for sake his father; who foreseeing the loffe of the battaile, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leave him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, faue two or three thousand. who (as Linie faith) escaped into the leffer campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troups, 10 partly dispersed, into Cannusium : the next day, the Roman Camps, both leffe and greater, were yeelded vnto Hannibal by those that remained in them. Polybius hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom Amilius had left on the West side of Austidus (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of Hannibal, did as they were appointed, but ere they could effect their defire, which they had well-neare done, the battaile was loft; and Hannibal, comming over the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly veelded. having loft two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of Hannibal, comming upon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, 20 retired into their campe, and held the Enemie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whole fault or fortune was like ) that having ferued at Canna, were afterwards extremely difgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the Roman horse what numbers escaped it is uncertaine; but very few they were that faued themselues in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and Terentius the Conful recourred Venusia, with threescore and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no meruaile: for Venusia lay many miles off to the Southward; fo that his nearest way thither, had beene through the midst of Hannibals Armie, if the paffage had beene open. Therefore it must needes be, that 30 when once he got out of fight, he turned vp fome by-way; fo disappointing the Numidians that hunted contre. Of fuch as could not hold pace with the Conful, but tooke other waies, and were feattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts. were gathered up by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all saue three hundred; who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into fundrie Townes. There died in this great Battaile of Canna, belides L. Amilias Paulus the Conful: two of the Roman Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourfcore Senators, or fuch as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke, as having beene Ædiles, Prators, or Confuls: among whom was Cn. 40 Secullus the last yeares Conful, and Minutius, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, Linie makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the Roman camps; which yet the fame Liuie faith, to have beene ouercowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to give credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and laying, That they were no leffe than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that the fe three thousand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the surie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either flaine or fled. So 50 the reckoning falls out right: which the Romans, especially the Consul Varro, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the fide of Hannibal there died fome foure thousand Gaules, fifteene hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts; a losse

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not sensible, in the joy of so great a victorie; which if he had pursued, as Maharbal aduised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently beene at an end. But hee believed not so farre in his owne prosperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to ve a victorie.

#### ð. I X.

Of things following the battaile at Canna.

Ot without good cause doth Polybius reprehend those two Historians, Pablus the Roman, and Philinus the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their tra-uailes, than the truth of things, and information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites and Fathers confeript. Noman of found judgement will condemne this libertie of censure, which Polybius hath vied. For, to recompence his junioritie, (fuch as it was) hee produceth fubto flantia arguments, to justifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of those former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering; which paines it is to bee suspected, that hee would not have taken, had hee beene borne in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and beene contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it descrued, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall have cause to wish, that either they were fomewhat leffe Roman, or elfe, that fome Workes of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth destitute of Polybius his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But fince this cannot be, we must be 20 sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to betrue, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentinecircumspection is needfull even at the present; such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulnesse, which we finde in the best Narration, of things following the Battaile of Canna. For it is faid, that foure thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Conful Terentius at Venusia; that others, to the number of tenthousand, got into Cinnustum, choosing for their Captaines yong P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet that the Conful Terentius Varro, joyning his companie vnto those of Scipio at Cannussium, wrote vnto the Senate, that hee had now well-neare ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Conful were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly 40 tilen, that had beene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from Ca-PHA (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with Hannibal) were sent vnto Terentius, and found him at Venusia, a pretie while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-tooke (in a manner) at Rome the first newes of the ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter enfuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth,

When Hannibal had facked the Roman campe, and truffed up the spoiles, forthwith he diflodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hapines, and many other people thereabout, to for fake the Roman partie, and make alliance with Carthege. The first Towns that opened the gates vnto him, was Coffa, where he laid up his baggage : and leaving his brother Mago to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

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of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grieuous losses, fullained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrie, especially the poorer fort of them, did hardly endure. but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto fuch of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at Canna, He had louingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being fo obslinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but feeking indeede, by all waies and meanes, to make them his, whilest all other motiues were to concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his Roman prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by injuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroicd. So be gaue them leave to choose ten of their number, that should bee sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome : and together with these, he sent Carthalo a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to seele the disposition of the Senate: whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the Romans these artes prevailed not, as shall bee shewell indue 29 place. The people of Italie, all or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not only wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceincable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the Sammites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulians, ancient enemies of Rome, and not vntill the former ceneration veterly subdued, beganne to re-affume their wonted spirits : but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Italie most bound unto the State of Rome, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as fireightly conjoyned, as were any faue the Latines, changed on a sudden their love into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of Italie, if not (as somether 20 thought) of all the Earth : and the Citie of Capua, answerable vnto the Countrie. whereof it was Head, fo great, faire, and wealthie, that it feemed no leffe convenient a feat of the Empire, than was either Rome or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto sourraigne command. The Campans were luxurious, idle. and proud : and valuing themselves, like layes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the Fomans their Patrons, and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the majestic of Rome, and could not endure to heare of Innovation. But the Plebeian faction had lately fo prevailed within Capua, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of Pacuvius Calanius an 10 ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held, by furthering all popular defires : whereof, the conjunction with Hannibal was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offered their Citie to the Carthaginian, shortly after the battaile of Thrasymene: wherupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal made his journie into Campania; the Dictator Fabius waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearnes of the Roman Armie, or some other feare of the Capuans, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leifure, to treat about any articles of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the Multitude ( whose inconstant love Hannibal had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vlage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without advice 50 of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promifed to yeeld vp their towne to Hannibal & to meet him on the way, with some of their nobilitie, that should affure him of all faithfull meaning; were driven to sit still, in a great perplexitie: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discoursed them-

Glues, to draw upon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenfed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People, holding so tender a regard of libertie, that even the lawfull Governement of Magistrates grieued them, with an imaginaric oppression; had now good cause to searc, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeede, and, by helpe of the Romans, bring them under a more fireight subjection, than ever they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, Pacavius made vse of to ferue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Councell, in about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a Roman; but, that the danger of for faking the Roman partie was not now the greatest : for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyne them-Selves with Hannibal; who should countenance the fact, and save them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and prinie vnto their delignes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promifed neuertheleffe to defluer them all, and to fetthings in quiet, if they would freely put themselues into his hands; offering his oath, or any other affurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iffue forth, without his leave; Hee called the People to affembly; and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would bee glad to heare, hee told them, that these wicked Gouernours were furprifed by his pollicie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lav vpon them. Only thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessitie required. That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger voon the old. So rehearling vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their judgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthie of death. Choose then (faid he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Mul-20 titude, vnprouided for fuch an election, was filent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men fo nominated, were veterly difliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, basenesse, and infufficiencie; or else euen because they were vnknowne, and therefore held vnworthic. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, having beene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) Pacavius entreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleffe) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured An Pagavius, and effected him their Patron; but the Senators also, were governed by him to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their lives. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to cast them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; only feare of the Romans, kept them from opening their gates to Hannibal. But after the Battaile at Canna, this impediment was removed; and few there were, that would open their mouthes to speake against the Rebellion. Yet for a fmuch as three hundred principal I Gentlemen of the Compans, did then serve the Romans in the Isle of Sieil: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed to farre, that Embassadors were fent vnto Terentias the Conful; to fee his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wherefocuer they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the feruice of their State; and defired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them, the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: faying, that all was loft; and that the Campans must now,

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nothelpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselues, but, make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had somtimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Inucctive against Hannibal and his Carthaginians: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of flaughtered carkafes, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with fuch other stuffe, as only bewraied his owne feare. As for the Campans themselues. He put them in minde of their present strength : they having thirtie thousand foot. and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he difmiffed them, prouder than they came: and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring 10 to seeke their ownelibertie. Having reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannibal, with whom they casily made Alliance, vpon these conditions: That the Campans should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should bee subject vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what case socuer, whether in Warre, or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliver vnto the Campans three hundred Roman prisoners, such as they themfelues would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were

Against all this Negotiation, Decius Magius an honorable Citizen opposed himfelfe carneftly : vling, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong 20 Multitude; whom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, withing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were fending Embassadors to Hannibal: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most carnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the Towne: at which time he gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and cut it in peeces, that, by such a notable peece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the Romans, whom they had forfaken.

Aducrtisement hercof was given to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: aileaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection vnto any 30 Carthaginian; and therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: forbearing to attempt any further vpon Naples; which he thought to have taken in his way by Scalade, but found the walls too high, and was not well prouided, to lay fiege vnto it. At Capua hee was entertained with great folemnitie and pompe: all the people iffuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the fight of that goodly Citie, and passed over his first Entertainements; Hecame into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke; promiling, that ere long all Italie, and Rome it felfe, should bee driven to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for Decius Magius, who 40 openly tooke part with the Romans their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a Traitor to the State; and vie him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and Magius, deliuered vnto Hannibal; who vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if hee kept him aliue, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hannibal fetled his friendship with the Campans: among whom, only this Deeius Magins had openly dared to speake against him; being affisted by Perellathe fonne of Pacuvius. This Perolla would have murdered Hannibal, whilest hee was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him so from making any fuch attempt. All the Towne (belides) were fo earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are faid to have murdered all the Romans, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bathe.

The same course of foreune, with those of Capua, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citic. Nola Nuceria, Naples, Casiline, and Acerra, were the Cities next adjoyning, that flood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeede, though stoutly defended.

The Romans at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it felfe was in extreme feare of Hanmbals comming, at the first report of the overthrow at Canne: and the griefe of that 10 loffe was fo generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loffe alreadic received, or the feare of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to funt the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the firects were full. Courriers were fent forth, to bring affured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Conful Varro had throughly informed them, they were fo amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was faid) from their fatall bookes, buried aliue two men and women Gaules and Greekes, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of Sibyl gaue them such instructions: we may justly thinke, that Sibyl herselfe was instructed by the Deniil. Yet is it not 20 improbable, that extremitie of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Soothfavers; who ie detestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as alhamed of fuch Authors) imputed to the bookes of Sibyl. An Embaffadour was fentto Delphi, to consult the Oracle of Apollo; and enquire, with what prayers and supplications they might pacific the Gods; and obtaine an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their scare; though not seruing to give remedie. At the fame time came letters out of Sicil, from the Prætor Octavilius : whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into Africk. In these were contained newes, of one Carthiginian fleet, that wasted the Kingdome of Hieron their good friend and contederate; and of another fleet, riding among the 30 Iles Agatei, which was in readineffe to fet vpon Lin beum, and the rell of the Roman Province, if the Prætor flirred alide, to the refeue of Hieron.

In the middeft of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home Terentius the Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to take four aigne charge of the Weater publique, with absolute power, as necessitie required. It must needes seeme strange that all forts of people went forth to meet the Conful, and bid him welsome home, gining him thankes for that he had not defpaired of the Weale publique. But this was done (as may feeme) by order from the Senate; which algreen (doubtleffe) prouided wifely, for vp-holding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie. had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people : what elfe would have 40 followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subject vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (shough indeeds he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thankes they noised abroad a fame. which came perhaps vnto the cares of Hannibal , of their Magnanimiticand Confidence: that might feeme grounded on their remayning frength in his therefore was wifely done: But whereas Linie would have ve thinke, that it was done generoully, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned; if I beleeue him not It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe : had they dared to thew their indignation, they would have ftruck off his head; as in few yeares after, Cn. Fuluins had his life brought Lin. 1.20. into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthie, for a smaller 50 offence. St. Junius, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Distator: and T. Sempronius, Malter of the horfe. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a thousand horse: though with much difficultie; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boies. These source Logions, are elsewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and

Liu.l 24.

Liu. l. 23.

two Legions only fet downe, that had beene enrolled in the beginning of the yeare for custodie of the Citie. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of Pratextati, or Striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie flanes, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, that who socuer ought monic and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith beedifcharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serve in the Warre. To armethese Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the 10 spoiles of their enemies that had beene there set vp: among which, were sixe thoufand Armours of the Gaules, that had been carried in the Triumph of C. Flaminius. a little before the beginning of this Warre. To fuch mockerie had God brought the pride of the Romans, as a due reward of their infolent oppressions, that they were faine to iffue forth of their ownegates, in the habit of strangers, when Hannibal was readie to encounter them with his Africans, armed Roman-lake.

About the same time it was, that Carthalo, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at Canna, came to Rome. Carthalo was not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the Roman Territorie. To the Messengers of the captines, audience was given by the Senate. They made car- 20 nest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their fuit; which yet they obtayned not: Belides the generall custome of the Romans (held by long Tradition, and strengthned by a notable Precedent, when Regulus was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to be too tender of fuch as had yeelded to the Enemie; much was alleaged against these who now craued ransome; but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, fince they might have faued themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Confuls: they were told, that this was great prefumption. The truth was, the 30 State wanted monie: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the difbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we finde recorded. Neither must wee regard it, that the flaues which were armed for the warre, are faid to have cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would have ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, denifed to countenance the Roman proceedings, as if they had beene feuere; when as indeede they were futeable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proofe. That Hannebal valued those Roman slaves, whom he had taken in the campe among their Masters, at no more, than enery one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome; and likely it is, that hee offered them at the 40 price, whereat he thought them current. But if wee should suppose, that by trading with Hamnbal, a better bargaine for flaues might have beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withall consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchifed) untill the warre should be ended. If Hannibal would have given such long day of paiment; it is likely that the Romans would have beene his chapmen: but feeing he dealt only for readie monie, they chofe rather to fay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like aufteritie, vpon the fame reason, but contrarie pretence, was yied toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great to Battaile. These were charged, for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done fo. True it is, that in fuch cases (if ever ) that which they call raggione del Stato may serue for an excuse : when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing injuriesto

private men. And so dealt the Romans now : condemning all those that had served at Canna, to be transported into Sicil; and there to serue, not as others did untill they had fulfilled twentie yeares in the warres, or elfe were fiftie yeares of age; but untill this warre should bee ended, how long soeuer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thriftie censure, was afterwards laid upon others, for their misbehaniour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitie, faue only (a good while after this, at better leifure) vpon Cucilius Metellus, and a few other hare-braind fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of fo great a loffe, were deuising, after the battaile, which way to runne out of Italie, when Hannibal as yet 10 had scarce one Towne within it. The inequalitie of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonaltie: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People; neuer- Limber

theleffe it was quietly digefted, the excuse being no leffe apparent than the fault. M. Iunius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull businesse within the Ci-

tie, tooke the field with fine and twentie thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about Campania; where (as may be prefumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that Hannibal did no greater cuill : for of any euill done to Hannibal, by the Romans in this their weake estate, only Marcellus had the honour. Marcellus, being then one of the Prætors, lay at Ostia with a fleet, readie to fet faile for Si-20 til, having one Legion aboord his thips, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme hee could in Africk. But hearing of the overthrow at Canna, hee fent thefe of his new

Leuie to Rome, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward Cannusium: deliuering the fleet, emptie of Souldiers, to P. Furius his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of Nola, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the rest of the Campans) to let in the Carthiginian; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by feeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the E-20 nemie. Many idle walkes Hannibal made, betwixt Nola and Naples : affaying by faire wordes, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. Naples was strong, and not intected with any the least touch of dissolatie: it had also a fure Hauen; whereby it

flood in the leffe feare, of fullayning much inconvenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrie. But at Wolait was thought a valuable confideration, That Hannibal was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vererly vindone. So thought the Multitude: and fuch talke vied fome, that had little feare of their owne private want or povertic, but a great defire to gratific the Carthaginian. Of these, one L. Bantius was chiefe; a stout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done 40 good service to the Romans: but was found by Hannibal, halfe dead at Canna, and after much gentle viage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to re-

turne the greatest thankes he could vnto so courteous an Enemie. Marcellus percei. uing this, wrought vpon the same case nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the Roman state, had not repaired vinto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than fuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainement, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this Bantius fo farre in love with him, that nothing could be attempted 50 within Wola, against the Romans, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At

the comming of Marcellus, Hannibal removed from about Nola; and affaied, as formerly he had done, the Neapolitans : but they had lately taken in a Roman Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptoric answere, to his discontent. Thence went he to Nuceria: which he tooke by composition; and so returned back

againe to Nola. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of Nolabore vnto him: who although they durft not firre in his quarrell, being ouerawed by the Roman Garrison; yet if they saw Marcellus hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies affailing him without, like enough it feemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accomplishment of their owne defires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the Towns, and skirmished often with Marcellus: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee fought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if 10 once M. reellus, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rife; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemie. Of this Negotiation Marcellus was aduertifed : and fearing, left the Conspirators would shortly aduenture, even to finde him busied within the Citie, whileft the Carthiginians should scale the walls; he thought it the furest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and fend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three feuerall gates looking towards the Enemie: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder ; against whom he had cuftomarily iffued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was 20 further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that furely all was discourred, and Marcellus now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon hee bad his men bring ladders, and make readie for the affault; which was done in all hafte. But when the Carthaginians were at the very walls, and thought nothing leffe, than that the Romans would meet them in the field: fuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat Marcellus, with the best and oldelt of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected fallie the more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, much out of order, were fome of them flying before Marcelius, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like fort issued they of the new-leuied Companies, 30 vpon the enemies backs. The fudden terrour was more auaileable vnto the Romans, than their force: yet the Execution was fo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the brauest Acts performed in all that warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first proued, that Hannibal might be ouer-come. After this, Marcellus, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of Nola: condemning about three core and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about Sueffula. Hannibal in the meane feafon was gone to Acerra: where being excluded, he thought it no wildome to loofe time in perswalions, but laid sigge vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This ter- 40 rified the People, who knew them selpes vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite furrounded; they sole out by night, and left him the Towns emptie; which he facked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Distator, that he was about Cafiline, thither went Hannihal: as being vnwilling that an Enemie to neare should disquiet him at Capua; where hee meant to Winter. It feemes, or rather indeede it is plaine, that the late victorie of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit of the Carthaginian: who durft with a small part of his Armie seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon fo flight an occasion as the death of some two thoufand of his men, at the mothered those not flaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden so eruption; witneffeth chiefly, in what great feare they flood of Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were : that having three yeares since demanded at Carthage, the bodie of Hannibal, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farre

from Rome he appeared to be a man, and not reliftlesse. At Casilinum the Dictator was not: but many Companies of Italians, Confederates of Rome, were gotten into the Towns, and held it. Fine hundred of the Pranestines there were, and aboue foure hundred of Perusia, with some of the Latines. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaile of Canna, being fent by their feuerall States to the campe: whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and fent them back for rowfull; for they loued well their Lords the Romans, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to Casiline, where they me; and staied. Neither had they staied there long, 10 cre they heard newes from Capua, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the Campans into rebellion. The people of Casiline were affected as they of Capua: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those Pranestines and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townesmen in a night, and fortified the Weflerne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River Vulturnus) against the Enemie. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that thefe of Caliline were, as the rest of the Campans, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the Mamertines. But their constancie in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. Hannibal came thither, an thinking to have encountred with greater forces; but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers affaults hee gave, but was still repelled with losse: and many fallies they made, with variable eyent. The Enemie mined; and they countermined: oppoling so much industrie to his force, that he was driven to close them vp. and fecke to winne them by famine. T. Sempronius Gracebus, that was Mafter of the horse, lay with the Roman Armie higher vp the River: who faine would have relieved Casiline, but that the Dictator, being gone to Rome about some matters of Religion, had given him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. Marcellus from Sueffula could not come : his way being stopped by the ouer-flowings of Vulturnus; the Nolans also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of 20 the Campans, if he departed. Thus it is reported; but if the water staied his journie, fuch entreaties were needleffe. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at Rome folong, as till extreme famine had confumed the Garrison in Casiline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loft, because the Romans durst not aduenture to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floting downe the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willowes on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was discoursed and prevented; Gracehus cast a great quantitic of Nuts into the streame, which faintly fultained the poore belieged men. At length, when all foode was spent, and whatfocuer grew greene under the walls was gathered for fallets; the Carthaginians 40 ploughed up the ground: whereon the belieged presently sowed Rape-seede. Hannibal feeing this, admired their patience; and faid, That he meant not to stay at Cafiline, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refused to hearken vnto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ranfome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred Carthaginians hee placed in Casiline, as a Garrison for defence of the Campans; vnto whom he restored it. To the Pranefine Souldiers great thankes were given, and louing rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of Rome. But their present so condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in Pranefle: which is no weake proofe, of the good chate wherin the Cities flourished, that vvere subject to the Roman Gouernement. This siege of Casiline was not a little beneficiall to the Romans; as having long detained Hannibal, and confumed much of his time, that might otherwise have beene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke

CHAP.3. S.9.

CHAP.3. S.10.

him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he refreshed his Armic, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the Romans in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be fent to HANNIBAL in Italie. 10 How by the malice of HANNO, and floath or parsimonie of the Carthaginians. the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of FABIVS and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.



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Hen Migo, the sonne of Amilear, had spent some time about the taking in of fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after the battaile at Canna; his brother Hannibal sent for him to Capua, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyfull message of Victorie. 20 He told the Carthaginian Senate, with how many Roman Generalls

his brother had fought; what Confuls he had chaced, wounded, or flaine; how the stout Romans, that in the former warre neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator Fabius the only good Captaine, because he neuer durst aduenture to come to battaile; that, not without reafon their spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had slaine of them about two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the Brutians, Apulians, Sammites, Lucans, and other people of Italie, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the Carthaginians. Among the rest he magnified Capua, as a goodly Citic, and fitto be not only (as alreadic it was) 30 Head of all the Capuans, but the chiefe feat of their Dominion in Italie: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had beene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He said it was even at an end, if they would now purfue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrie; that so many Battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the Souldiers, who had so well descrued, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from Carthage: 40 which the victorie would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were flaine, to bee poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels,

fo great, as the thage never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of Mago found extraordinarie welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, Himiles, a Senator 50 adverse to the faction of Hanno, is said to have demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with Rome, Whether he were fill of opinion, that Hannibal should bee King , was the yeelded up unto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the Gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

or (as others would rather haueit) no more than one; adding, that by this might appoore, the brapeare the greatnesse of the Roman calamitie, for a smuch as none but the \* principall uate men was of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament. notaltogether Who fo confiders the former Punick Warre, may easily finde, that the State of Car-

Hanno made the same formall answere, which Linie puts into his mouth, calling the Carthaginian Schators Patres conscripti, by a terme proper to the Romans, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull ouerthrow received at the llands Agateis: yet the summe of his speech appeares to have beene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as Hannibal himselfe, at his departure out of Italie, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this Hanno; saying, that his hatred against the Barchines, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; faying, It ill befeemed him, who had vanquished the Romans, to call for more helpe, as if he had beene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled for footh with spoile, to make request for meat and monie. To these cauills, if anfwere were needfull, it might be faid, That other bootie than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the Roman campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few a filuer fluds in the bridles and trappings of a Lin, 1,22, their horses. If Hannibal had taken any maine convoy of monie and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Province, (as the two Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, when they wanne the campe of Afdrubal, that carried along with him all the wealth of Spaine, in his journie towards Italie) then might fuch an objection more justly have beene made vnto his demand of a supply. 20 But the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to prenaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to feeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in warre.

What would have beene the issue of this counsaile, if it had beene followed, it were not easie to say. For though it bee likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignitie, in freeing Italie from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would haue beene kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of so many thamefull ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submiffine behaviour could preserve Carthage from ruine, longer 20 than vntill fuch time, as Rome was at leifure from all other warres. This counfaile therefore of Hanno, though it might seeme temperate, was indeede very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that fortie thousand Numidians, fortic Elephants, and great abundance of filter, should bee sent over to Hannibal: and that, besides these, twentie thousand foot, and soure thousand horse, should be build in Spaine; not only to supply, as neede should require, the Armies in that Province, but to be transported into Italie.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully fent, as it was readily decreed, the Roman Historians would not have found cause, to taxe the rechlesse improvidence of 40 Hannibal, in forbearing to march directly from Canna to Rome, or in refreshing his Armicamong the delights of Capha: the next yeares worke would have finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the Campans, would have beene commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to beeimploied in the following warre. But either the too much carelefnesse of those, that were loth to make hafte in laying out their monie, before extreme necessitie requiredit; or the craftie malice of Hanne, and his fellowes, working vpon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie, than sense of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the 50 order that had beene so well set downe. The b Elephants were sent : and some b Lundie. monie peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into Italie, till much was loft of that which alreadie had beene gotten, and a great part of the old Carthaginian Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundrie accidents of warre. Only

fome small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into Spaine; and the journie of Aldrubal thence through France into Italie much talked of, but he not enabled therevnto, till many yeares were past, and the Romans had recovered their firength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the Carthaginians drew into their Citie, both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthie Tradeof merchandize. For it is not long, fince the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannic of the Romans, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impouerished Carthage: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of fo much monie, as was to bee difburfed for re- 10 deeming of peace, after the loffe at . £ gateis. Yet we fee, what great Armies of Numidians, and Spaniards, belides those alreadic on foot, are appointed to the service in Italie, and how little the Carthaginians feare the want of monie in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the Romans, on the other fide, having three or foure yeares together beene forced to some extraordinarie cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their desence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthie merchants of Carthage, trading in all parts of the Mediterran Sea, even from Tyrus their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the Romans : who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes 20 from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of Rome found leifure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of Carthage, the impudence of Roman fallhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discouered plainely whence the jealousie was bred, that this mightie Citie would againe rebell. For the Carthaginians, having giuen vp hoftages, euen before the Roman Armie did fet forth, to performe what soeuer should beeenjoyned them, with condition that their Citic might not beedestroied; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the Romans told them plainly, That the Citie of Carthage, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but 20 the Towne must needes be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the Romans) this Trade of merchandize, by which yee now line, is not fo fit for peaceable men, fuch as yee promise to become hereaster, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholsome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the Romans, though fugred with glofing wordes, plainly shewes, what good observation the elder Cato had made of the hastie growth of Carthage in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter what soeuer it were, added still this conclusion, Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroied; He may seeme, 40 not only to have had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citic, but much more vnto these times, and the great height whervnto it rose, even suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilest the Romans thought, that it had not beene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the Carthaginians, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the Romans; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: having every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had beenerequilite in the execution. It was easie for Hanne to perswade couctous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in Spaine. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Armie into Italie; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisedome, to commit

all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Encmics; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Gouernement of an ambitious man. and his brethren; who having once (if they could fo doe) finished the warre, might eafily make \* Hannibal a King, and fubdue Carthage, with the forces that sheehad given them to the conquest of Rome.

By fuch malicious working of Hanno, and by their owne flacknesse, incredulitie, dulneffe, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were perfuaded rather to make small difbursements in Spaine, than to set vp all their rest at once in Italie, Yet was it indeede impossible, to hold a Countrie of so large extent, and so open a coast, as that of that so hee 10 Spaine, free from all incursion of the Enemie : especially the affection of the Naturalls being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been with Legions, to make a running warre, by which the Romans might have beene found occupied, as knowing no euen with the ordinarie Carthaginian Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the profecution of their maine intendment a King. Liu. against Rome it selfe, vntill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the 10,21. fides of fo great a Province, then must Emporia have been belieged and forced: which by reason of alliance with the Massilians, gaue vnto the Romans, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towne of Emporie was too firong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the Barbarians; haan uing not aboue foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great Spanish Towns of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the Grecians, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Towne of Emporie, that was, befides the proper strength, like to be so well affisted by the Massilians, Romans, and some Spaniards; would have been a worke of little leffe difficultie, than was the Roman warre (in appearance) after the battaile at Canne: yea it had beene in effect none other than to alter the feat of the warre; which Hannibal had alreadie fixed, with

better judgement, neare vnto the gates of Rome. The difficultie of this attempt

being fuch, as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much

more casily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by ma-

king strong warre vpon their Citie. For euen so the Romans afterwards removed

Hannibal into Africk, by fending an Armie to Carthage; and by taking the like courfe,

they now endeuoured to change the feat of the warre, transferring it out of Italie

20 troubled about expelling the Romans veterly out of Spaine : whom they might

into Spaine. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwife, than as it is accessarie to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke atopportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they fet not to their helping hands. Hanno was a malicious wretch : yet they that thought him fo, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as long 40 as they were plaufible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they fuffered Hannibal, and all the noble house of Amilear, to wearie themselves in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all Carthage in generall highly commended, but weakely affifted; as if the industric of these Barchines had beene somwhat more than needfull. Surely the Carthaginians, in generall, were farre leffe honorable than the People of Rome: not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parlimonic vsed toward their owne Mercinaries, when the former Roman warre was finished: fo the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complaine, with 50 feeling lighes, of their negligence in supplying Hanniba!, after the victorie at Canme; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunitie, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into

That both the Spanish businesse, and the state of Africk it selfe, depended whol-

directly accufed Hannibal. ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in Italie, the course of actions fol-

lowing will make manifeit. Particularly how matters were ordered in Spaine by

Pol.lib. 1.

the Carthaginian Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthic Historian Liuie, the tender love of his owne Countrie, which made him give credit vnto Fabius and others: yet mult we not, for his fake, believe those lies, which the unpartiall judgement of Polybius hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needleffe to rehearfeall that may be found in Polybius, concerning the vntruth of that Roman Historian Fabius. One example may suffice. Hee faith of Amilear and his men at Erix, in the former warre, That having cleane spent their strength, and being euen to broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the Romans. Contrarie hercunto we finde in the Life of AMILCAR, fet downe by Æmilius Probus, That Eryx was in such fort held by the Carthaginians, that it seemed to bee in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any warre. These wordes, being referred to the braue resolution of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infuling fuch spirit into them; may be taken as not over-liberall. For in the Treatie of peace betweene Amilear and Catulus, when the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Eryx should lay downe their Armes, and forfake Sieil, threatning, that otherwise he would not talke of any composition: Amilear boldly bad him choose, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the 20 Armes, which his Countrie had put into his handes to vie against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the Romans, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let similear have his will, and not to fland with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their handes of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man confumed with miseries, as Fabius would have him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of Polybius: who flatly, and by name, chargeth Fabius with vntruth; faying, that howfocuer Amilear, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference 20 betweene Fabius (as also perhaps betweene other old Writers of the Roman storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightic Citie of Rome: we must take it in good part, that how socuer Lime introduceth Hanne, in one place, joyning very foolifhly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands \* Agateis, with the great feruices of Amilear at Eryx, as if both of them had had a like event; yet a ellewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappie conduct) into the fame Hanno his mouth, making him fay, That the affaires of Carthage went neuer better, than a little before the loffe of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Ge-

nerall. Now concerning the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine, there is cause to with, 40

that this Fabius, with Val. Antias, and others of the like stampe, had either written

(if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tenderaffe-

Aion of Liuie to his Rome, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations:

\* Azateis Infulas, Erycemą, ante oculos proponite,&c. Liu. lib.21. a Liu.lib.23.

which are fuch as follow.

CHAP.3. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

δ. X I.

Strangereports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before A S D R V B A L the sonne of AMILCAR sollowed thence his brother HANNIBAL into Italie.



Thath been ethewed alreadie, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Conful, returning from Gaule into Italie, to encounter with Hamibal at his defect from the Alpes, fent before him his brother Cneus, with part of his Fleet and Armic, into Spaine. Two Roman Legions, with foureteen thou and force the Conful

teene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had beene alotted vito this Gonful, therewith to make warre in Spaine against Hansonidal: who tince he was marching into Halle with the strength of has Armice, P. Scipio beleeued, that a good part of these his owne forces might well bee spared from the Spanish Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publus himselferemayned in Halle all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into Spaine by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a slees of thirtie Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Pronince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat meruailous. For they continually preuailed in Sprine, against the Carthaginians: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from 20 their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that wee have cause to wonder, how the Enemic could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliuer the Countrie from the tyrannie of Carthage, might casily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durftaduenture to breake it : fo the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours, might sexue to arme the Naturalls against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the Romans; were it only by the memorie of fuch ill fuccesse, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian treasure: which easily raifed fouldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstic Na-20 tions. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinfmen, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Italian warres; or ferning the Carthaginians in Africk. And peraduenture, if we durft be bold to fay it; the victories of the Scipio's were neither fo many, nor fo great, as they are fet out by Linie. This we may be bold to fay, That the great Captaine Fabius, or Livie in his person, maketh an objection vnto Scipie, which neither Scipie, nor Linie for him, doth answer, That if A SDRVBAL were vanquished, as Scirio would say, by him in Spaine : strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should inuade Italie. And it is indeede an incredible narration, That Aldrubal being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to cleape 40 out of a battaile, faue only by the steepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great River that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups, over Tagus, directly toward the Pyrenees, and fo toward Italie; vpon which hee fell with more than threefcore thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a peece of ground very defencible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemie:

Or how it could be true, that the his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so are they said to have done in the lath battaile between him and Actrio from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorrie, that

50 all Carthagiman records of this warre, and Spanifs, (if there were any) being wtierly loft, we can know no more thereof, than what it bath pleafed the Romans to rell vs: wito whom it were no widome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will fummarily runne ouer the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine; not greatly infifting on parti-

è. X I. 5°

ticulars, whereof there is no great certaintic.

Cn.

1.in .l.21.

Polyb,l.;.

(n. Cornelius landed at Emporie, an Hauen-towne not farre within the Pyrenees, retaining (till the fame name with little inflexion: That by the fame of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become subject vnto Rome, as the storie beginnes of him, I could eafily beleeue, if I understood by what occasion they had neede to vse his elemencie, or he to give fuch famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Countrie. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well infinuate himselfe into the loue of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexteritie in practife had the better successe, for that hee feemed to have none other errand, than fetting them at libertie. This pretext availed with some : others were to bee hired with monie : and some hee compelled to 10 yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against Hanno. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that heeremembred to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiours; Maieflatem Pop. Rom. comiter conferuent, which is, as Tullie interprets it, That they Orat. po Corn. (bould gently (or kindly) up-hold the Maiestie of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeede an obscure couenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became ditionis Romana; of the Roman sursidiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrie wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by 20 Hannibal in his passage toward Italie; and therefore the more casily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Bargutians, Hannibal had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Gouernour over them, as over the rest of the Province betweene Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalitie of their Countrie vnto Hanno and his Heires,) He made him nov only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be gouerned 20 by Hanno, at his diferetion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the comming of Scipio: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the Spaniards and French; as more sensible still of the prefent cuill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ranne by feeking to avoide it. This bad affection of his Province, would not fuffer Hanno to temporize. Tenthousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left vnto him : belides which it is like, that some forces hee was able to raise out of his 40 Province. Therefore hee adventured a battaile with Scipio; wherein hee was overthrowne and taken. Following this victoric, Scipio besieged Stiffum, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But Afdrubal having passed Iberus, and comming too late to the reliefe of Hanno, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse fell vpon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not farre about Tarracon, whom he found carelelle, as after a victoric, rouing abroad in the Countrie; and with great flaughter draue them abourd their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrie, where he with-drew the 11lergetes from the Roman partie, though they had given hoftages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his fleet: where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward Afdrubal; who durft not abide his comming, but with-drew himselfe againe ouer Iberus. So the Illergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The Ausetani likewise, Confederates of the

Carthaginians, were besieged in their chiefe Towne : which they defended thirtie

daies; hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the Romans to dislodge. But they were faine at length to veeld: and for this their obstinacie, they were amerced twentie talents of filtuer. During the fiege, the Lacetani came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving twelve thousand of their companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lacetani, that are faid to bee the first which embraced the friendship of Scipjo, should, without any cause remembred, become Carthaginian on the fudden, in the next newes that wee heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntari-10 ly ditionis Romana ; subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the storie, after a Linday

of the Historie of the World.

Снар.3. ....

few lines, hold warre against Scipio, without any affistance of the Caribaginians. Neither can I beleeve, that Afarubal, as it were by a charme, flirred up the Illergeles, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take armes in his quarreil; whilest himselfe had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would haue told it thus: That Scipio adventuring too farre into the Countrie, was beaten by Afdrubal back to his ships, whence heedurst not sirre, vntill Winter came on : at what time this Carthaginian returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio wanne, by returning upon 20 them, vnlooked for, through a deepe fnow. As for the Lacetani, Illergetes, and the reft, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefit; helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthagmians; and contrariwise, voon fense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grieuous tyrannie, under which

they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent toliue vnder their owne Countrie Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours fent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie : even from henceforth vnto the dayes of August us Cafar; till when they were neuer throughly conquered.

The yeare following this, Cn. Scipio had a victoric against the Carthaginians, in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke; and thereby grew Mafter of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victorie, about one hundred and twentie Nations, or pettic Estates, in Spaine, are said to have submitted themselues vnto the Romans, and given Hollages: whereby Adribal was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the Land, and hide himselfe in Lustrania. Yet it followes; that the Illergetes did againe rebell; that Afairt al hereupon came ouer Iberus; and that Scipio (though having cafily vanquished the Illergetes) went 40 not forth to meet him, but firred vp against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects and had given him Hostages. These tooke from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes; wherein they slue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio. with the supply before mentioned : and henceforward the two brethren joyntly administred the businesse in Spaine.

The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian Warre; the two Scipio's did, hand cunctanter; without feare or doubt, passe ouer Iberus, and beliege Saguntum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had alreadie subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same Celtiberians, that with their proper forces were able 50 to vanquish Astratal. Bostar, the Gouernour of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, that the only way to get the fauour and heartie good will of the Countrie, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; asresting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crastic Spaniard, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them

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all to the Roman Generalls : perswading them, as hee had done Bostar, to make the Liberalitie their owne. Hereby the Romans purchased much loue: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward and ere this we finde, that all the Spanish Hostages were left in new Carthage. I am wearie of rehearling so many particularities, whereof I can beleeue so few. But since wee finde no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The yeare following was like vnto this: Afdrubal must be beaten againe. The two Scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes warre by Land; P. by Sea. Afdrubal, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of Africk: Hee repaires his fleet; and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt vnto the Romans: because they had beene chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betraied the Nauie. The repolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the Carpestans, or Carpetani, an In-land people about Toledo in the very Center of Spaine. These doe much mischiefe, so that Asarabal is faine to make a journie to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly affaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high pecce of ground; whence hee dares not come forth to give them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein hee had laid vp all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countrie round 20 about. This good fuccesse breedes negligence; for which they dearly pay. Asimubal comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beates them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from Carthage, that Afarubal should leade his Armie forthwith into Italie: which we may wonder, why the Carthaginians would appoint him to doe, if they had beene informed by his letters in what hard cafe he was, and had fo weakely supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus wee finde it reported: and that you the very rumour of this his journie, almost all Spaine was readic to fall to the Romans. Afdrubal therefore fends word presently to Carthage, That this must not be fo : or, if they will needes haue it fo, that then they must fend him a Success- 30 four, and well attended with a strong Armie, which to employ they should finde worke more than enough; fuch notable men were the Roman Generalls. But the Senate of Carthage is not much moved with this excule: Afdrubal must needes bee gone; and Himileo, with fuch forces as are thought expedient for that feruice, both by Land and Sea, is fent to take the charge of spaine. Wherefore Aldrubal hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of monie, that hee might have wherewithall to winne the friendship of the Gaules; through whose Countries hee must passe, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly too blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he laies great Impositions upon all the Spaniards his subjects: and having gotten toge- 49 ther as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward therus. The Societs hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege there (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with Aldruba! : who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. 'I he Romans meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more casily, for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather bee vanguished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into Italie. Great numbers are flaine; and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ranne away, ere the bartailes were throughly joyned. Their campe the Romans take and spoile: whereby (questionlesse) they are meruallously enriched; all the monie that could be raked together in 50 Spaine, being carried along in this Italian Expedition. This dayes event joynes all Spaine to the Romans, if any part of the Countrie flood in doubt before; and puts Aldrubel to farre from all thought of transiling into Palit, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in Spaine. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to

Rome : and Letters to the Senate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Armic and Fleet; That all is wanting; so as vnlesse they may bee supplied from Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Prouince. These Letters come to Rome in an euill season; the State being scarcely able, after the loffe at Canna, to helpe it felfe at home. Yet reliefe is fent : how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of Rome bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is leffe questionable. At the comming of this supply, the two Scipie's pursue Afdrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elfe can we thinke; that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and Mago, and Amilear the sonne of Bomilear, with an Armie of threefcore thousand men, belieging Hiturgi: (which the learned Ortelius, and others, probably conjecture to have flood, where Carnnena is now, in the Kingdome of Aragon; for there was Illiturgis, afterward called Forum Inla, quite another way) a Towne of the Iller getes their nearest Neighbours, for hauing revolted vnto the Romans. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, with want of victuailes. The Romans therefore breake through betweene the Enemies camps, with terrible flaughter of all that relift them; and having victualled the 20 place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the befregers, in their behalfe. So they iffue forth, about fixteen thousand against threescore thousand : and killing more of the Line, 1:23. enemies, than themselves were in number, drive all the three Carthiginian Commanders, every one, out of his quarter; and take that day, befides prifoners and other bootie, fiftic and eight Enfignes. The Carthaginian Armie, being thus beaten from Illiturgi, fall vpon Incibili, that flood a little Southward from the mouth of I-

wealthie carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by Ibera. Howforuer it happens, the Carthazineans (according to their custome) are beaten againe at Inabili: where there are of them about thirteene thousand flaine, and about three tin, loss. thousand taken; besides two and fortie Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of Spaine fell from them vnto the Romans. Thus could Fabius, Valerius Antias, or some other Historian, to whom Linie gaue credit, conquer all Spaine twice in one yeare, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps were not aware.

berns. The Spaniards are blamed, as too greedic of carning monie by warre for thus

te-enforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondred, whence the Cartha-

ginians had monie to pay them: fince Afdrubal was lately driven to poll the Coun-

20 trie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this journie, had loft his

The Romans, notwithstanding this large accesse of Dominion, winter on their 40 owne fide of Iberus. In the beginning of the next yeare, great Armies of the Spaminds rife against Afarubal; and are overthrowne by him. P. Scipio, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At Castrum altum, a place in the mid-way betweene new Carthage and Saguntum, famous by the death of the great Amilear, P. Scipio incampeth: and stores the place with vistuailes, being strong and defencible; as intending to make it his feat for a while. But the Countrie round about is too full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have charged the Romans in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some straglers, or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thouland of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto fome place more affured. So Pub. so withdrawes him felfe vnto Mons Victoria: that riling fomewhat Eastward from Inci-

bili, ouer-lookes the Southerne Out-let of Iberus. Thither the Curthaginians purfue him: His brother Cn. repaires vnto him; and Aldrubal the sonne of Gelco, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neare incamped together, P. Scipio, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places therabouts,

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is discouered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himfelfe to an high peece of ground; where they beliege him, vntill his brother Cn. fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) Caffulo, a great citie of Spaine, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyneth with the Romans; though being farredistant from them, and seated on the head of the River Batis. Neverthelesse the Carthaginians passe ouer Iberus, to besiege Illiturgi againe, wherein lodgeth a Reman garrison; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may justly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of Castule, yea and the Koman Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke aduentures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene so grieuously beaten the yeare before. But thither they goe : and thither fol- 10 lowes them Cn. Scipio with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboue twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirtie Ensignes. This victorie (doubtleffe) is remarkeable : confidering that the greatest Roman Legion at thistime, confifted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians beliege Bigarra: but that fiege is also raised by Cn. Scipie. Thence the Cartha. ginians remove to Munda; where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lafteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victorie, and a more notable would haue gotten, had not Cn. Scipio beene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelve thousand men; three thou- 20 fand prisoners taken, and seuen and fittie Ensignes. The Carthaginians flie to Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. Cn. Scipio in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe : but kills not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these ouerthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troupes of Afarubal: who having also hired some of the Garles, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe, and loofeth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are even ashamed, to leave Saguntum enthralled vnto the Carthaginians; fince, in behalfe of 30 that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recoursed it long before, fince wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now befieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appears) to goetheir way without it: fo as they neede not to blufh, for having fo long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne Sagantum: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto Hannibal matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; 40 and wherein we may be affured, that the Carthaginians would have diffurbed them, if they had beene able.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans haue gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceine none, than this recourse of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of Afarubals journie; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they have landed at Emporie, an Hauen-towne, built and peopled by a Colonic of the Phoceans, kinne to the Oisfilians, friends to the Romans; They have eafily wonne to their partie, loft, recoucred, and loft againe, fome pettie bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perswafton, other 10 whiles by force, and fometimes by their owne vnfetled passions; and now finally they have wonne a Towne, whereof the Carthaginians held entire possession, who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may cafily beleeue, that when they tooke Saguntum (if they tooke it not by furprise; which is to be suspected, since

in this Action wee finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like fort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembred, after euery one of which Afdrubal fate downe before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed readie to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquilhed, to carrie the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cries of their Enemies; but to fortific themselves within their owne places of frength, and therein to attend the leuie and arrivall of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne Saguntum, they would not have confumed a whole yeare following, in practifing only with the Celtiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeares businesse. Of these Celtiberians we heare before, That they have yeelded yo themselves vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, given Hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the Roman Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; vnlesse perhaps in those dayes it were the Roman custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom Liui followes, to call enery Messenger, or stragler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of 10 that people from whom he came.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, fend an Armie of thirtie thousand to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chofen, and carried into Italie, there to deale with their Countrimen that follow Hannibal in his warres: But if any of these three hundred returne back into Spaine, it is to be feared, that he brings with him fuch newes of the riches and welfare of Hannibals men, that all his fellowes at home are the leffe vnwilling to follow Afdrubal, when he shall next have a desire to leade them into Italie. Hereof wee finde more than probabilitie, when these Mercinarie Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian Armie in the field. The two Scipio's, presuming on this accesse of strength, divide their forces, 20 and seeke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. Astrubal, the fonne of Amilear, is nearest at hand; even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order : but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroied; Mage, and Afarubal the sonne of Gife, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is fine daies march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Countrie, saue themselves from being ouer-taken. Public therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Armie; leauing the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer journie to make. comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. Mago, and Adrubal the sonne of

40 Gifes, are not studying how to runne away : they finde no such necessitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with P. Scipio; and lay at him fo hardly, that hee is driven to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches : wherein he thinkes himselfe not well affured. Especially he is vexed by Masanista, Prince of the Massassia, Numsdians bordering upon Mauritania, in the Region called now Tremizen: to whom the chiefe honour of this feruice is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case P. Scipio gets intelligence, that Indibilis, a Spanish Prince, is comming with seven thousand and five hundred of the Suessetani, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ftreight shut up, and besteged, Heisliues forth by night, to meet with Indibilis vpon the way; leaving T. Fonteius his 30 Lieutenant, with a small companie, to defend the campe. He meets with Indibilis;

but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues fo long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the Romans on all fides : neither are the Carthaginians farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Reare, that P. Sapie, vncer-

taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requireth, is ftruck through with a lance, and flaine : very few of his Armie escaping the fame destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath Cn. Scipio within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with Afdrubal, the Celtibertan Mercinaries all forfake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countric. If Anitorgis, where Aldrubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it; a Celliberian Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleeue, that they were wonne by Afdrubal, and easily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their liues. Cn. Scipio therefore being vnable to ftay them; and no leffe vnable, without to their helpe, either to relift the Enemie, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keepes his mentogether. Afdrubal preffeth hard vpon him : and Mago, with Afdrubal the sonne of Gefco, having made an end of Publius, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. Scipio steales from them all, by night; but is ouer taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonic ground, where growes not so much as a shrub, vnfit for desence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of easie ascent on enery side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-faddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weake defences the Carthaginians soone teare in sunder: and, breaking 20 in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that faving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape vnto T. Fonteius, whom Publius had lest in his camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they fay, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on cuery side, in so bare a ground as affoorded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and shrowd themfelues within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteius is in P. Scipio's campe, on the North side of Iberus, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armic, had little hope to remaine long fafe withinit. Thither comes L. Martius, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit: who ha- 30 uing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this L. Martin before Fonteins the Lieutenant; as well they may. For Afdrabal, the sonne of Gesco, comming upon them; this L. Martius fo encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately flaine) and admonisheth themos their present necessitie, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victorie per haps he might have gotten, but that hee wifely founds the retrait; referving the furie of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately van- 40 quished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vtterly despising him, set neither Corps du gard, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemie were neare. Martius therefore animates his fouldiers with lively wordes; and tells them, That there is no adventure more fafe, than that which is furthest from suspition of being under-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of service. So he leades them forth by night, and seales vpon the campe of Asdrubal: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a-sleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without refistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all afrighted, the Carthaginians runne head-long one vpon another, they know 50 not which way. All passages out of their campe Martius hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of Afdrubal the sonne of Amilear, that lay fixe miles off. But Martius hath way-laid them. In a Valley be-

tweene their two campes he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall enery one, and are cut in peeces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarme before his comming; Martin hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficultie he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceined, when they beheld the Roman shields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can faue themselves from the furie of the fword. Thirtie seuen thousand of the enemies perish in this 10 nights worke; befides a thousand eight hundred and thirtie, that are taken prisoners. Hercunto Valerius Antias addes, that the campe of Mago was also taken, and seven thousand flaine : and that in another battaile with Afarabal, there were flaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. Linie therefore hath elsewhere well obserued. That there is none so intemperate, as Valerius Antius, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilest Martius was making an Oration to his fouldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Linie reporteth as a common tale. not giving thereto any credit : and temperately concludeth, I hat this Captaine Martius got a great name; which he might well doe, if with lo small forces, and in 20 such diffresse, He could clearely get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were farre leffe than that which is here fet downe.

Of these occurrents L. Martius sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good service, what socier it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthie to hold the place of their Vicegrent in Spaine: which the better to mitmate vinto them, He shield himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moved with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore took such carefull order, for supplying their forces in Spaine, that although Hamibal came to the gates of Rome, erethe Companies, levied to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for desence of the Citie is selfe, but shipped them in all haste for 30 Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which Martius had assumed, they shought it toogreat for him, and were oftended at his presumption in surpring it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the solidiers abroad make choice, among themselues, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore C. Claudius Nero was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into Spaine: carrying with him about six thouland of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines, with three hundred Roman Hors, and of the Latines sight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of kome beganne to prosper in Italia, and affoorded meanes of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the wistories of Martin would ill have served, either to keepe sooting in Spains, or to so sopic the Carthaginian Armies from marching towards the Alfres. For when Caudius, landing within sow forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was under Martins and Fantins as so from the cuerthrowes received, than of those miraculous vistories, whereof Martins had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The Roman partie was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee deuised. Yet Chaudius advanced boldly towards Martins all the brother of Hamibal: whom he found among the Mastern, neare enough at hand, incamped in a place called Lapides atri; out of which there was no flue, but only through a streight, whereon the Roman seized at his first comming. What should have tempted any man of vnderstanding to incampe in such a place, I so doe not finde: and as little reason can I finde in that which followed. For it is said.

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o doe not finde: and as little reason can I finde in that which followed. For it is said, That As farubal, seeing himsels thus lockt vp, made offer to depart for th-with out of all Spaine, and quit the Province to the Romans, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many daies, in entertayning parlee with Claudius about this businesse. That night by night hee connected his foot-men

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(a few at a time) through very difficult paffages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a mistieday, Hee stole away with all his Horse and Elephants. leauing his campe emptie. If we confider, that there were at the same time, besides this Afdrubal, two other Carthaginian Generalls in Spaine; wee shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicitie of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for fo great a Gountrie, with one of these three Chiestaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night: the Horse and Elephants casily following them in a darke millie day. Wherefore in giving beliefe to fuch a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherin the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to 10 haue beene of farre lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could doc, served to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recover the old which they had loft. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chofen Martius their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardleffe of their good deferts, had repealed their Election, and fent a Propretor whom they fancied not fo well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconful, and (perhaps) yong Scipie by name : as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloued memorie of Cn. and Publius, likely to doe good, were it reviued in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; C. Claudius was recalled out of the Province; and Publius the fon 20 of P. Scipio sent Proconsul into Spaine.

This is that P. Scipio, who afterward transferred the warre into Africk . where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrie. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie; and other Vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vie he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, sauouring a little too much of the great Alexanders vanitie; How he vied to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some fecret conference with Iupiter; How a Dragon (which must have beene one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, Iupiter himselfe) was thought to have conversed with his 20 Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answeres; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glorie of Rome: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generalitie, but also in great worth of one fingle man. To this end nothing is left out, that might ferue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vinquestionable truth, That when a Proconful was to be chosen for Spaine, there durft not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of Rome were much assonished thereat; That 40 when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, that this P. Cornelius Scipio, being then about source and twentie yeares of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be seene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Martins no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the seare of all the Roman Captaines, who durst not follow Clandius Nero, that not long before was gone into Spaine Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which Afdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was readic to abandon. But vpon theseinco- 10 herences, which I finde in the too partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willing-

P. Scipio was fent Proconful into Spaine; and with him was joyned M. Junius Syllanus, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot,

and a thousand horse, in thirtie Quinquereme Gallies. With these they landed at Emporia; and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the same of Scipio's arrivall, it is faid, that Embaffages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a majestic, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the leffe they could give any reason of it. If wee must beleeve this, then must wee needes beleeve, that their teare was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the same of so yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing : but fpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against new Carthage : vpon which he came vnexpected, with fine and twentie thousand foot, and two thousand fine hundred horse, his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee affailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by affault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much considence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more flenderly, than was requilite. Yet it might have beene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discouered vnto Scipio, a secret pasfage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or 20 thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new Carthage, retembled the old and great Carthage in fituation; standing upon a demi-Iland. betweene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher men of Tarracon had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe,or (at most) wading up to the Nauill, Scipio thrust thereinto fome Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the wals without refulance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the natural! strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the Carthaginians within the Citie; casily forced agate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Armie. What bootic was found 30 within the Towne, Liuie himselfe cannot certainely affirme; but is faine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman Treasurie, we may easily perceive, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of Africk and Spaine, was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom Scipio entreated with fingular courtefie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in fuch gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to fo great a benefit. Hercupon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two pettic Kings of the Ilergetes and Lacetani, nearest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North side of Iberus. to for sooke the Carthaginian partie; and joyned with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, King of the Ilergetes, is much commended; for that he did not vant himselfe, ascommonly fugitiues vie, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians, and inuited by the honorable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vnfure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the tlergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) for faken the Carthaginian partie, and floutly held themselves as friends to (n. Scipio; then could nothing have beene devised more vaine, than this Oration of Indibilis their King; exculing, as new, his taking part with the same, so when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that how socuer the two elder Scipio's had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the Romans neuer Masters of the Countrie till this worthie Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and

SIIII

by his great munificence in fending them home, wanne vnto himfelfe the affured loue and affiliance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generalls, when they heard of this losse, were very sorrie: yet neuerthelesse they set a good face on the matter: faying, That a yong man, having stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farretransported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vincle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a

more convenient temper. Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to sav. That the Carthaginians were at this time bufie, in fetting forth towards Italic; and that Scipto, to divert them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vp- 10 on the like occasion, satedowne before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not beene much amisse, if the passage ouer the Lake had beene vndiscouered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to fuch good iffue vpon the fix it day: yet in the generalitie of the bulineffe, betweene Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Astrubal should bee staied from going into Italie, than that haife of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his journie; Mago, and Afdrubal the sonne of Gifco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilest the maine of the Carthaginian forces, under Adrubal the sonne of amilear, 20 went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in triall of the Empire. But the Roman Hiftorians tell this after another fashion; and say, That Astrabal was beaten into Italie: whither hee ranne for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of Scipio. Scipio, fay they, comming vpon Afdrubal; his Vantcourrers charged folustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drawe them into their Trenches : and made it apparent, even by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how dejected the Enemie. Afdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steepe of ascent, and not case of accesse on the forelide; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans. On 30 the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he ftrongly incamped himfelfe; and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauerie, that he might not seeme to hide himselse within his Trenches, than for that he durft aduenture his Armie to the hazard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such advantage of place could not faue him from the Romans. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recoursed even footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hilltop: whither although the afcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beflowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their 40 way, where the Carthaginians had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is faid, that there was no way to flic. Out of fuch a battaile, wherein he lost eight thousand men, Astrubal is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troups, to have marched towards the Pyrences, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuerthelesse Mago, and Asdrubal the sonne of Gisco, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needes must, were it but to carrie all the Spaniards as farre as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to haue been true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italie; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, have too long detained vs.

d. XII.

## d. XII.

The great troubles that HANNIBAL raifed in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. POSTHVMIVS the Roman Generall, with his whole Armie, is flaine by the Gaules. PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Romans, joyning with the Etolians, make warre upon PHILIP in Greece : and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their busneffe against the Carthaginians.



CHAP.3. S.12.

E left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where hee and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of such mightic aide, as was decreed to bee sent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to

carrie the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to drive away their Cattaile to Geryon: his victories affoording him little other profit, than fultenance for his Armie; by making him Mafter of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forc'd fome walled Townes, in like fort as he did Geryon, and the Cafile of Canno: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the an hunger, that his Armie must have endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were ripe, would have grieuously punished him for such imploiment of the Sommer. This may have beene the reason; why, hee forbore to adventure vpon Rome after his victorie at Canne. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainetie) to carrie the Citie at his first comming; want of victualles would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a slege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walls of Rome, hee had presented himselfe vnto 30 them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeare; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauaile was palt, when fo many States of Italie were become his: the yeare following, the Samnies, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which folong had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was paffed ouer joyfully, fauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to fecond the welcome report of those mightic forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promifed supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not : only we finde, that af-40 ter this he had aboue thirtie of them; whereas all, faue one, that hee brought ouer the Alpes, had beene lost in his journic through the marithes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischieses the persuasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a fafer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as hee himselfe had done; and increase the Armic, by hyring the Barbarians in the journie; than to commit the maine firength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: effecially wanting a commodious Hauen to receive the fleet that should carrie such a number of Men, Horses, and 30 Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations Happibal must rest content; and feeke, as well as he can, to fatisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeare serued, He tooke the field; and having finished what rested to be done at Casilinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Hauen-towne thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian fleet; or take from his

SILLL

Enemies

Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was 1 & 18. If the sent timites vinto the Lecrians, and Hanns to the Lecrians, nor forgetting to sace to assay all quarters of Italia, year the sless of Sicil and Sardinia; since the siege when must needes bee deferred vinto another yeare. Hanns made an ill journie of it, being met, or ouer taken, by T. Semother yeare. Hanns made an ill journie of it, being met, or ouer taken, by T. Semother year. Hanns to sho such a short side of the seminary than three hundred Remain. But Himilio sped sarre better. By helpe of the Brutians, than three hundred Remain. But Himilio sped sarre better. By helpe of the Brutians, than three hundred Remain. But Himilio sped sarre better. By helpe of the Brutians, than three hundred Remains. But Himilio sped sarre better. All othe Citic of Leers, which was of great importance, yeelded vinto so him as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towneof Rhegium, ouer

The great faith of the Petilians is worthic to be recorded, as a notable testimonie of the good gouernement, under which the Roman subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campans, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrarie; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soueraignetie, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe : where their Messengers received answere from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Affociates 20 that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely fent from Gities of the Roman subjection, that had a priuate jurisdiction within themselues) fell downe to the ground, and humbly befought the Fathers, notto give them away: promifing to doe and fuffer what socue was possible, in defence of their Towne against the Carthogonians. Hereuponthe Senate fell to confultation againe: and having throughly confidered all their forces remaining, plainely confessed, that it was not in their power to give any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne fafetie; as having alreadie discharged their faith to the vimost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) heldout 30 fome moneths: and having striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant possibilitie, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloudie victoric ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The Romans at this time were indeede in fuch ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might have reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their loffe at Cauna; they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warrethat lay vpon them so reare at hand : it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. L. Posthumius Albinus their Pretor they had fent, with an Armie of fine and twentie thousand, into Gaule; 40 to the Illyrian King Pineut they had fent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedon they had fent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them Demetitus Pharius, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little futeable to their former glorious concents. Possibn with all his Armie was cut in peeces by the Gaules, in such fort that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very strange. There v as a great Wood, called by the Gaules, Litans, through which he was to paffe. Again this comming, the Enemies had fawed the Trees so farre, that a little force would for the cast them downe. When there 50 fore Posthumius, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gaules, that lay about the Wood, beganne to cast downethe Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were over-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before.

How this tedious worke, of fawing so many Trees, could take defired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the denice was subject; I doe not well conceine. Yet some such thing may have beene done; and what failed in the stratageme, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthie to be omitted, as a monument of the sanage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Countrie now fo civill, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumius his skull, being cleansed, and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and confecrated in their principall Temple, as an noly o veffell, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no leffe than the calamitie. But forrow could give no remedic to the mischiefe; and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus Illyrian Kings, as also with Gentus, who raigned within a few yeares following, the Romans dealt vpon even termes; entreating their affiliance against Philip and Perfeus; not commanding their dutie, as Vallalls. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For having affured his affaires in Greece, and enjoying leifure to looke into the doings abroad, Hee fent Embaffadours to Hammibal: with to whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into Italie, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, affift the Carthaginians in the Roman warre, vntill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italie, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be eleft entire vnto the State of carthago; And that afterwards Hannibal with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there asfift Philip, vntill he had fubdued all his Enemies: (which were the Atolians, Thratians, King Antiochus, and others) leauing semblably vnto him the full possession of that Countrie, and the Iles adjoyning. But fuch predifpolition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes It felfe not (as Herodotus falfly termes it, and like an Atheist) envious or malicious, 20 but very just and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspeakable greatnesse of Soucraignetic, by which It rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

raignetie, by which It rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadiadours that Philip fent, sell into the Roman bands, in their journic towards Himibal: and being examined what they were, adventured ypon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessive. These newes were so wellcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly seasted; and friendly dismissed, with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auxide the Carthaginan. But they being thus instructed concerning their journie, fell wilfully into the 40 campe of Humibal: who entertained them after a better sashion; and concluded the businesses, and the same and the same and the same as the same and the same and the same as the same and the same and the same as the same and the same as the same and the same as the same as the same and the same as the same

the businesse, about which they came, you the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe valuekily to bee descried by the Roman sleet; which, mistrusting them to bee of the Carthagmian partie, gaue them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being over-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it againe. That having beene sent from King Philip, to make a League with the People of Rome, they were not able, by reason of the Carthagmians lying betweene, to get any farther than to M. Valerius the Prevor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before: 50 and (which matred all) Gisca, Boslar, and Mage, with their followers, Carthagmians

close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest fold for bond-slaues. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedom of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavie weight this Macedonian warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their (houlders were ouer burdened with the load of the Carthaginian. Yet they tooke anoble resolution; and suteable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beaten upon them from Spaine. They judged it more casie, with small 10 forces to detaine Philip in Greece, than with all their ftrength to relift him in Italie. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of Mace. don, joyning with Hannibal in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegeance not only of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but even of the Roman Colonies that held all priviledges of the Citic, it will appeare by the following fucceffe of things. CM. Valerius the Pretor, with twentic Quinquereme Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the Macedonian: and to fet on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles alreadie therein begunne. Philip was buse about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italie, fetting vpon Apollonia; and thence falling vpon Oricum; which he wanne, and foreturned to Apollonia againe. The E- 20 pirets craued helpe of M.Valerius: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that Philip had left in Oricum, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order; but not to keepe out the Romans; of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, Philip as then had no fulpition. Valerius therefore easily regained the Towne; and fent thence a thouland men, under Namus Criffus an under-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. These made a notable sallie; and brake into Philips Trenches with so great saughter, that they forced him to for sake his camp, and raise the fiege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but Valerius, comming with his fleet from Oricum, flopped vp the mouth of the River; 30 fo that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than lone botes) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, Valerius dealt with the Atolians, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of Macedon: and easily perfwaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere beene showed) to make strong warre on Philip; wherein he promifed them great affiliance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the Atolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the Roman was as liberall in making promife, as if alreadie it had beene his owne. So a league was made betweene them : and afterward folemnely published at Olympia, by the Etolians; and by the Romans, in their Capitoll. The conditions were, That from Atolia to Coreyra, 40 in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and left vnto the Etolians; the pillage only to be given to the Romans. And that if the Ætolians made peace with Philip, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer, than whilest he abstained from doing injurie to the Romans, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat Valerius aimed: who promifed as much on the Romans behalfe, That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, volciffe it were with like condition of including the Ætolians. Into this League was place referred for the Lacedemonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or favoured the side of Cleomenes against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus: the first of which raigned at Pergamus, in 50 Asia the lesse, a Prince hereaster much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Affociates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to give it countenance, than for any

readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The Atolians alone, and chiefly Scopas their Pretor, with Dorymachus and others, are yet awhile the only men, of whom the Roman Generalls must make much ; as the late French King , Henrie the fourth, when he had only the title of 2 yanarre, was faid to court the Majors of Rochel. Philip was not idle, when he heard whereunto the Etolians tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdome of Masedon; wasted the Countrie about Oricem and Apollonia; and ouer-running the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into Thessalie, whence hee made to thew as if he would inuade Etolia. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to flirre vp all the Greekes adjoyning, against the Ætolians; whom they generally detefted as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the Atolians from breaking into Greece, He left Perfess his sonne and heire; with foure thousand men, vpon their borders; with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him . He made a long journie into Thrace, against a people called the Medes; that were wont to fall vpon Mucedon, whenfocuer the King was absent. The Ætolians, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could again the Acarnanians; in hope to subdue those their daily enemics, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee should becable to returne. Hereto it 20 much availed, that the Romans had alreadic taken Oeniada and Naxos, Acarnantan Townes, conveniently lituated to let in an Armie; and configned them vnto the Atolians, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the flout resolution of the Acarnanians, to die (as we say) every Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great hafte of the Macedonian (who laied aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the Atolians to for sake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given ouer, the Romans and Etolians fell vpon Anticyra, which they tooke : the Romans affailing it by Sea ; the Atolians by Land. The Atolians had the Towne; and the Romans the Spoile.

10 fent in his fleed, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, Attalus out of Asia came ouer to affift the Atolians. Hee was chiefly moved, by his owne jealousie of Philips greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanitie, of being chosen by the Atolians their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which Artalus and the Romans had fent, being joyned with the maine power of Etolia. Philip tried the fortune of two battailes : and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome Neighbours desired peace of him; and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadours, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intollerable 40 conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well tefific, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being belieged in their owne Townes, that had made them delirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a Garrison of their owne, and some Roman friends, into Elis; which threatned Achaia, wherein Philip then lay. The Romans, making a cut ouer the streight from Naupactus, wasted the Countrie in a tertible braucrie: wherein Philip requited them; comming upon them in hafte from the Aemean Games (which he was then celebrating) and fending them fafter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

For these good services M. Valerius was chosen Consul at Rome; and P. Sulpicius

In the heat of this contention, Prusses King of Bithynia, searing the growth of Attalus, no less than Attalus held suspected the power of Philip; sent a Nauie into Greece, to affist the Macedonian partie. The like did the Carthagnians: and vyon greaterreason; as being more interested in the success of his affisiers. Philip was too weake by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships; yet the Vessels

were fuch, as could not hold out against the Roman Quinqueremes. Wherefore it behoued him, to vie the helpe of his good friends the Carthaginians. But their aide came somewhat too late : which might better at first have kept those Enemies from faltning vpon any part of Greece; than afterwards it could ferue to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowells of that Countrie. Ere Philip could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the Eleans, bad Neighbours to the Achaians his principall Confederates. But in affailing their Towne, Hee was encountred by the Etolian and Roman Garrison; which draue him back with some loffe. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had received no great detriment, in 10 his retrait from Elis: rather he had given testimonic of his personall valour, in figh. ting well on foot, when his horse was slaine under him. He had also soone after taken a great multitude of the Eleans, to the number of foure thousand; with some twentic thousand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of fafetic, as they thought, when their Countrie was inuaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the Roman forragers about Sieyon, his horse running haltily vnder alow tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which ( after the falhion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an Atolian; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of Philips death. The horne was well known; and the tale believed. All Macedon therefore was in an vprore : and not only the 20 Borderers, readic to fall vpon the Countrie, but some Captaines of Philip, casily corrupted; who thinking to make themselues a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home; leaving not three thousand men, to affilt his friends the Acheans. Hee also tooke order, to have Beacons creeked; that might give him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The affaires of Macedon, his presence quickly established. But in Greece all went ill-fauouredly: especially in the Ile of Eubæa, where one Plater betraied to Attalus, and the Romans, the Towne of Oreum, ere Philip could arrive to helpe it; where also the ftrong Citie of Chalcis was likely to have beene loft, if hee had not come the fooner. 20 He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken Attalus in the Citic of Opus. This Citic, lying ouer against Eubæn, Attalus had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vied. Now because the Roman fouldiers had defrauded him in the fack of Oreum, and taken all to themselues: it was agreed, that Attalus should make his best profit of the Opuntians; without admitting the Romans to be his sharers. But whilest he was busie, in drawing as much monie as he could out of the Citizens: the fuddentidings of Philips arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and runne away to the Sca-side, where he got aboord his ships; finding the Romans gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this mifadventure; or tidings of Prusas the Bithynian his invasion upon the Kingdome of 40 Pergamus; made Attalus returne home, without flaying to take leave of his friends. So Philip recouered Opus; wonne Torone, Tritonos, Drymus, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more braueric than importance, against the Etoitans. In the meane season, Machanidas, the Tyrant of Lacedamon, had beene busic in Peloponnesus; but hearing of Philips arrivall, was retur-

The Lacedemonians, hearing certaine report of Cleomenes his death in Agypt, went about to choose two new Kings; and to conforme themselves to their old manner of Goussiacmant. But their chate was fo farre out of tune, that their hope of redresting things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate, than had beene 50 their attempts of reconering a large Dominion abroad. Lyourgus a Tyrantrole vp among them : victo whom succeeded this Machanidas; and shortly after came Nabi, that was worse than both of them. They held on the Atolian and Roman side, for feare of the Acheans; that were the chiefe Confederates of Philip, and hated ex-

tremely the name both of Tyrant, and of Lacedamonian. But of these wee shall peake more hereafter. Philip entring into Achaia, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of affurance to that Countrie; spake braue wordes to the Assembly of their States, faying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre hyrunning away. He told how he had followed them to Chaleis, to Oreum, to Opus, and now into Achaia: but could no where finde them; fuch haste they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He faid, was not alwaies prosperous: He should one day light upon them; as ere this hee fundric times had done, and still to their olofe. The Achaians were glad to heare these wordes; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deedes acccompanying them. For he restored vnto their Nation fome Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewife to the Megalopolitans their Confederates, He rendred Aliphera. The Dymans, that had beene taken by the Romans, and fold for flaues, He fought out, ranformed, and put in quiet pollethon of their owne Citie. Further, pathing ouer the Corinthian Guife, Hee fell you the Atolians: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their frongest holds; and wasted their Countrie. This done, Hee tooke leave of the Acheans : and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them fo well, that they rested searclesse of any threatning danger. Then had heleifure to make warrevpon the Dardanians, ill Neighbours to Acceden: with whom neuertheleffe he was not fo farre occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himselfe

Master of the Sea; the Romans (fince the departure of Attalus) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them where they lav.

This good successe added much reputation to the Macedonian; and emboldened him to make strong warre vpon the Atolians, at their owne doores. As for the Romans; either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates; or some feare of danger at home, when Afdrubal was readie to fall vpon Italie; caused them to give 10 over the care of things in Greece, and leave their friends there to their owne fortunes. The Atolians therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to fue for peace vnto Philip; and accept it, vpon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fine Gallies, came ouer ingreat haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in Atolia, hee turned aside to Dyrrachium, and Apollonia; making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long, ere Philip came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him battaile: but he refused it; and suffering the Matedonians to waste the Countrie round about, before his eies, kept himselfe close with 40 in the walls of Apollonia; making some Ouertures of peace; which caused Philip to returne home quietly. The Romans had not fo great cause to be displeased with the Ætolians, as had Philip, to take in cuill part the demeanour of the Cartheginians. For notwithstanding the Royall offer that be made them, to serve their turne in Italie, and affilt them in getting their hearts defire, before he would expect any requitall : they had not fent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Armie, orto free his coast from the Roman and Atolian Pyracies. Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last journic into Achia. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: bauing done nothing; and pretending feare of to being taken by the Romans, euen at fuch time as Philip, with his owne Nauie, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This rechlesse dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore sceme to have beencone of Hanno histricks; whereof Hannibal so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder

Hannibal, and required the affiltance of the same Hannibal, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at his pleasure. Therefore hee had reason, such as Enuie could suggest, to perswade the Carthaginians vinto a safe and thriftie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian warres fo mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto Hannibal, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to saue charges; and seede the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it ferue to terrific the Romans, and compell them to fend partof their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should to the Roman Armies be leffened in Italie; and Philip, when once he was engaged in the warre, be viged vinto the profecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthagimans to little or no charges; yea fcarce to the labour of giving him thankes. Now if it might come to passe, as Hannibal every day did promise, that Rome, and all Italie, should within a while bee at the denotion of Carthage: better it were that the Citie fhould be free, fo as the troublesome Greekes might addresse their complaints ynto the Carthaginians, as competent Judges between them and the Macedonian, than that Hannibal, with the power of Africk, should wait upon Philip, as his Executioner. to fulfill his will and pleafure, in doing fuch injuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hatefull in Greece, and oblige Philip to be no leffe impudent, in ful- 20 filling all requests of Hannibal. Whether the counsaile of Hanno and his fellowes, were fuch as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition without his advice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned Philip) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in that little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begunne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainely given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Ætolians had submitted themselvies alreadie : and when the Romans desired his friendthip, as might be thought; for very feare of him; with reputation enough and 30 not as a forfaken Client of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessitie, He might give over the warre, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and hee vnable to manageit. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them; when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeare following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans should retaine three or source Townes of Illyria, which they had recovered in this warre, being part of their old Illyrian Conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macelonian, and therefore per- 40 haps inferted into the couerants, that formewhat might feeme to have been gotten. On the other fide, the Atintanes were appointed to returne under the obedience of Philip: who, if they were (as Ortelius probably conjectures) the people of the Countrie about Apollonia, then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would feeme to have done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their loffe.

The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achaens, Baotsans, Thestalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. On the Roman fide were named, first, the People of Ilium, as an honorable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, Attalus King of Per- 50 gamus; Pleuratus, an Illyrian Prince; and Nahis, the Tyrant of Lacedemon; together with the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. The Atolians were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messenians, sollowers of the Etolians, (and by them, asis most likely, comprised in their League with Philip)

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were also inserted by the Romans; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Athenians: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the fetting downe of their name in this Treatie, ferued the Romans to good purnote: forafmuch as they were a busic people; and ministred occasion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better ferue to follow it.

### d. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recover their frength by degrees. The noble affe-Etion of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale.



T was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing fo many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues : and wasted more men and monie to no purpofe, than would have ferued (if good order had beene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the Romans held. This errour

an had beene the leffe harmefull, if their care of Italie had beene fuch as it ought. But they fuffered Hannibal, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to yeare, caused as great opportunities tobe loft, as a Conquerour could have defired. The death of Pofibumius, and destruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begunne rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of Hiero their friend in Syracufe; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole He of Sicil; as alfo that Warre, of which we last Spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible ouerthrow at Canna, among fo many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would vtterly haue funke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yeare, yet 20 at least the second, sent ouer to Hannibal the forces that were decreed. It is not to bedoubted, that even this divertitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, adminiftred matter vnto Hanno, or fuch as Hanno was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italie : yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their feuerall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughlyprofequated: though it flood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of Hannibal in his Halian warre; should have beene strengthned; what socue had become of the rest. But the slen-40 der troupes, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they fent, to vp hold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was alreadie well neare beaten downe; their triffling with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastic catching at Sicil: litle descrued to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, confidered apart by it felfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, T hat the care of Italie, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allega-tions would not serve to content Hannibal; then must be patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with to fo much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatfocuer he heard or thought, Hannibal was glad to apply himselfe to Necesfitie; to feede his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about 20la, Naples, Cuma, and other places: being loth to spend his Armic in an hard siege, that was to be referred for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made

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vpon Nola; but alwaies with bad successe. Once Marcellus fought a battaile with him there : yet vider the very walls of the Towne; having the affiltance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman fide, fince the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men Hannibal in that fight loft; which was no great meruaile; his forces being then divided, and imploied in fundrie parts of Italie at once. Naples was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie: and required a yeares worke to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest defire of Hannibal to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of Cuma they of Capua had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They fent to the chiefe Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring them (as being also Campans) to be present at a so. 19 lemne facrifice of the Nation, where they would confult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the Romans. This motion the Cumans made thew to entertaine; but privily fent word of all to T. Sempronius Gracebus the Roman

The fift Booke of the fuft part

Gracehus was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have beene Posthumius Albinus, that was lately flaine by the Gaules: after whole death Marcellus was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with Hannibal. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of Marcellus; or at leaft they fai- 20 ned to to have done: because this was the first time, that ever two Plebeian Confuls were chosen together. Marcelliu therefore gaue over the place : and Q. Fabius Maximus the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But Fabius was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superflition : wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon Hannibal among the Campans: not able to meet the Enemie in field; yet intentiue to all occasions, that should be presented. The Volones, or Slaves, that lately had been earmed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, Hee continually trained : and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe 30 it from quarrells, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base

Whilest the Conful was thus busied at Linternum; the Senators of Cume sent him word, of all that had passed betweene them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. Gracehus therefore put himselfe into Cuma: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citic were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called Hame, three miles from Cuma. There lay Marius Alfius the chiefe Magistrate of Capua, with fourteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any dan- 40 ger that might interrupt it; but rather deniling how to surprise others, than searing himselfe to be affailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to goe forth of Cuma, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, iffued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came vpon the Capuans vnawares: and flew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; loofing not about an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tartied not long to rifle it, for feare of Hannibal; who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, He escaped agreater lose, than he had brought youn the Enemies. For when Hannibal was informed how things went at Hama; forthwith he marched to thither: hoping to finde those yong fouldiers, and slaves, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie But they were all gotten safe within Cuma; which partly for anger, partly for defire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe,

the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent, about this Towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it : which they brought close vnto the walls ; thinking thereby to force an Entric. But the Defendants, on the infide of the wall, raifed against this an higher Tower: whence they made refistance; and found meanes at length, to confume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the Carthaginians were buffe in quenching the fire; the Romans, fallying out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their Trenches, with the flaughter of about fourteene hundred. The Conful wifely founded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and Hannibel in a readineffe to requite their feruice. Neither would He, in the pride of this good successe, adventure forth against the Enemie; who presented him battaile the day following, neare vnto the walls. Hannibal therefore, feeing no likelihood to prevaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the fiege; and returned to his old Campe at Tifata. About these times, and shortly after, when Fabiss the other Conful had taken the field; fome fmall Townes were recovered by the Romans, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

The Carthaginian Armic was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yeilded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore Hanmbal, attending the supplie from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it felfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of warre : and , in stead of ma-20 king (as formerly he had done) a generall inuation vpon the whole Country, to paffe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Countrey of the Hirpines and Samuites was grieuoufly wasted by Marcellus, in the absence of Hannibal: as also was Campania, by Fabine the Conful; when Hannibal having followed Marcelliss to Nola, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to Winter in Apulia, These people shewed northe like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soucreigntic. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by fuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they 30 ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued Fabius in his Confulfhip: and ioyned with him M. Claudius Marcellus; whom they had appointed vnto that honous the yeare before. Of these two, Fabius was called the Sheild; and Marcellus, the Roman Sword. In Fabius it was highly, and vpon inft reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with Marcellus; knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Comman-40 ders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the Romans made; served to put the Campans in searc, that Capua it selfe should be besieged. To preuent this, Hannibal at their earnest entreatie came from Arpi: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from Tarentum) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon Puteoli, a Sea-towne of Campania; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to have wonne it. The Garrison in Puteeli was fixe thou fand ftrong: and did their duetic fo well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good fuccesse, could onely shew his anger upon the fields there, and about Naples; which having done, and once more (with as ill fucceffe as before) affaied Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum: wherin he had verie great intelligence. 50 Whilest he was in his progresse thither : Hanno made a journie against Beneuentum: and T. Greechus the last yeares Conful, hasting from Nuceria, met him there; and fought with him a battaile. Hanne had with him about seventeene thousand Foot, Brutians and Lucans for the most part : besides twelve hundred Horse; verie few of Ttttt

which were Italians, all the rest, Numidians and Moores. He held the Roman worke foure houres; ere it could be perceitted, to which side the victoric would incline. But Gracehus his fouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed flaues, had received from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their libertie, bringing enery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of libertie was so greatly defired, that none of them teared any danger in earning it : howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the flaine Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the feruice, by imployment of fo many hands, in a worke fo little concerning the victorie. Gracehus therefore finding his owne errour, wisely corrected it : proclayming a- 10 loude, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting of any more; for that all should have libertie immediatly after the battaile, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their desperate surie had soone ouerthrowne, if the Roman Horse could have made their part good against the Numidian. But though Hanno did what hee could, and pressed so hard vpon the Roman battaile, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which Gracehus had threatned before the battaile, vnto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength: yet was he glad at length to faue himselfe by slight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leauing the field, hee 20 was accompanied by no more than two thouland : most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his fouldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promifed: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the warres, they should neither eate nor drinke other wise than standing, vnleffe fickenesse forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armiereturned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchifed fouldiers were feasted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them having their heads couered (as was the custome of slaves manumised) with Caps, or white wools. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthic of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in 20 a Table by Gracehus, in the Temple of Libertie; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battaile, worthie of great note, which the Carthaginians had loft fince the comming of Hannibal into Itali: the victories of Marcellus at Nola, and of this Gracehus before at Hame, being things of small im-

Thus the Romans through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which Hannibal had made at Canne. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any furplulage, that might be exchanged for other 40 needfull commodities. Few they were in Italie, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doc than before; as living vpon the same Trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which enseebled Rome it selfe. Sicil and Sardinia, that were wont to yeild great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armics, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Commonwealth fultained, and could now doe least for his Countrie, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the poll, yet must it be farrelesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently confidering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of Italie, that 50 could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Sicil and Sardinia flood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of Rome; the threats

of the Maccionium, readie to land in the Eafterne parts of Italie, if they were not at the colt to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of Adubah, to follow his brother outer the Alpez, as foone as he could rid himselfe of the Sepuis in Spaine; and the ponertie of the Common wealth, which had not monie for any one of these mortall dangers: were driven almost even to extreme want of counfaile. But being viged by the violence of fwith necessitie, signified in the letters of the two Sepios from Spaine; they resolved who the but being the second of the could be the weightight.

They called the people to Affembly : wherein Q. Fulzins the Pretor laide 10 open the publique wants; and plainely faid, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuaile, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needefull to the Souldiers: but that fuch as had stuffe, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntill the Warre were ended. Hereunto hee so esfectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Reuennues, that the charge was under-taken by private men; and the Armic in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortlyafter this, M. Atilius Regulus, and P. Furius Philus the Roman Cenfors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentine to the cor-20 rection of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They beganne with L. Cacilius Metellus: who, after the battaile at Canna, had held difcourfe with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italie, had beene no better than loft. After him they tooke in hand those, that having brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Cinna, returned not back to Hannibal, as they were bound by oath; but thought themfelues thereof fufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiuesnames. All thefe were now pronounced infamous by the Cenfors: as also were a great many more; euen who foeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes 20 appointed. Neither was the note of the Cenfors at this time (as otherwise it had vied to bee) hurtfull only in reputation : but greater weight was added there-

so appointed. Neither was the note of the Ceniors at this time (as otherwise it had vide to bee; hurtfull only in reputation: but greater weight was added therevento, by this Decree of the Senate following; That all fuch as were noted with infame by thefe Cenfors, finald bee transported into Sicil, there to ferme entitl the end of the Warre, under the fame hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Reminder of the Armic beaten at Canna. The Office of the Cenfors was; to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to see notes of displace (without burther punishment) vpon those, whose vnhones or vnseemely behaviour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the Roman Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publike Horses of

40 feuice, vnto fuch as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their mifbehauiour. Generally, they had the ouer-fight of mens lues and manners; and their
confure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to
putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was
themosft that they could doe) causing them to pay fome Duties to the Treasfurie,
from which others were exempted. But befides the care of this generall Taxe,
and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publike Workes; as mending of high waies, bridges, and water-courses, the reparations of Temples,
Porthes, and such other buildings. If any man encroched ypon the streets, highwaies, or other places that ought to bee common; the Censors compelled him to

yo make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Cultomes, and other publike Reuennues, to farme: to that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding who this Office; as maintayning themselues by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conferre the dignitic of the Senate; the

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commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Cenfors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impourrished by warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Cultomes that were worth the farming; Regulus and Philus troubled not themfelues much with pervling the Temples, or other decaied Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet for bore they to fet any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generolitic of the Romans. They that had beene accustomed, in more happie times, to vndertake such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as it there had beene no such 19 want: promiting liberally their coft and trauaile; without expectation of any paiment, before the end of the warre. In like fort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had beene enfranchifed by Gracehus, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as every one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quæstor kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the fustenance of these Widdowes and Orphans: whilest the whole stock was vsed by the Citic. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: fo that (the poorer fort ex- 20 cepted) they refused to take pay; and called those Mercinaries, that did accept it, when their countrie was in fo great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; veelded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laied in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse if wee consider thinges aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with under-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the yongest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue alreadic mentioned. For by this 20 hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and folide : and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citic of Athens; when Xerxes had burnt the Towne to alhes, and taken from euery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which refled in the common happinesse of the valuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State whose dimension or ftemme is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchie : which chiefly comes to paffe, where all regard of domesticall prosperitie is laid aside, and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might say, that our Age bath scene a great example, in the vnited Provinces in the Netberland; 40 whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or allmost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the Generalitie was oppressed by the Duke of Ava; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselues to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthie, strong at Sca, and able to wage great Armies for their fernices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at fuch a rate as we ought, the patient Resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, about all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truly fay, That the Citie was neuer in greater-likelihood to prosper. Nei- 50 ther can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason have been more deare unto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not

infected them with fenfualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of Rome, could have believed their owne interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consists: the Empire, founded upon so great vertue, could not have been throunke downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But with all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though hee hath given vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their to times appointed.

# A. XIIII.

The Remansivinne fome Townes back from HANNIBAL HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The fiege of Capua. Two victiories of HANNIBAL to the gates of Roma. Capua taken by the Romans.



S the People of Rome strained themselves to the vtmost, for maintayning the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industric, in seeking to recouse what had been clott. The Towne of Cassimo, Fabius besieged. It was well desended by the Cartle ginin Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those Scapus, if Murcellus from

Nolahad not come to the affistance of his Colleague: "Neuerthelesse the place held out so obstinately, that Fabius was purposed to give it over: faying, that the enterprise was not great; yet and inicult, as athing of more importance. But Marcellus was of a contrarie opinion. He faid, That many fuch things, as were not at first to 20 haue beene under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee profequited vito the best effect. So the siege held on : and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craued parlee; offering to give it vp, fo as all might have leave to depart in fatetie, whither they pleafed. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions : or whilest they were isluing forth, according to the composition alreadic made; (for it is diuerfly reported) Marcellus, scizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to fword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to Fabius the Confui: wo faued them, and fent them to Capua in fafetie; all the reit were either flaine, or made prisoners. If Fabius deserved commendations, by hol-40 ding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as scaped the heat of execution, could be excused by Marcellus. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fathion, with some aquiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like fort was Mount Marfam in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall Monlue, when I was a yong man in France. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their feuerall guards, vpon hastic desire of being acquainted with the conditions propofed. The Marshall therefore discourring a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by Scalado; and put all faue the Gouernour vnto the fword. Herein that Gouernour of Mount Mar fam committed two groffe errours; the one, in that hee gaue no or-50 der for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for affurance given and received. Some fuch ouer-fight, the Couernour of Casiline seemeth to have committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by Marcellus, or by Monlue, was very honourable. When this worke was ended, many fmall Townes of the Samnites, and fome of the

Lucans and Apalians, were recovered; wherein were taken, or flaine, about five and twentie thouland of the Enemies; and the Countrie grieuoully waited by Fabius, Marcellus lying fick at Nola.

\*\*Ramibal\*\* in the meane while was about Trientum\*\*, waiting to heare from those, that had promifed to give up the Towher. But 'Mt Valerius', the Romen Propretor, had thrult so many men into it; that the Traitors durit not fittre. Wherefore the Carthagnian was faine to depart; having wearised himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrie; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which he chose for his wintring place; and beganne to victualle it, when Sommer 10 was but halfe pass. It is said, that he was in lone with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than other wise needer equired, He did not like the Romans; whom necessitie enforced, to make their Sommer last as long, as they were able to travaile vp and downe the Countrie.

About this time beganne great troubles, in Sicil, whither Marcellus the Conful was sent, to take such order for the Pronince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulting, we will speake hereafter.

The new Confuls, chosen at Rome, were Q. Fabius the sonne of the present Conful, and T. Sempronius Gracehus the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publike feruice, to imploy often times their bestable men : and therefore made 20 it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old Fabrus became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him : cleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Con(ul, fuffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse back; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it : who thereupon bad the old Fabius alight, and come to the Conful on his feet. The father chearefully did fo; faying, It was 30 my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to bee Conful. Caffins Attinius a wealthic Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battaile at Canna, had holpen the Carthaginian into that Towne, feeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came privily to this Conful Fabius, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Conful purposed to followold examples : and to make this Altinius a patterne to all Traitors, vling him, as Camillus and Fabricius had done those, that offered their vnfaithfull service against the Falisci, and King Pyrrhus. But 2. Fabius the father, was of another opinion : and faid, it was a matter of dangerous confequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the Romans, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee 49 should be sent to the Towne of Cales, and there kept as prisoner; until they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. Hannibal, vnderstanding that Altinius was gone, and among the Romans, tooke it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather seuere, than couctous, He sent for the wife and children of Altinius into his campe: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about hisriches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himfelfe. Fabius the Conful fhortly after came to Arpi: which he wanne by Scalado, in a 50 stormic and rainic night. Five thousand of Hannibals Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formult by the Carthaginian Garrison, when it was understood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the fouldiers held the townsmen fuspected;

suspected; and therefore thought it no wisedome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little relistance, the Arpines gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans: protesting, that they had beene betraied by their Princes; and were become subject to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In processe of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor went vnto the Roman Conful: and receiving his faith for fecuritie of the Towne, prefently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding; like it is, that Hannibals men continued to make good relistance. For when almost a thouland of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leave their companions, and ferue on the Roman iide; it was yet couenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered 10 to paile forth quietly, and returne to Hannibal. This was performed : and fo Arps became Roman againe; with little other loffe, than of him that had betraied it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tuditanus, one of the Pretors : and vnto Cneius Fuluius, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of Capua offered their feruice; vpon no other condition, than to have their goods restored vnto them, when their Citie should be recovered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the Campans toward Rome, it ferued to discouer the inclination of the Italians in those times, and how their affections recoiled from Hannibal, when there was no appearance of those mightie succours, that had beene promised from Carthage. The 20 Consentines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, that had yeelded themfelues to Hannibal; returned againe to their old allegeance. Others would have followed their example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of a Publican had made himfelfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some pettic exploits in forraging the countrie, was flaine by Hanne, with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibal in the meane while had all his care bent vpon Tarentum; which if hee could take, it feemed that it would fland him in good flead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Mucedon, which his Carthaginians failed to fend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his defire to paffe; and being loth to hazard his forces, where hee hoped to prenaile by intelligence: He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore Townes of the 30 Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at Rome as Embassador, practifing with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conucighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his companie were the next day fo closely purfued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to Rome; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this crueltic, or feueritie, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generallyand earneftly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discourred. Wherefore they sent agains to Hannibal: and ac-40 quainting him with the manner of their plot, made the fame composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. Nico and Philomenes, two the chiefe among them, yied much to goe forth of the Towns on hunting by night; asifthey durst not take their pleasure by day, for feare of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they miffed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their handes, that they might not feeme to have been abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of Hannibal, it was about three daies journie to Tarentum, if hee should haue marched thither with his whole Armic. This caused his long abode in one place the leffe to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. He caufedit to be given out, that he was fick. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were 50 growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their bufinesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand, the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before breake of day, made all speede thitherward. Fourescore light

horse of the Numidians ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and kil-

"ling any that they met, for feare left he, and his troupe following him, thould be dif-

There

couered. It had beene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the Roman Gouernour, when he heard tell in the cuening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that Hannibal was not as yet diflodged; and gaue order, that fome companies thould be fent out the next morning, to ftrip them of their bootie, and fend them gone. But when it grew darke night; Hannibal, guided by Philomenes, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrivall: Nico, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readic. Prefently Nico beganne to fet vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. Philomenes went toward another gate: and whiffling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make hafte, for that hee had 'alled a great Bore, so heavie, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two yong men, loaden with the Bore; which Hannibal had prepared large enough, to bee worthie the looking on. While the Porter flood wondring at the largeneffe of the beaft, Philomenes ranne him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, sell vpon all the watch; whom when he had flaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of Hannibal, entring T4rentum at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met, Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the Ro- 20 mans; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof Hannibal willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore : but few could tell what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was viskilfully founded by a Greeke in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the Tarentines, that the Romans were about to spoile the Towne; and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that flood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might eafily perceine the next morning, how all had passed. Hannibal, assembling the Tarentines, gaue them to vinderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly against 30 the Romans, as tyrannous oppreffors; and spake what else he thought fit for the prefent. This done; and having gotten fuch spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fallie out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them voable to defend the Peece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he beganne to make his approches, the Romans in a brauerie fallying forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduenture. Then gaue Hannibal a figne to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared readie for the purpose : and fiercely setting vpon the Enemie, draue him back with great 40 flaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not iffue forth. The Gitadell flood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawley Hannibal intended to fortifie in like fort against the Citadell; to the end that the Tarentines might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went fo well forward, without impediment from the belieged, that he conceined hope of winning the Peece it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all forts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his workes, there came by Sea a strong supply from Metapontum: which tooke away all hope of prenailing; and made him returne to his 50 former counsaile. Now for a fmuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the Hauen, and could not passe forth, whilest the Romans held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would fuffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea; whilest the Roman Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieued, and enabled to hold out. Againft this intonuenience, it was rather withed by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Hauen; to guard the mouth of it, and out of tall fupply from the Enemie. Tannihal told them, that this might well be done; for that their Towns flanding in plaine ground, and their firects being faire and broad, it would be ene hard matter to draw the Gallies: our Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertooks and effected; whereby the Roman Garrison was reduced into great pecoffice; schough wish much patience is held out, and found Hamibal often-times other wife buffed; than his, after required.

mes required.

Thus with mutuall loffe on both fides, the time passed; and the Roman forges. growing daily stronger, Q. Fulvius Flaceus, with Appress Claudius, lately chosen. Confuls, prepared to beliege the great Citle of Caputa. Three and twentie Legions: the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hadie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at Game a had reduced them. But to fill vp thefe Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder feuenteene yeares of age; and to fend Commissioners about fiftie miles round, for the seeking out of fuch Lads as might appeare feruiceable, and preffing them to the warrest making yet a Law, That their yeares of feruice, whoteunce they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning oo fo yong, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the Koman Armie drew neare, the Campans felt great want of victualles, as if they had alreadic beene beligged. This happened partly by floth of the Nation, partly by the great waite and fpoile. which the Romans had in foregoing yeares made vpon their grounds. They fent therefore Embassadours to Hannibal's desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable wordes: and fent Hanne with an Armic to Supply their wants. Hanne popointed them a day : against which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to flore themselves with victuailes, that he would provide. Neither did he ptomife more than he performed. For heccaused great quantitie of graine, that had beene laied up in Cities 20 round about, to be brought into his campo, three miles from Benever town in Thicheir at the time appointed came no more than fortio Garrant Wagons, with a few packs horses; as if this had been enough to victualle Copur. Such was the rachiesnesse of the Campans. Hanno was exceeding angricherest; and told them they were world than very beafts; fince hunger could not reach them to have areater garger Wherefore hee gave them a longer day; againfl which hee made providion to flore them throughly. Of all the fedoings word was lent to the Reman Confule from the Git tizens of Beneventum. Therefore Q. Kulking the Conful, taking with him fitch fireigth as hee thought needfull for the fernice, cameinto Beneuemamby night? where with diligence he made inquirie into the beliaujour of the linemie. Helear-40 ned, that Hanno with part of his Armie was gope abroad to make prouitions; that fometwo thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Variets, lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; so that little good order was kept all thought being fet vpon agreat Haruest. Hereupon the Conful bade his men prepare themselves, to affaile the Enemies campe; and leaving all his impediments within Beneventum, He marched thitherward fo early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so ynexpected, Hee had well neare forced the campe on the fudden. But it was very fireing, and very well defended : for that the longer the fight continued, the lefte defire had Fulying to lodge more of his men in the attempt; feeing many of them caft away; and yet little hope of doing, 50 good. Therefore he faid, that it were better to goe more leifurely and inblantially to worke; to fend for his fellow-Conful with the rest of their Arming and to lie betweene Hanno and home; that neither the Campans Goodld depart though, nor the Carthaginian be able to relieve them. Being thus discourling, and shout to found the retrait; bee faw, that some of his mon had notten querthe Enemies Rampart.

There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the fouldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore some Enfigne-bearers threw their Enfignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnleffe they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture fo desperately; that Fuluus, perceiving the heat of his men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were formewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadic gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne : in which were flaine aboue fixe thousand; and taken, about seven thousand; besides all the store of victuailes. and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that Hanno had lately gotten from the Ro- to man Confederates. This misaduenture, and the nearer approch of both the Confuls, made them of Capus fend a pittifull Embassage to Hannibal: putting him in minde of all the love, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made shew, to affect it no leffe than Carthage. But now, they faid, it would be lost, as Appr was lately, if he gaue not ftrong and speedie succour. Hannibal answered with comfortable wordes; and fent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilest hee himselfe was detained about Tarentum, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjovning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Hostages of the Tarantines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and, being ouer-taken, fuffered death for their attempt; were some of 20 the Metapontines, and other Cities of the Greekes, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italte, which was called of old Magna Gracia. These people tooke to heart the death of their Hostages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the Metapontines, as soone as the Roman Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to Hannibal. The Thurines would have done the like, vpon the like reason: had not some companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to mafter. Neuertheleffe they helped themselves by cunning : inuiting to their gates Hanne and Mage, that were neare at hand: against whom whilest they proffered their feruice to Atinius, the Roman captaine, they drew him forth to fight; and re- 20 coyling from him, closed up their gates." A little formalitie they vsed, in pretending feare, left the Enemie should breake in together with the Romans; in fauing Atmius himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practife) whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, eafily prevailed in the reft; and delinered up the Towne to Hanno and Mago. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained Hannibal in those quarters; whilest the Confuls, fortifying Beneventum to secure their backs, addressed themselves voto the siege of Capua.

Many difafters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprife. T. Som- 40 proning Grachus, a very good man of warre, that had of late been twice Gonful, was flaine either by recheric of some Juscaus, that drew him into an ambush; or by some Carthaginian straiglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honorably interred, either by Hamubla himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans; to whom Hamubla stortis. He was appointed to lie in Benezentam, there to sective the back of the Armiethat should besiege Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that businesse. The Volome, or Slaues lately manumided, 'storsolve their Ensigness, and wont energy one whither hee thought good, as if they had beene discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them our, and bring them back into their campe. Neuerthe-selfethe Confuls went forward with their worke; and drawing enere to Capua, did all acts of hostilitie which they could. "Mage the Carthaginian", and the Citizens of Capua, wade them an hard welcome; wherein aboue fifteen e hundred Roman were lost. Neither was it long, ere Hamubla 'Emmethither: who sought with the Confuls.

and had the better; infomuch that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went seuerall waies: Fuluius toward Cuma; Claudius, into Lucania. Hannibal followed after Claudius: who having led him a great walke, fetcht a compaise about, and returned to Capua. It so fellout, that one M. Centenius Penula a Stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where Hannibal refled, when hee was wearie of hunting after Claudius. This Penula had made great vants to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trufted with the leading of fine thousand men. The Fathers were vnwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue 10 of any good Souldier; how meane soeuer his condition were. Wherfore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand; and he himselfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp fo many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with Hannibal, he gaue proofe of the difference, betweene a front Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellowes were all (in a manner) flaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this Hannibal had word, that Cn. Fulnius, a Roman Pretor with eighteene thousand men, was in Apulia, very careleffe, and a man infufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore hafled, to visit him : hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces and about vinder men of fmall abilitie. Comming vpon Fuluius, He found him and his men fo jollie, that needes they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bestowed Alago with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambulh. Then offering battaile to Fuluius, Hee soone had him in the trap: whence hee made him glad to escape aline; leaning all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behinde him. These two great blowes, received one presently after the other, much assonished

the Romans. Neuerthelesse all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Confuls should goe substantially forwards with the 20 fiege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sate downe before the towne : and C.Claudius Nero, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from Sueffula to their affiltance. They made Proclamation, That who focuer would iffue forth of Capua before a certaineday prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that vinto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the fuccours attended from Hannibal. Before the citie was closed vp, they fent Messengers to the Carthaginian; which found him at Brundusium. He had made a long journie, in hope of gaining the Tarentine citadell : of which expectation failing, He tur-40 ned to Brundusium; vpon advertisement that he should be let in. There the Capuans methim; told him of their danger with earnest wordes; and were with wordes as braue recomforted. He bad them confider how a few daies fince he had chased the Confuls out of their fields; and told them, that we would prefently come thither againe, and fend the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answere the Meffengers returned : and hardly could get back into the citie; which the Romans had almost entrenched round. As for Hannibal himselfe; He was of opinion, that Capua, being very well manned, and heartily denoted vnto his friendship, would hold out along time: and thereby give him leifure, to doe what he thought requisite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italie; whilst the Roman armie spent it to felfe in a tedious fiege. Thus he lingred; and thereby gaue the Confuls time, both to fortifie themselues at Capua, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in Rome; whileft he himfelfe pursued hopes, that never found successe.

Claudius and Fuluius, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the flege at Capua; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The townes-

CHAP.3. S.14.

men often fallied out : rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect : the Enemie lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan horse (for their foot was eafily beaten) the Romans vied to thrust out fome troups, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the Campans vibally had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who fcorned to take foile at the hands of fuch Rebells. It was therefore deuifed, that fome active and couragious yong men, should learne to ride behinde the Roman men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the Velstes, having each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon to the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of service, they much disheart. ned in the maine. The time thus paffing, and famine daily increasing within the Citie; Hannibal came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs. called Galatia, fell vpon their campe. At the fame time the Capuans iffued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuife: fetting all their multitude of vnferuiceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Bafons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. Appins Claudius opposing himselfe to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuertheleffe, in purfuing them to their gates, He received a wound, that accompanied him in short space 20 after to his graue. 2. Fuluius was held harder to his taske, by Hannibal and the Carthaginian Armic. The Roman campe was even at point to have beene loft and Hannibal his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or elfe (for the report varies) being some of them flaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in fuch fort, that their bodies ferued as a bridge vnto the Affailants. It is faid, that Hamibal in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could fpeake Latine well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Confuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and slie betimes vnto the next Hills, for almuch as the campe was alreadic loft. But all would not ferue. The trand was detected: and the Armie, having fitten there fo long, had at 20 good leifure itrongly entrenched it felfe; fo as little hope there was to raife the fiege

This did extremely perplexe the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome it felfe; and now his defire of winning the Tarentine Citadell, had well-neare lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citic of Tarentum, were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vie; on the fudden he entertained an haughtierefolution, even to fet vpon Rome; and carrie to the walls of that proud Citie, the danger of warre that threatned Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to 40 draw the Roman Generalls, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Armie; then had be his desire: If they divided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despaire, that the terror of his comming might fo affonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His only feare was, left the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had for saken them; and therupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemie. To prevent this danger, He sent letters to Capua by a subtile Numidian: who running as a fugitive into the Roman campe, conveighed himfelfe thence over the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The journie to Rome, was so to be performed with great celeritie: no small hope of good successe, resting in the fuddennesse of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his men, to have in a readineffe ten daies victuailes; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the River of Vulturnus. This could not be done fo closely, but

that the Roman Generalls by fome fugitives had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate: which was therewith affected, according to the diverlitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counfaile to let alone Capua, yea and all places elfe, rather then to put the Towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the Enemic. Others were fo farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that Hannibal, being vnable to relieue Capua, should judge himselfe strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore stoutly said, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citie, would ferue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and fend him thence; if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded that letters should be sent to Fuluius and Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the prefent were in Rome: who, fince they knew best, what the strength was which Hannibal could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generalls at Capua, to doe as they thought behouefull and if it might conveniently be, neither toraife their fiege, nor yet to put the Citie of Rome into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, Q. Fuluius tooke fifteene thou fand foote, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Armic: with which he hasted toward Rome; leaving App. Claudins, who could not travell by reason of his wound, to continue 20 the fiege at Capua.

Hannibal, having passed over Vulturnus, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might ferue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hafted he away toward Rome; flaying no longer in any one place, then henceds must. Yet found he the bridges ouer Liris broken downe, by the people of Fregelle: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more gricuously to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to Rome, the greater waste he made: his Numidians running before him; driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all fores and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, 30 one after another, into the Citie; fome few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were peftered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senatours were all in the great Market, or place of Assemblie, readic to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part Hannibal would fall. In the middeft of this trepidation, there came newes that Q. Fuluius, with part of the Armie from Capus, was hasting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Proconful did expire, at his returne home, and entrie into the Gates of Rome. Where-40 fore, that Fuluius might lose nothing by comming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That He should have equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. He and Hannibal arrived at Rome, one soone after another: Fuluius having beene long held occupied in passing over Vulturnus; and Hannibal receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to give. The Confuls, and Fuluius, incamped without the Gates of Rome; attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especiall order, against all occurrences. Hannibal came to the River Anio or Anien, three miles from the Towne: whence He aduanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way vader the walk; viewing 50 the fite thereof, and confidering how he might best approach it. But He either went, or (as the Roman Storic faith) was driven away; without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults role in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. About the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon Vuuuu

fome displeasures) from Hannibal to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in Rome: which were appointed by the Confuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount Auentine to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their feruice might be vicfull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the feburbe. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of Hannibal; bred fuch militaking, as caufed a great vprore among the people : all crying out, that Agentine was taken, and the enemie gotten within the wals. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth : and the streetes were so full of cattaile, and husbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Viilages adjoyning, that the paffage was flopt vp: and the poore Namidians pittifully 10 beaten from the house-toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the gates, had it not beene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedie the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which had beene Dictators, Confuls, or Confors, should have authoritie as Magistrates, till the Enemie departed. The day following, Hannibal passed ouer Anien. and presented battaile to the Romans, who did not wisely if they undertooke it. It is faid, that a terrible showre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their scuerall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as foone as they were departed afunder. Certaine it is, that Hannibal, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies prouision, could 20 not endure to flay there, vntill his victuals were all fpent. In which regard, the Romans, if they fuffered him to wall his time and prouitions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-aduited men; if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is faid) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terrour of Hannibals comming to the Citie, how great focuser it was at the first, yet after some leifure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared leffe than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and foone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the fame time, the supplie appointed for Spaine, after the death of the two Scipio's, was fent out of the towne, & went forthat one gate, whileft the Carthaginian lay before a 30 nother. In all Panish terrours, as they are called, wherof there is either no cause known or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedie, to doe somewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, were it fuch, as men haue fallstoned it in their amafed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did Clearchus pacific a foolish vprore in his Armie, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had fent the Affeinto the Campe. But in this present example of the Romans, appeares withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they fultained their reputation, and augmented it no leffe, than by this bolde attempt of Hannibal it might feeme to have beene diminified. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceipts of their Encmics, and taken away the difgrace of that feare, which clowded their valour at his first comming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that veric piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay incamped, was folde in Rome: and foldeit was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignitie comming to his care, incenfed Hannibal fo much, that he made Fortfale of the Silver-fmithes shops, which were neare about the Market or Common place in Rome; as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne, were no whit worse, then any Roman Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, whereon herai- 50 fed his Tent. But this counter-practife was nothing worth. The Romans did feeke to manifest that affurance, which they justly had conceined; Hannibal, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was alreadie past. His victuailes were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed vinto himselfe, this journey had brought

forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what spoile he could in the Roman Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to begotten, He paffed like a Tempelt ouer the Countrie; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fait that hee had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for Capua hee gaue it lost : and is likely to have curfed the whole faction of Hanno, which thus difabled him to relieue that faire Citie; fince he had no other way to vent his griefe. O. Fuluius returning back to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that who fo would

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yeeld, before a certaine day, might fafely doe it. This, and the very returne of 10 Fuluius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gaue the Capuans to viderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his owne cuill deserts, told him that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was given, by Hanno and Bostar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could only be found, how to convey fuch letters vnto him, as they would write, The carriage of the letters was undertaken, by some Numidians : who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne, into the Roman campe, wanted fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conveigh themfelius away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Towne; and the letters of Bostar and Hanno, were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto Hannibal, that he would not thus for fake the Capuans and them. For (faid they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium and Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions wheresoener they lie, there also should the Carthaginian Armic be readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canne. In fine. they befought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view : promiting, to make a desperate fallic, if he would once more aduenture to let vpon the Roman camp. Such were the hopes of Bollar and his 30 fellow. But Hannibal had alreadie done his best : and now beganne to faint under the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Hanno and his Partifans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. Links It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capus, had beene fent over by the Hannonians, to observe the doings of Hannibal, and to check his proceedings. If this were fo; justly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedilesse necessitie. Howsoever it were, the letters directed vnto Hannibal, fell (as is showed) into the Roman Proconfuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all fuch counterfait fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake 40 the hearts of the Campans: fo that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding up of Capua vnto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeares since had beene most forward in joyning with Hannibal, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them inuited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them fuch an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemie fought vpon their bodies. About seuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lines together, by drinking poison. All the reft, hoping for more mercie than they had deferued, yeelded fimply to diferetion. 50 So one of the Towne-gates was fet open: whereat a Roman Legion with fome other companies, entring, difarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian Garrifon , and commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe. Attheir comming thither, the Proconfuls laid yrons voon them all : and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe Vuuuu 2 custodic:

custodie; some to Cales; others to Theanum. Touching the generall Multitude: they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by Fuluins in the meanewhile, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersitie. Ap. Claudius was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received : yet was hee not inexorable to the Campans; as having loued them well in former times, and having given his daughter in marriage to that Pacuvius, of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made Fuluius the more hastic intaking vengeance: for feare, left, vpon the like respects, the Roman Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common safetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto Theanum, and from thence to Cales : where hee caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death; binding them to flakes, and foourging them first a good while with rods; af-

ter which he ftruck off their heads. This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder, made all Townes of Italie the leffeapt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans : and bred a general linclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the Roman lide. The Mellans, Calatines, and Sabatines, people of the Campans, that in the former change had followed the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submission, for very fear, and want of abilitie to relift. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by Fulnius: who dealt fo extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into Rome: where they found meanes by night-time, to let on fire fo many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to have been confumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any flaue, and other fufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the Campans, being detected by a flaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his libertic promifed, was given about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their descrits. Fuluius hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme scueritigeaused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that some period might be fet vnto their miferies. That whereupon the Senators resolued in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poore women in Capua (of which one had beene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for flanes, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further defolation: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day; and confined vnto seuerall places, as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of Capua, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and commodious fite: but no corporation, or forme of politic, was allowed to be therein; only a Roman Prouest was euerie yeare sent, to gouerne ouer those that should inhabitit. and to doe justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glorie of Hannibal beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before : his oile being farre spent; and that, which should have revived his slame, being vnfortunately fhed: as shall be told in place convenient.

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How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil, held warre against the Romans in those slands; and were



Hilest things passed thus in Italie; the commotions raised in Sardinia and Sicil by the Carthaginians and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the industrious valeur of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great and fudden: about thirtie thousand being vo

in armes, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppresse it. One Harlicor as with his fonne Hiostus, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by Hanno a Carthaginian, that promifed the affiltance of his Countrie. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had beene directed vnto the profecution of that maine bulinesse in Italie; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would have fufficed, if they could have hindred the Romans from fending an Armie into Sardinia. Harficoras with his followers might well enough have served to drive out 2. Mutius the Pretor; who lay sick 20 in the Pronince; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular injurie, whereof the sense was most grieuous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to have discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For where as they sent ouer Aldrubal, furnamed the bald, with a competent fleet and armie; affifted in this Expedition by Hannothe Author of the rebellion, and by Margo a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neare kinsman to Hannibal : it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitic of foule weather was cast vpon the Baleares; so beaten, and in such euill 30 plight, that the Sardinians had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanguished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was fent from Rome with two and twentie thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Hand, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Confulfhip, It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preserve and vp-hold in their severall Provinces. the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any injurie were done vnto the Prouincialls; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or what focuer accident required the affiftance of a Patron : the first Conqueror, and his race after 40 him, were the most readic and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very sure intelligence in enery Province. and had alwaics in readineffe fit men to reclaime their Subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of Manlius, retayned in obedience all that were not alreadie broken too farre out. Yet was Harficor as fo strong in field, that Manlius was compelled to arme his Marriners : without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twentie thousand, whereof we have spoken before : He landed at Calaris or Carallis. where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Countrie, and sought out the Enemie. Hyostus, the sonne of Harsteoras, had then the command of the Sardinian Aro mieleft vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in more friends to their fide. This yong Gentleman would needes adventure to get honor, by giving battaile to the Romans at his owne discretion. So hee rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible ouerthrow; and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. Hyestus himselfe, with

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the rest of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither Manluss pursued them. Very soone after this defeature came Afdrubal with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia, in such halte as he might have done, if the tempelt had not hindred his voiage; yet foone enough, and firong enough to faue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebells. Manlius herevpon with-drew himselfe back to Calaris: where he had not staied long, ere the Sar. dimians (fuch of them as adhered to the Roman partie) craued his affiftance; their Countrie being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebells, with whom they had refused to joyne. This drew Manlus forth of Calaris: where if he had flaied a little longer, Afarabal would have fought him out with some blemish to his reputation. Ic But the fame of Afarabal and his companie, appeares to have been greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in a few skirmishes; Manlius adpentured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he flew twelue thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians three thousand. Foure houres the battaile lasted : and victoric at length fell to the Romans, by the flight of the Manders; whose courages had beene broken in their unprosperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong Hyoftue, and of his father Harficorus, that flew himselfe forgriefe, together with the captivitie of Afdrubal himselfe, with Mago and Hannothe Carthaginians; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquilhed Armie fled into Cornus: whither Manlius followed them; and in fhort space wanne 20 the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of Cornus, and yeelded vnto the Roman: who impoling vpon them fuch increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best forted with the nature of their severall offences, or their abilitie to pay, returned back to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence to Rome; leaving Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicil: was of greater length, and every way more burdensometo Rome: as alfothe victoric brought more honour and profit; for that the Romans became thereby not only fauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of Syracuse, to that which they enjoyed before. Sooneafter the battaile of Canna, the old King of Syracufe died: who 20 had continued long a fledfast friend unto the Romans; and greatly relieued them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to Hieronymus his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeares of age; Gelo his fonne, that should have beene his heire, being dead before. To this yong King his successor, Hiero appointed lifteenetutors: of which the principall were Andronodorus, Zoilus, and Themisius; who had maried his daughters, or the daughters of Gelo. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; Andronodorus, waxing wearie of so many Coadjutors, beganne to commend the sufficiencie of the yong Prince, as extraordinariein one of his yeares; and faid, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giving over his owne charge, he caused others to doethe like : hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands ; which came to passe in a fort as hee defired. For Hieronymus, laying aside all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitic, it was only in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer feene the like in Hiero, or in Gelo his fonne. But much more he offended them, when by his infolent behaulour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, he would reviue the memorie of Tyrants dead long lince, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, 50 lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him : fo that such of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to line in banishment : the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

Only Andronodorus, Zoilus, and one Thraso continued in grace with him, and were his Counfailers, but not of his Cabinet. Thefe, howfocuer they agreed in other points, were at fome diffension about that maine point, of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleafures, which was fet on change: but Thirafo, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilest as yet it remained fomewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline : a confpiracie against his Person, was detected by a groome of his; to whom, one Theodorus had broken the matter. Theodorus hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; to thereby to wring out of him the whole practife, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing; but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremitie of the torture; he confessed, that he had beene set on by Thraso; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neare in loue or place vnto Hieronymus. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and neuer shrunke for the matter; affuring themselves, that the resolution of Theodorus would yeeld to no extremitic. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himfelfe, when Thrafo was taken out of the way, quickly refolued vpon fiding on with the Carthaginians; whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wifer than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of Hiero to the Romans, in their great necefficie, had of late beene fuch, as might have beene termed excelling, were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne chate, that depended vpon theirs. But the yong Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off; regarded only the things prefent; the weakenesse of Rome; the prevalent fortunes of Carthage; and the much monie that his grand-father had laide out in vaine, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hannibal: who readily entred into good correspondence with hims that was maintained by Hippocrates & Epicides. 20 Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syraensian. These grew into fuch fauour with Hieronymus, that they drew him whither they lifted. So that when Appius Claudius the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweenethe People of Rome and the King of Syracule. his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For Hieronymas would needes haue them tell him, the order of the fight at Canna; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe: saying . That he could hardly beleetie the Carthaginians; so wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Hauing thus dismissed the Romans, he fent Embassadors to Carthage, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Domini-40 on; but afterward, that hee should raigne over all Sign; and the Carthoginians rest fatisfied, with what they could get in Italie. At these doings Ap. Claudius did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the Romans, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced youn them by neceffitie; and partly (as may feeme) for that the reputation, both of him felfe, and of his Citie, had received fuch blemish, by that which happed vnto him in his journie, as much discountenanced him when he came into Sicil, and forbad him to looke hig. The money that Hiero had bestowed upon the Romans, wherewith to relieve them in their necessitie, this Appius was to carrie back vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But 50 in fleed of returning the monie with thanks, as he had beene directed, and as it had beene notifed abroad that hee should doe; the warre against Philip King of Macedon (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside their vaine glorie, and fend word after him, that he should configue that monie over to Marcus Valerius; of whose voiage into Greece, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to

beare the charge. This was done accordingly : and hereby Claudius (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed. from a glorious oftentation of the Roman magnanimitie; into fuch a pittifull tune of thanksgining, as must needes have bred forrow and commisseration, in so true a friend as Hiero; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of passime and scorne. in Hieronymus the new King.

But whilest Hieronymus was more desirous of warre, than well resoluted how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innovation in the state of Syracuse; which thereby might have prospered more than ever. had it beene wifely gouerned. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom we spake before, 10 were fent about the Countrie with two thousand men; to follicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a Citic of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all hafte, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betweene him and his guard, ftrooke him dead. Forthwith libertic was proclaimed: and the found of that word fo joyfully answered by the Leontines, that the guard of Hieronymus, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their 20 Captaines; which wrought fo effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Armie, as in detellation of his bad life, fuffered his carkaffe to lie vnburied. These newes, ranne quickly to Syracuse: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, possed away; to signific all that had passed; to flirre vp the people to libertie; and to prepent Andronodorus, if he, or his fellowes would make offer to viurpe a Tyrannie. The Syracufians hereupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselues masters of their owne Citie. Andronodorus on the other fide fortified the Palace, and the Island : being yet vicertaine what to doe; betweene desire of making himselfe a sourraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife Demarata, that was 30 the daughter of Hiere cherished him in his hopes; putting him in minde of that well knowne Proucrbe, which Dionysius had vied ; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horfe-back. But feare, and better counfaile preuailed fo farre; that Andronodorus, having flept vpon the matter; diffembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People : telling them; That hee was glad to fee, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, least they would not have contained themselves within bounds of discretion; but rather have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that fince he beheld their order- 40 ly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their libertic perforce, but to wed it vnto th em for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendred vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had beene an cuill Mafter, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which Andronodorus was one, and the chiefe. But fuch was his delire of Soueraignetie: and fo vehement were the infligations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practife with Hippocrates, Epicides, and other Captaines of the Mercinaries : hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. Hippocrates and Epicides, had beene with the Stracusian Pretors, and told them, that, being fent from Hannibal to Hieronymus, they according 50 to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he lived, what service they could; and that now they were defirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed and with a convoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and fet them fafe at Locri. This was

calily granted: both for that the Syracufian Magistrates were well contented to earne thankes of Hannibal, with fuch a little curtefie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good fouldiers, and gratious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the delire of these two Sicilians, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindfull of the bulineffe, for which Hannibal had fent them. Wherefore they infinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the armie with tumult: especially of the Roman fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the Romans and Syraculians were come to agreenent. Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had great neede of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found Themistius, that had married Harmonia the fifter of Hieronymus, readie to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents; he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and Themislius, entring into the Senate, were flaine out of hand; and afterward accused to the People, of all the cuill which they had done, whileft Hieronymus liued, as by his authoritie; and now fince attempted, in feeking to viurpe the tyrannic themselves. It was also declared that the daughters of Hiero and Gele, were accessarie to this dangerous treason; and that the virguiet spirits of these women, would neuer cease to worke, virtill they had reconered those Royall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of Hiero and Gelo, were also condemned to die: and executioners prefently fent by the enraged people, to take away their liues, Demarata, and Harmonia, had perhaps descrued this heavie sentence; but Heradea, the daughter of Hiero, and wife of Sosippus, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the haltie execution of this rash judgement. Her hufband Solippus was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by Hieronymus, that being sent Embassador to King Ptolemie, &c., he durst not returne home; but staied in £gypt as a banished man. This considera-20 tion, when it was too late, together with fome other pittiful accidents accompany ing the flaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselves) all cryed out you the authors of fo foule a butcherie. Being thus incenfed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an eledion of new Pretors, in the roome of Andronodorus and Themistius, that were lately flaine: meaning to fubflitute fuch in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a greatrowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of fouldiers that preffed into the throng. One of these, named Epicides Pretor; another named Hippocrates; and the leffe that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more cager was the multitude; and by a generall 40 crie forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the Syracufians and the Romans. But having striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in scare of Ap. Claudius, and of Marcellus, that was lately come into Sicil; they gaue way vnto the time, and fuffered the old league of Hiero to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practife. The Leontines had some neede of a Garrison: and to them was fent Hippocrates the Pretor; attended, by fuch fugitiues, and mercinarie fouldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent 50 word vnto the Syracusians, that they had alreadic broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept fincerely, untill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. Episides, fearing to fustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more defirous to fet forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the Leontines, whom he perswaded to rebell against the Syracu-

fians. For he faid, that fince they had all of late ferued one Master; there was little reason why the Leontines should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the Syracusians; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was flaine, and libertic first proclaimed. Wherefore, fince they of Syracus were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the Leantines; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the chaine, wher with both the one, and the other were bound : his aduice was. that fuch their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the league, made of late by the Romans and Syracusians. For it was agreed, That all which had been 10 Subject to HIERO and HIERONYMVS, Should henceforth, be Vassals unto the state of Syracule. Against this article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; Epicides told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had loft not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this craftie Carthaginian propounded; if the Leontines had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the Syracustans. But seeing they had long since yeelded vnto Syracuse, and been subject vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather scasonable than just. Neuerthelesse the motion of Epicides was highly approued: in fo much that when meffengers came foone after from Syracufe, 20 to rebuke the Leontines, for that which they had done against the Romans; and to denounce vnto Hippocrates and Epicides, that they should get them gone either to Local or whither elfethey lifted, fo that they stated not in Sieil: word was returned, That they of Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answere, was forth-with reported vnto Marcellus by the Syracufians: who offered him their affistance in doing justice vpon the Leontines their Rebells; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. Marcellus required no better fatisfaction : but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one 30 day. At the first assault, Leontium was taken : all saue the Castle, whereinto Hippoerates and Epicides fled; and stealing thence away by night conneied themselves into the Towne of Herbesus. The first thing that Marcellus did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other Roman Captaines vsed after victorie; to fecke out the fugitive Roman flaves and renegados, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he tooke to mercie; for bearing also to strip or spoile them. But the same of his doings was bruted after a contrarie fort. It was faid, that he had flaine, Man, Woman, and Ghild, and put the Towne to fack. These newes met the Syracusian Armie vpon the way, as it was going to joyne with Marcellus, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercinaries 40 there were, that had beene sent forth of Syracuse, under Sosis and Dinomenes two of the Pretors, to serue against the Leontines and other Rebells. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrie: but the fouldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercinaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-fouldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene so cruelly butchered : and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to bee angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vinquiet thoughts another way, and fet them aworke in some place else: for as much as at Leonium there was no neede of their feruice. So toward Herbefus they marched: where lay 50 Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects of all this mischiefe, deniling what further harmethey might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two bretheren were no leffe well aware : and therefore aduentured vpon a remedic litle leffe desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbejus vnarmed, with olive branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselues to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of Creete were in the vantguard; that had been well yled by Hieronymus; and some of them greatly bound vnto Hennibal; who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These Cretans therefore welcomed the two bretheren, and bad them be of good cheare; faying, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vie their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by feueritie; which would not ferue. For when they commanded thefe two Trattors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was fo violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto Megara; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, Hippocrates denifed a trick; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vicertaine case wherein he flood. He caused letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretans; directed (as they made shew) from the Syracusian Pretors, to Marcellus. The contents hereof were, That Marcellus had well done, in committing ail to the fword among the Leontines: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercinaries belonging to Syracuse; which were offentiue, all of them in generall, to the libertic of the Citie, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfait Epiftle was openly rehearfed : the vprore was fuch, that Solis and his fellow Pretor, were glad to for fake the campe, and flie for the r lines. All the Syracufians remayning behinde, had been cut in pecces by the enrage d fouldiers, if the two artificers of the fedition had not faued their lines; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had served among the Leontines, to justifie the bruit of Marcellus his cruelcie; and to carrie home the newes to Syracufe, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multi-ude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In 20 good time (faid fome) was the auarice and crueltic of the Romans detected: who, had they in like fort gotten into Syracufe, would have dealt much worfe; where their greedie appetites might have beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discoursing, and denising how to keepe out the wicked Komans, Hip. poerutes with his Armie came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnleffe for want of helpe, they would be betraied to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wifest of the Senate, would faine have kept him out: but the violence of the fouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ftrong furie of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediatelyfell vpon the Pretors; whom (being for faken by all men) he put to the fword, and 40 made flaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke : and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue libertie to all flanes and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest fort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of Syracu/.

When Marcellus was advertifed of this great alteration, beethought it no time for him to fit fill, and attend the further iffue. He fent Embaffadours to Syraes(L); that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chaled out as enemies. Then drew he eneare with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, fint before him, fome to require a parlee. The were entertained without the walls by 50 the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the Roman were come thither, not with purpofe to doe hurt, but in fauour of the Syraes(Lows, which were oppreffed by Tyrans; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that the se worthie men, their Confederates, which were chafed out of the Towne, might be fusifiered to returne and

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enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto Epicides briefly answered, That if their errand had beene to him, he could have told what to fay to them: but fince it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; her told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege Syracuje was an other manner of worke, than to take Leontium. Thus hee fent them gone; and returned back into the Citie. Immediately beganne the fiege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quick and easie winning of Leontium did put Marcellus in hope, that follong a circuit of walls, as compaffed Syracufe, being manned with to no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom hee had lately dealt, would in fome part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuertheleffe all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of premailing by open force. taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first affaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hallie victorie. But there lived at that time in Syracuse, Archimedes the noble Mathematician: who at the request of Hierothe late King, that was his kinsman. had framed fuch engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vie, did more mischiefe to the Romans than could have beene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This Archimedes discoursing once with Hiere, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were fome other earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold affertion, he performed fome strange workes; which made the King entreat him to convert his fludie vnto things of vie; that might preserve the Citie from danger of enemies. To fuch Mechanical workes, Archimedes, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injurie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propolitions, vnto the workemanlhip, and gaine, of bale handicrafts men. And of this opinion Plato was an author: who greatly blamed fome Geometricians; that feemed vnto him to profane their feience, by making it vulgar. Neither must wee rashly taske a man so wise as Plato, with the imputation of supercilious austeritie, or affected fingularitie in his reprehension. For it hath beene the vnhappie fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published; and being once made knowne, to bee vnder-valued; as falling within compaffe of the meanest wit; and things, that every one, could well have performed. Hercof (to omit that memorable example of Columbus his discouerie, with the much different forts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it ) in a familiar and most homely example, we may fee most apparent proofe. He that lookes upon our Englifb Brewers, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke 40 it ridiculous to heare one fay, that the making of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from fome of an extraordinarie knowledge in natural Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leffe, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be faid of many handicrafts : and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wife men, grew after ward corrupted by those, to whom the practise fell; that is, by fuch, as could flubber things eafily oner, and feede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doc good vnto mankinde, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a 50 kinde of injustice, that the long travells of an understanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; or yeeld leffe benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere ftrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And furely, if the paffion of Enuic, haue in it any thing allowable

and naturall, as have Anger, Feare, and other the like Affections : it is in some such cale as this; and ferueth against those, which would viurge the knowledge, wherewith God harn denied to endue them. Nanertheleffe if we have regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that every one ought to beare vinto the generalitie of mankinde, after the example of him that faffereth his Sunne to bine upon the init and uniust : it will appeare more commendable in wife men, to enlarge themfeines, and to publish wnto the world, those good things that Ive buried in their own bolomes This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed toit fome dangerous cunnings, that may beg peruerted by guill men to a in mischicuons vie. For it the secret of any rare Antidot, contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecoverable powson; better it were, that such a jewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and bonest man; than being made common bind all men to vie the remedig, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which Archimedes published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engins, feruing vito the defence of Syracufe; not fit for the Syraculians to carry abroad to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to we them but referred fo much to his own direction; that after his death more of the fame kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the Romans. It fufficed vnto this worthy many that hee had approved, even vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was belides his purpole.

\*\*Asselfus had caused certaine of his \*\*Deinquereme\*\* Gallies to be fallened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the walk. Against these.

Archimedes had fundric deuices; of which any one fort might have repelled the affaylants : but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heavie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. The seaffliched such as lay farre off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual voly of fliot, which 20 they could not endure. Some with an yron graple were taken by the prow and hoified up; shaking out all the men; and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange engins were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rockes; and all of them were so beaten, that they durst never come to any second assault. In like fort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the Roman engins of battery; and forced Marcellus to give over the affault. For remedie hercof it was conceived, that if the Romans could earely before day get necre vnto the walls; they should be (as it were) under the point blanck, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which to were woond up hard to shoote a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the affavlants liues. For the shot came downe right vpon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great flaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to flav by it) cuen till they were gotten very farreoff. This did so terrifie the Romans; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that Archimedes his engins were readie to discharge. Neither knew Marcellus how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engins had stood you the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by fome device, to make them vnfer-50 niceable. But all, or the most of them were out of fight; being erected in the streets behinde the walls; where Archimedes gave directions how to vie them. Wherefore the Roman had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all provision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke.

For the enemies having fo goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the Carthaginians that were fitting by Sea, Willing to Supply them were not likely fo foone to bee confumed with famine, as the beliegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before fo firong a Citle ; having no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most bonourable course.

In the meane while, Himiled, Admitalt of a Carthaginian fleet, that had waited long about Sitit, being by Hippocrates addicatifed of these passages, went hometo Caribage ; and there fo dealt with the Senate; that fitte and twentie thouland foot, threethouland horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed vnto his charge; to wherewith to make warre vpon the Romans in Sail by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged voto the Carthaginians, did veeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiese, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the Carthaginians; Marcelles with a great part of his Armie, role from Syratufe, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke Pelwis and Herbefas, which yeelded onto him. He tooke also Megara by force and fackt it : either to terrific others that were obftinate, especially the Syrataflans; or elfe because Rome was at this time poore, and his Armie must have somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall delire was to have faued derigentum : whither hee came too late ; for Himilto had gotten it before. 20 Therefore he returned back toward Syraicale; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the Carthaginian that was too flrong for him. The circumspe-Gion that he vied, in regard of Himileo; flood him in good flead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For Hippocrates, leaving the charge of Syracuse vnto his brother, had lately iffued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; intending to joyne his forces with Himileo. Marcellus fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other; and the Romans, being in good order, got an easie victoric, against the dispersed and halfe vnarmed Syracissians. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the Sicilians from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere Himileo, toyning with Hippocrates, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure; and presented battaile to Marcellas, enen at his Trenches, but the Roman wifely refused it. Bomilear alfo a Carthaginian, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of Syraense; and victuailed the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from Rome, which escaped from Himileo, and fafely arrived at Marcellus his campe: yet many places revolted vnto the Carthaginians; and flue or betraied the Roman Garrisons.

In the midft of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile: and Marcellus leaving some of his Armie before Syracuse, that he might not seeme to have given over the fiege, went vnto Leontium; where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he flood in doubt; whether it were better to 40 continue the laborious worke of belieging Syracufe; or to turne all his forces to Agrigentum, against Himileo and Hippocrates. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from Syracuse, as vnable to prevaile: and he himselfe was of an eager disposition, euer vinwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not faisible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to Syraeuse: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his delire. Especially hee affaied to preuaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the Syracusian Gentlemen that were in his campe; exhorting them to 50 practife with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doc; because the towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slaue vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into Syraense;

where he talked in private with some few, as he had beene instructed. Thus beganne Murcellus to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators yied to fend him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: But when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselues able to effect somewhat of importance : all was discourred; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while; one Damasippus a Lacedamonian, that had beene fent out of the Towne as an Embaffadour to Philip King of Macedon, was fallen into the hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very delirous to ranfome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, nor farre from the walls. There, one of the Romans, looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones : and, making an estimate of the height, judged it leffe than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith bee acquainted Marcellus: who cauling better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinaric length would reach it; made all things readic, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly garded : neither was there hope to prevaile by force against Archimedes, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a sugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto Diana, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citic, as in for-20 mer times, Epicides, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wilhed. Wherefore Marcellus, in the dead of the festivall night, came vnto the walls; which he tooke by Scalado, Syracuse was divided into foure parts (or fine, if Epipole were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diffinet Cities. When therefore Marcellus had gotten fome peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and fafe lodging, with good flore of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the reft. For there were now a great many, as well of those in Acradinia and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were alreadie in the hands of Marcellus, that beganne to hearken vnto. composition; as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the Romans 20 had taken and fackt. As for the weapons of Archimedes, little harme, or none they did, vnto those, that were sheltred vnder strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his helpe; fince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The Roman fugitiues, and Renegados, were more carefull than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if Marcellus could prenaile. Hippocrates and Himileo, were daily expected; and Bomilear was fent away to Carthage, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long cre Hippocrates and Himileo came : who fell vpon the old camp of the Romans, whilest Epicides sallied out of Acradina vpon Marcellus. But the Romans made fuch defence in each part, that the Affailants were repelled. Neuertheleffe, 40 they continued to befet Marcellus: whom they held in a manner as fireightly befieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dillodge. The Romans were (though somewhat leffe) afflicted with the same pestilence, in fo much that Bomilear did put the Citie of Carthage in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wanted no desire to doe his Countrie service : but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at Pachynus with a strong fleet: where he staied; being loath to double the Cape; for that the windes did better ferue the enemie than him. Thither failed Epicides out of Syracufe : to acquaint him with the necessities of the 50 Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length hee came forward: but meeting with the Roman fleet, that was readic for him, he stood off into the deepe; and failed away to Tarentum, bidding Sicil farewell, Then durft not Epicides returne into Syracuse, but went to Agrigentum: where he expected the iffue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The Sicilian fouldiers, that remained aliue of Hippocrates his Armie, lay as neare as they could fately, vnto Marcellus; and some of them, in a strong Townethree miles off. These had done what good they could to Syracuse, by doing what hurt they could vnto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the state of Siell was ginen as desperate by the Carthaginians: they sent Embassadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselues, and for the Towner Hercunto Marcellus willingly gaue care : for he had flaied there long enough ; and had cause to seare, that after a little while, the Carthaginians might come thither ftrong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their liber- 10 tie and proper lawes; yet fuffering the Romans to possesse, whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom Epicides had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto Marcellas: when suddenly the Roman fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiuing their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themselues, and betraied the Armie to the Romans, Wherefore they presently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-chosen Pretors: whom they flue; and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The treatie therefore was againe fet on foot, and wan-20 ted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some seare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the Roman avarice in the sack of Epipola, Tyche, and Neapolis, the parts alreadie taken; or by fome defire of Marcellus to get the Towne by force, that hee might vie the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject vnto Rome. Mericus a Spaniard was one of the fixe Captaines, that had beene chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit about all other respects. With this Captaine, Marceilus dealt fecretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes; that went in companie with the Roman Embassadours, daily passing too and fro. This craftic Agent, perswaded Mericus, That the Romans had alreadiegot- 30 ten all Spaine: and that if ever he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in Spaine, or any where elfe; it was now the only time to doe it; by conforming himfelfe to the will of the Roman Generall. By fuch hopes the Spanish Captaine was eafily wonne : and fent forth his owne brother among the Syracufian Embaffadours, to ratific the couenant with Marcellus.

This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the Syracusians, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his comming to Rome. For the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had beene fuch, as deferued not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much leffe, that the mileries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercinaries, should minister vnto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of Hieronymus; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicides : it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of Rome. They had lately flaine many the principall of Epicides his followers; and many of themselves had also been flaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their delire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascalitic, and some ill aduised Persons, joyned with the Souldiers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of the slaughter which they so heard to be cone at Leontium, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the Syracustans, to make a bargaine under-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries ? These things were objected against Marcellus, at his re-

turne home. But the Senators, thought it a great deale better, to comfort the Syrarefirms with gentle wordes, and promifes of good viage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and give over the Dominion of a Citic, fo great, wealthic, flrong, and many waies important. Neuertheleffe if we confider the many inconveniences and great mischiefes, whereunto Syracuse was obnoxious; both by cuill neighbours, and by that very forme of politie, after which it was governed: wee may truly affirme, That it received no small benefit, by becomming subject vnto Rome. For thereby it was not only affured against all forraine enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and fush T yrants as of old had raigned therein ; but freed from the necessitie of banithing, or murdering, the most worthic Citizens, as also from all factions, intelline feditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealoutie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citie, from ber first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished. when it refted fecure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molefted, by the difease of ambition; whereof by Marcellus his victorie it was throughly cured. But fuch benefit, arifing from wrongsdone, ferues not to make injuffice the more excufable : vnleffe we should approve the answere of that Theefe, who being found to have stollen a filter cup from a lick man, faid, He neuer leaves drinking.

By the treason of Mericus, the Roman Armie was let into possession of all Syracuse: wherein, the bootie that it found, was faid to have beene no leffe, than could have beene hoped for, if they had taken Carthage it felfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sen against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith Syracuse was margailoufly adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left vntouched; faue only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from Hippocrates and Epicides, into the Roman campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of Archimedes, was greatly lamented, even by Marcellus himselfe. He was so busic about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he hearkned not to the noise, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. Marcellus tooke heavily the death of him; and caused his body to bee honourably 20 buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an infeription of the proportion betweene them; which hee first found out. An Invention of solittle vie, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artifl better, than the deuifing of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is betweene the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For many an one would thinke the monie loft, that had been spent your a sonne, whose fludies, in the Vniuerlitie had brought forth fuch fruit, as the proportion betweene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of Syracule, all the Townes in Sicil veelded unto the Romans; except Agrigentum and a few places thereabout. At Agrigentum lay Epicides with 40 one Hanno a Carthaginian, and Mutines an African, that was lately lent from Hannibal. This Matines, by many good peeces of scruice, had added some credit to the beaten Carthaginian lide; and withall made his ownename great. By his perfivations, Hanno and Epicides adventured to meet Marcellus without the Towne, and not behaue themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and agains he set upon the Romans, where they lay encamped; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in Epicides and Hanno: especially in Hanno, that having beene lately sent from Carthage, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by Hannibal: in that he had fent vinto him this Mutines, to be his Companion, and 50 to take upon him, like as good a man as himfelfe. The indignitie feemed the greater, when Autimes, being to step aside vnto Heraelea, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the Numidians; adulfed (as directing Hanno and Epicides) not to meddle with the enemic, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would Hanno fight: and offered battell vnto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, that a great Xxxxx 3

part of the Roman Armie was left behinde in Syracufe, as neede required : which made the Carthaginians the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatfoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farregreater were the oddes between the Captaines. For howfoeuer the people of Carthage would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth, and abilitie, in matter or warre. The Numidians, having before conceived fome displeasure against their Captaines : and being therefore some of them gone away to Heraelea; were much more offended, when they faw that the vaine-glorious enuic of Ilanno carried him vnto the light, vpon a foolish delire to get victorie, without the helpe of Mutines their Countriman. Wherefore they fent vnto the Roman Generall, and bad him be confident : for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemics that day; but only looke on, and fee the proud Carthaginians well beaten, by whom they had beene misvsed. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For Marcel. lus, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands. droug them back into Agrigentum.

If Hanno could have been conteneed, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himfelfe, and not have bazarded a battaile without neede; the Romans would thortly have been reduced into termes of great difficultie in their Sicilian warre: For M. reellus , was shortly after to leave the Province ; and some 22 vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand Numidian horse, that were sent from Cuthage. The same of this new Armie drew many of the Sicilians into rebellion. The Roman Armie, confiding (for the most part) of the Legions of Canne, tooke it very hainously, that no good feruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as bandled men, they were fent farre from home, and not fuffered to returne back to Reme with their Generall. Mutines had pacified his Countrimen the Numidians; and , like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have beene, if the Armiclately overthrowne had beene entire. M. Cornelius, the Roman Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacific his owne men. and to hinder the Carthaginians. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder Mustres from ouer-running all the Countrie; yet hee hindred the Countrie from revolting vnto Mutines. About threefcore Townes, great and small, the Carthaginians held in Sicil: of which, Agrigentum was the principall; and farre bigger than any of the reft. Thence issued Matines as often as he pleafed, in despight of the Romans: not only to the succour of his owneadherents; but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But Hanno, in flead of being pleafed with all these good services, was filled more and more with enuic, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received in firm Gions from old Hanne at Carthage; not to fuffer Hannibal, or any Hannibalian to have fhare in the honour of these Sicilian warres; which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest tralie was neglected, that should have been regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritic, and that it was not in the power of Hannibal, to appoint vnto him an Affiltant, or Director: Hee tooke away from Mutines his charge, and gaue it to his owne fonne; thinking thereby to difcountenance the man, and make him little effected, as one out of Office, among his Numidians. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this fpightfull dealing, occasioned the loffe of whatfocuer the Carthaginians held in Sicil. For the Numiclians were fo incenfed by the indignitic offered vnto their Countriman, being fuch a braue Com- 50 mander, that they offered him their feruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. M. Valerius Lauinas, the Roman Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did Mulius enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

neither a Carthaginian, nor fauoured by those that bore all the sway in Carthage : He thought it the wifest way, to play the best of his owne game, and for sake that Citie, which was likely to perill by the cuill counfell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himfelfe to fee his Aduerfaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious over-weening; and to fuffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them, to deliuer vp Agrigentum, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of Sicil. The Conful was glad of his friendthip: and carefully followed his aductifements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which Mutines had vnder-taken. For he with his Numidians did forcibly feize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some Roman Companies, that lay neare in a readinesse for the purpose. Hanno, when first he heard the noise, thought it had beene no worse matter, than fome fuch tumult of the Numsdians, as hee had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making hafte to pacific the trouble, he faw and heard, the Romans intermixed, among those discontented followers of Mutines, forthwith he betooke himfelle to flight : and fauing him felfe, with Epicides, in a small Barke, fet faile for Afrike; leaning all his Armie and Adherents in Sieil, to the mercie of the Romans, that henceforward continued mafters of the whole Hand.

Leuinus the Conful having taken Azrigentum, did sharpe execution of justice 20 ypon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee fcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the Romans : all the rest of them he sold for flaues, and confileated their goods; fending home to Rome the monie that was raifed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein Rome flood in no leffe necessitie of gold, than of steele: which may have beene the reason, why Leatinus dealt so cruelly with the Agrigentines. Neuertheleffe the fame of fuch feueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the Carthaginians; fo that in great hafte they fought to make their peace. About fourtie Townes yeelded themselves quickly unto the Romans; twentie were deliuered up by Treason; and fixe only staied to be wonne by force. These things done, Lauinus returned home to Rome : carrying with him about foure thousand men from Agatirna; that were a companie of outlawes, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to line by spoile of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about Rhegium in Italie, where they might exercise their occupation against the Brutians; a thecuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of Rhegium, and to the Romans. As for Mutines, hee was well rewarded, and made Citizen of Rome: where hee lived in good accompt; accompanying the two Scipioes in their journie against Antiochus, and therein doing (as it is faid) very especial service. So by this enterprise of Sicil, the Carthaginians walted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been emploied in Italie: leaving yet vnto the Romans, in the end of this warre, the entire possession 40 of this Iland; which they wanted when it beganne.

#### ð. X V I.

How the warre passed betweene the Romans and HANNIBAL in Italia, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at

Metaurus.

Hortly after the winning of Capua; Markellus came to Rome: where, for his good feruices done in the Hand of Stiel, hee had granted with him the honour of the leffer Triumph, which was called Ocation.

The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armic behinde him in the Pro-

uince. Hee staied not long in Rome, before hee was againe chosen Consul together

with M. Valerius Lauinus, who fucceeded him in the gouernement of Sicil, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King Philip in Greece. Great complaint was made against the Conful Marcellus, by the Syracusians, for that which he had done vnto them : they alledging their great friendship to the people of Rome. in the time of their late King Hiero; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to Rome, than to all good men that lived in Syracufe. The Conful, on the other fide, reckoned up the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him : willing them to bemoane themselues to the Carthaginians that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the Romans whom they had kept out, 12 Thus each pare having forme good matter to alleage, the Senate made fuch an end of the controperfic as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Commonwealth; blaming the too much rigour of Marcellus; yet not refloring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the Syracufians free from their subjection, but comforting them, with gentle wordes, and hopefull promifes, as bath beene showed before. The two new Confuls, Marcellus and Leuinus, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in Italie; the other in Sicil. The Isle of Sicil, fell vnto Marcellus: which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the Syraculians (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from vttering their gricuances freely. Afterwards, when his bu- 20 finefle with them was dispatcht, hee gently undertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So Valerius, the other Consul, was sent into Sicil, whose doings there have beene alreadie rehearfed : but Marcellus was emploied against Hannibal.

Before the Confuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with preffing of Souldiers to the war e; and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer fort, that yied to be emploied in Sea-feruices; especially in rowing. These could not line without present wages : neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to give them pay: Wherefore, it was ordained, that they should be fet out at the expense of private men; who, in this necessitie of the 30 flate, were driven to fullaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were readie to fall into fedition; had not the Gonfuls deferred the matter vnto further confideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of fuch extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had alreadic endured so much as well it could under-goe; and fomewhat more, than could with honeftie haue been imposed upon it. Neuerthelesse it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the Carthaginians, or to keepe the Macedonian out of Italie, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasure was fo emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls beganne to say, That no perswalions would be so effectu-40 all with the people, as good examples and that if the Senators would follow the Confuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that he had; and that no Senator thould keepe any veffell of gold, or plate what focuer; excepting one falt-feller, and a boule where with to make their offerings vnto the Gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as eueric one did vie, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the readie performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and halfily followed by the Gentlemen of 50 Rome. Neither did the Commonaltie refuseto doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For fince the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private off ate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vaine could any particular

man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper fubstance. This magnanimitie descrued well that greatnesses Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conucnient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: Marcellus went forth of the Citie against Hannibal; and Leuinus toward Sicil. The armie of Hannibal was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his Carthaginians seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon fending the promifed supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakned, by the loffe of Capua: which gave them cause to looke vnto themselves; as it in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he no well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedie. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not bee able to keepe the field : or else hee must leave them to their owne sidelitie; which now beganne to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outragious, that he facked, and waited, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of Salapia yeelded vnto Marcellus: and betraied vnto him a gallant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best of all that served under Hannibal; which was a greater losse, ,, then the Towne it felfe, Blafius the author of this rebellion; could not bring his defire to effect; without getting the confent of one Dafin, that was his bitter enemie. Wherefore he brake the matter to this Dasius in private; and was by him accused vnto Hannibal. But when he was conuented, and charged of Treason, he so south denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that Hannibal thought it a matter deuised out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and feeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This not with standing, Blasius did not cease to prese his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such linely reasons; that bee who could not be believed by Hannibal, was contented at length to winne the favour 30 of Marcellus. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, Marones and Meles, Townes of the Samnites : wherein hee flew about three thousand of Hannibal

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his Carthaginians, having wearied themselves withill speede in many pettic enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of Italie, to follow busineffe of farre leffe importance; had now at length refolued, to fend prefently the great supply, that had beene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better feafon; Rome it selfe might haue beene strucken downe, the next yeare af-40 terthat great blow received at Canne. But fince that which is past cannot be amended: Hannibal must force himselfeto make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For Masanissa was at Carthage with flue thousand Numidians, readie to set faile for Spaine : whither when hee came, it was appointed, that Astrubal should forthwith take his journie into Italie; of which there had beene fo long talke. These newes did not more comfort Hannibal and his followers, than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best: the Romans to prevent the threatning mischiese, and winne as much as they could vpon Hannibal, before the comming of his brother; Hannibal, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence, 50 that Cn. Fuluius, a Roman Pretor, lay neare vnto Herdonea to get the Towne by practife. It was not long, fince, neare vnto the fame place, another Cn. Fuluius had loft bis armie. Therefore Hannibal made great marches thitherward; and came to Herdonea ere Fuluius heard newes of his approch. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Pretor: who accepted it with more hafte than good speede. The

Roman Legions made good refistance awhile, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great flaughter was made of them. Fuluius himselfe, with twelve Tribunes or Coronells, were lost: of the common fouldiers that were flaine, the number is vncertaine; fome reporting fouen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of Herdones, because it was at point to have yeelded vnto Fuluius, Hannibal did fet on fire: and putting those to death that had practifed with the Enemie, carried away the multitude; whom hee beflowed among the Thurians and Metapentines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abase the enemies pride. He followed the Carthaginan apace : and ouer-taking him at 12 Numifire in the countrie of the Lucans, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkneffe, with vicertaine victorie. Afterward Hannibal departed thence into Apulis, whither Marcellus followed him. At Venusia they met, and had many skirmilhes; but none of importance. Hannibal removed often; and fought to bring the enemie within danger of some ambush. But Marcellus, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire

Thus passed the time away, vntill Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fuluius, he that lately had taken Capua, were chosen Confuls. Fabius, confidering how much the Roman 20 affaires were bettered by the taking of Capua, purpoled that yeare to beliege Tarentum: which if he could winne; like it was, that fcarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Collegene and Marcellus, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served vinder him the yeare before) to preffe the Carthaginian fo hard, as he might have no leifure to helpe Tarentum. Marcellus was very glad of this charge: for hee thought no Roman fitter than himselse, to deale with Hannibal in open field. Hee followed him therefore to Cannufium, and thence from place to place : defiring ever to come to battaile, but vpon equal termes. The Carthaginian had not minde to hazard much in fight : but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmill; as 30 being desirous to keepe his Armie strong untill the comming of Afdrabal. Yet could he not avoide the importunitie of Marcellus; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustic, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would never fuffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein Hannibas had the victorie; tooke fixe Enfignes; and flue of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. Marcellus was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards; telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had beene beaten by Hannibal, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stra- 42 tageme. With these, and many other the like wordes, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vexe them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemie, than fuch displeasure of their Generall; they befought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once agains to fight. He did so : and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victoric; whereof the newes might be at Rome, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. Hannibal was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemie quiet : and therefore was readie to fight againe, fince all other motiues continued the same, and his men had beene heartned by the late victorie. But the Romans were stirred up with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor 50 loft, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemie, notwithstanding their late victorie, as readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile Marcellus got the victorie : which hee purchased at so

deare a rate; that neither he, nor Hannibal, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the Curthaginians were flaine, and three thousand of the Roman fide, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow : especially since the number of the Romans that were wounded, was fo great, as disabled Marcellus from pursuing Hannibal; who dillodged by night. Neuertheleffe it sufficed, that Fabius the Conful hereby got leifure, to follow his bufineffe at Tarentum without any diffurbance. Q. Fuluins the other Conful, about the fame time, tooke in many of the Hirpines, Lutans, and vol(centes, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betraied the Garrisons of Hannibil that lay in their Townes : whom Fuluing entertained in louing fort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had been authors, or butie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian theeues, which Laumus had lately brought from Agaterna, was then also feron worke to beliege Gaulonia, a towne of the Brillians : and nothing was omitted; that might ferue to divert Hannibal, from

the fuccour of Tarentum. O. Fabius the Conful, having taken Manduria a Towne of the Salentines, fate downe before Tarentum: making all preparation that feemed needfull to carrie it, either by affault or long fiege. Of the Garrifons in the Towne a good part were Brutians, placed there by Hannibal, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in lone with a Tarentine wench; whose brother served under Fabius. Hereof thee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the Roman fide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Conful acquainted with thele newes : and faid, that if the Brutian were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Miltris, to doe what shee would have him. The Conful hearing this: and finding likelibood in the matter, willed his fouldier to convey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his defire. The Souldier grew acquiainted with this Brutian Captaine: and partly by his owne perswalions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his fifter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the Romans. When they had agreed upon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Conful with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that Brutism kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, Fabius gave an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make refistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But Fabius himfelfe, with the choice of his men, came in great filence to the quarter of the Brutians: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the Romans to per vp. and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The to Tarentines, and Carthaginian fouldiers, made head against Fabius in the Market-place : but (as happeth in like cases, where the maine confidence is alreadic taken away) not very obstinately. 27 ico, Democrates, and Philomenes, with those that before had let in Hannibal, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the Romans. Carthalo, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner : hoping to be well vied, because of hospitalitie that had passed betweene his Father and the Conful. But he was flaine by the way, ere he could come at Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword : in fuch fort, that they spared few of the Brutians. This flaughter of the Brutians, was thought to have beene made by appointment of the Conful, to the end that he might feeme to have wonne the Towne by to force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in Tarentum was very great : whereof the Roman Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiofities that were in the Citie, Fabius was contented to let them alone: and

Hannibal being gotten cleare from Marcellus, fell voon those that belieged Caulonia. They fled at his comming : but he was so neare, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill; which served to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselues a litle while, and then they yeelded. When this bulinesse was done, he hasted away to relieue Tarentum. But when hee came within five miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was loft. This grieued him : yet he faid no more than this? The Romans have also their HANNIBAL; wee have loft 10 Turentum in fuch fort as we got it. That he might not feeme to turne back amased, or in any feare of the victorious Conful; he incamped a few daies together, so neare as he was voto Tarentum : and thence departing to Metapontum , bethought himfelfe how to take Fabius in a trap. He capied the chiefe of the Metapontines to write vnto Fabius, and offer to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgine them all offences past. These letters were fent by two yong men of the same Citie : who did their errand so well: that the Conful wrote back by them vnto the Metapontines, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof Hannibal was exceeding glad and at good leifure, made readic his ambulhes for the warie Fabins. But whether fome secret no- 20 tice of the plot were given; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious Roman; the journie to Metapontum was deferred. Hercupon the fame two Meffengers were emploied againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeare was happie to the Romans, in all their warres: for they got every where; fauc only at Caulonia; where they loft a companie of fuch lewed fellowes, that it may seeme good fortune, to have so beene rid of them. But their common pouertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. I hirtie Roman Colonies were then in Italie: of which , twelue refufed to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was confidered; that the Le- 10 gions of Canna, and those vnhappie Companies, that had beene beaten under the one and the other Cn. Fuluius; were transported into Sicil; where they lived, in a fort, as banilhed men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeares together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of monie; ineuery of which yeares, they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the leaft that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the Enemie to be made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send home their people that was taken by him : whereas the Romans did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with- 40 in awhile, that they should be all confumed : since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Golonies: especially where they that were transported into Sicil, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of Ardea, Sutrium, Alba, and other good Townes, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly denic vnto the Romans, their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as Hannibal lived. When the Confuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amased. They willed the Embassadours to returne home, and bring a to better answere for a smuch as this, was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that their people were not Campans, or Tarentines, but the off-spring of the Romans; and no leffe partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not ferue: the Embaffadours continuing to proteft, that

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the Romans, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate thele twelve, but the wed themselves willing to widergoe what foeuer should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offerwas so highly pleasing to the Consulis; that the Embassisors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assemble propele: where, with commemoration of all their former good services, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thankes accordingly bestlowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassiadors of to those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought bestly, neither to retain them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor to take any notice of them at all shuleaue them to their owne consideration of their ill description of them

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve People would have wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if Afdrubal had beene then comming into Italie. For then must the Romans have betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of Italie, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuerthelesse, they were faine to open their most privile treasurie; and thence take out the golde, that had been elayed up to ferue them in cases of greatest extremitie. of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to Fabius the Conful, to fet him well out against the Tarentines, all the rest, was sent into Spaine to Scipio, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that Afdrudal might not paffe from thence into Italie. It is likelie that Fabius did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at Tarentum, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of Aldrubal; neither the money fent into Spaine, nor any victories wonne by Scipio could fuffice. Neuerthelesse it fell out happily for the People of Rome, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiffe to note, That fince the Romans, being in so great necessitie of money, were driven to furnish 20 the Armie in Spaine, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left : it must needes be, that either the bootie taken in new Carthage, was farre leffe then fame had reported it; or elfe that Scipio had not as yet wonne it : how for uer Linie rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arrivall.

M.Claudius Marcellus; and T.Quintius Crifpinus, were chosen Confuls after Fabius and Fuluitus. In their yeare it was, that Afdrubal tooke his journey out of Spaine, though he came not into Italie vntill the yeare following. After the great battaile at Canna, Hannibal had loft much time about Cuma and Naples, in feeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promifed from Carthage. The hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to turne his printo cipall care to the Easterne parts of Italie; where he made readie a faire entrance for the Macedonian, if he had been ereadie to come. But fince this hope was vanished, and the long promifed fuccour of Afdrubal was (though farre later than had beene expedient) readie to arrive; he began to defile with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the Romans. The losse of Capua, Tarentum, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the Italian Townes, from hearkening to any follicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the pouertie of the Romans, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, than that which Hannibal brought into Italie; did embolden many of the Herrurians, especially the Aretines, to take fuch counfell as they thought most expedient for themselves; without regard of their fidelitie to Rome. The Roman Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracie, fant Marcellus the new chosen Conful into Hetraria: whose comming did so terrifie them, that they refted quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were

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deuting how to breake out : as contrariwife the Roman Propretors; partly by terror of seuere judgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they vifited all fulpected places, kept them honeft against their wills; and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest defire, to make strong warre vpon Hannibal without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. Crisinus had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as Fuluius and Fabius nad gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. Therefore he went about the fiege of Locri; one of the best Cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italie : and brought thither all forts of engines ; fen- 10 ding for a fleet out of Sicil to helpe him. But Hannibal was not flow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whose approch, made Crispinus desist from his enterprise, and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at Venusia. Thither followed Hannibal; to whom the Confuls daily offered battaile. This great man of Warre had no neede to fland vpon his reputation : which was alreadic fo confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto seare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdome, He entertained the Confuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take themat fome aduantage; referuing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater emploiment. In this lingring manner of Warre, Marcellus tooke no pleafure: but fought to compell the Enemie to battaile, whether he would or no. The 20 Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, L. Cincius, was commanded againe to affaile the Towne of Locri: which might well enough be forced, if Hannibal continued as he beganne, to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to goe by Land to the affiliance of Cincius. But Hannibal had an eic behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betweene Tarentum and Locri, whereinto the Romans fell: and having lost above three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprife, and faue their owne lines within Tarentum. As for the Confuls, it was the defire of Hannibal, to waste their Armie by little and little : which to doe, hee negleeted no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillock, ouer-growne 20 with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he fent thither by night some companies of Numidians: whom he willed to keepe themselues close, and attend their best aduantage. To this peece of ground, the Confuls thought it fit to remoue their campe : Marcellus thinking that he neuer lay neare enough vnto Hannibal. Thither therefore both of them rode, to view the place, accompanied with the fonne of Marcellus, a few Colonells, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinell gaue warning of their approch to his fellowes; who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls 40 and their traine. The Confuls, as necessitic compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to bee quickly relieved from their campe that was neare at hand. But the Hetrurians ranne away from them, at the first : and left them in that great danger, to the weake affiftance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of Fregelle. These Fregellans abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to have brought them fafe off. But when Marcellus was ftricken through with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then beganne euery one to shift for himfelfe, and escape as they might. Crispinus the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and yong Marcellus was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe: The rest of the Colonells and Officers, together 50 with the Lictors that carried the bundells of Rods and Axes before the Confuls, were all flaine or taken. To the dead bodie of the Conful Marcellus, Hannibal gaue honourable Funerall; according to the custome of those times: and

bestowing his albes in a filter pot, coucred it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong Ottercellus, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, Crispinus bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of Marcellus, was fellen into the custodic of Hannibal; who might vie it, to his owne purpofes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee tent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was flaine, and that Hamibal had gotten his Ring: wilhing them in that regard, to give no credit vnto any letters therewithall figned. This prouidence of Crifpinus, was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another 10 Mellenger arrived there fent from Hannibal, bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and lealed with the captive Ring : whereof the contents were, That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison thould be in a readinesse, for such emploiment as hee should thinke needfull. The device was plaine; and no leffe plaine was the revengefull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein beene betraied. The Salapians hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemie in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was a Roman fugitive; without letting him perceive any figne of diffrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainement of such 20 afriend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues, armed Roman like, leading the way. These all talking Latin together, called ynto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conful was there. The gate was opened, faire and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must be, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themfelues; being laied at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an end with

Hannibal being thus ouer reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Locri; whereunto Cincius the Admiral! of the Roman fleet about Sicil, did lay hard flege. 20 The first appearance of the Numidians, Hannibal his Vanteurrors, made the Romans, in all confused halte, runne to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate, hearing of thele accidents, fent vnto Collinus the furniting Conful, and requested him to name a Dictator: that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. Hee did so : and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Confuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies, lay so neare vnto the Enemic, without any Generall. Especially it was defired, that election should be made of such men, as were 40 not only valiant, but well adusted : tince the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, M. Marcellus, by loofing himfelfe fo strangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that flood for the Confulfhip, C. Claudius Nero was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staied wit. The Fathers therefore endequoured to joyne vnto him in the Confulthip M. Liuius : one that had borne the fame Office, long before. This M. Linius had beene Conful with L. Emylius Paulus, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Confulthip, wherein they did 50 good feruice, they had both of them been called into judgement by the People : and this Linius condemned: Emylius hardly escaping. Though it hath been once alreadie noted, yet I cannot for beare to remember it againe; how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankefull Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of Canne, it was apparant, what lamentable

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effects, the memorie of their injustice wrought: when L. Emylius rather choseto yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatell ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by relifting the pernicious courles of Terentius Varro, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furic. As for M. Liuius, he is euen now readie, and will so continue, to tell the Peopleof their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeares together after his condemnation had hee beene absent out of the Citic, and lived in his Countrie Grange; vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. Marcellus and Lauinus, being Confuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he liued private, in discontented fort, as might appeare, both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vied to fit filent, and fignifie his affent or diflike to what was proposed; either in short formall wordes, or in passing from fide to fide, when the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some bulinesse weightily conce ning one that was his kinfman, he flood vp, and made a fet speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them inquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered fince he had lett it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather ferued to fill vp the number, than to answere to the dignitic of the place: 20 and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all beganne to fav, that it was great pittle, fo worthie and able a man, as this Liuius, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great neede, yet had not vied, in this dangerous warre. Now feeing that the Confuls ought, oncof them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian: and since, neither Fabius, nor Valerius Lauinus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Clandius Nero: enery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus Liuius. But Livie would not endure to heare of this. He faid it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dilhonest man, should afterwards be chosen 10 Ruler of the Citic. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases hee relisted their defires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaired good for cuill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which Themissionless checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: relembling himselfe to a Plane tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but runne vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-descruing men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much 40 vnlike, of Philip the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alva. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deferts; yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the service of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but emploied the same Duke, whom he had newly difgraced. Thus is wisdome often taught by necessicie.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when C. Claudius Nero, and M. Liuius were chofen Confuls. Afdrubal was alreadie come into France, and waited only, to haue the wates of the alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italie. The Romans vsed at this time the service of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employ- 50 ment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure served in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the reit were fo disposed, in severall parts of Italie, where neede seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were men of

execution : and would not be tied to the punctuall observance of what the Senate thought fit. M. Liuius would not firre out of Rome, against so mightic a power as . followed Afdrubal; vntill hee had first obtained, that hee might carrie with him as many as could well be spared from other emploiments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies: It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serve under Lucius Porcius a Pretor of that yeare, among the Cifalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of Living; to whom the warre against Aldrubal was alotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines, neare unto Tarentum, under another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of Claudius his Arno mie; that was fent against Hannibal. Neuerthelesse the Confuls, by the especiall instance of Liuie, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne differetion. For newes came, that Afdrubal was alreadic passing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrie about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joyne with him; and L. Porcius fent word, that he would adventure no further, than hee fafely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each, his feuerall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwise affected, than they had beene, when L. &mylius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were fent against Hannibal. They did no longer take vpon them, to direst their Generalls; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victoric betimes ; but rather they flood in fcare; least all diligence, wisdome, and valour, should proue too little. For fince few yeares had paffed, wherein some one of their Generalls had not beene flaine; and fince it was manifelt, that if either of these present Confuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith joyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed agreater happinesse than could be expecked, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour. from fuch mightic opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had Rome held up her head, euer fince the battaile of Canna: though it were fo, that Hannibal alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the warre in Italie. But there was now arrived another sonne of Amilear; and one, that in his present Expe-20 dition, had feemed, a man of more fufficiencie than Hannibal himfelfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riners, and Mountaines, that were thought unpaffeable, Hannibal had loft a great part of his Armie: this Afdrubal, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow ball, farre greater than he came ouer the Pyrenees at his first fetting out of spaine. These considerations and the like, of which scare presented many vnto them; caused the People of Rome, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a pensitue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon Marcellus and Criffins, vpon whom in the like fort they had given attendance the last yeare; but saw neither of them re-40 turne aliue, from a leffe dangerous warre. Particularly, old Q. Fabius gaue his accuflomed aduife to M. Linius, that he should abstaine from giving, or taking battaile, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Conful made him a froward answere, and faid, That he would fight the very first day : for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victorie; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne vnjust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his wordes.

Of the overthrow that Aldrubal received in Spaine, by Scipio, a little before hee tooke his journie into Italie; fuch mention hath alreadic beene made, as agreed with thereport of that noble Historian Linie. Yet I thinke it not amiffe to adde in this to place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of Polybius his historic, Except, E.

concerning that accident. Afdrubal had wreftled with many difficulties in Spaine: Polybluff. 1,10. by reason of those Capraines that were sent from the citie of Carthage, to joyne with him in the administration of that Province : they being as it may seeme of the Hannonian faction; which is to fay, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

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nantage of their owne fide, before the good of their Commonwealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthie fonne of Amilen, and how they hindered his courses vndertaken, it can not be knowne : fince of those bookes, wherein Polybius bath exactly handled their matters; there are to vs remaining, only a few broken preces. But by the spightfull dealing of Hanno in Sicil with Mutines, a better man of warre than himselie, whom Hannibal had sent into the Iland: we may conceine. that against the brother of Hannibal it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partilans of Hanno, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuerthe. leffe Aldrubal was a good Patriot : and therefore endured patiently fuch indignities. as Musines could not long digett. His journie into Italie being resolued vpon: he lay to with part of the Armie at Betula, not farre from the mines of filuer; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came Scipio: and draue him out of his Campe. though he were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could, or would, come to his affiltance. The ouerthrow feemes not to have beene fo great. as it must have beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that Afarubal dealt like a provident man: and feeing that his Campe was likely to bee forced, fent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him : but ftaied behinde himfelfe to futtaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his defire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in fuch fort, that Scipio thought it not good to purfue him, and 20 fo paffed ouer Tagus. Then taking vnto him the forces affigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of Spaine vnto his brother Mago, and to Afdrubal the some of Gefco; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would Scipio have stopped him on his journie, by fending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether Afdrubal tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that Scepio had fet to keepe the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effeet) he was not letted in his voiage by any fuch impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother Hannibal: hee found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defen- 20 ded against him, nor any fort of relisfance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice; for that hee was driven to Winter in their Countrie; whileft that the passages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewife, that had so greatly molested Hannibal in his journie ouer the Alpes; were easily wonne to take part with Asdrubal, when he travailed through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of Hannibal, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattaile; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed 40 Therefore understanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disloyned alunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the Alpes did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cifalpine Gaules. The Ligurians also joyned with Afdrubal: and so would the Heirurians have done; if he had arrived in their Countrie. There was no other Reman Armie neare, than L. Parcius with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did Afdrubal set vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible; by the destruction of that Towne. But there hee lost a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by vnderta- 50 king which, he gauethe Roman Confuls leifure, to make readie for him; and caused his brother Hannibal (who vpon the first bruit of Afdrubal his so timely, and cassly passing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintring camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to fit still awhile, as well aware, that Placentia would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made what focede hee could, to meet with Hannibal, and stop him from joyning with his brother. He had about fortic thoufand foot, and five hundred horfe; with which he daily offered battaile to the Cuthagmian; and had of him the better in many skirmillies. Phinnibal was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Apulians, into the Countrie of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; Which were ochierwise too weake for the fournie intended. Afterward comming to Gramburan, a Towne of the Lucans; he there fought vaprosperoully with Neverthe Conful. Nevertheleffe he got off, and marched away to Venusia. But Nero followed him and had there 10 againe the better of him. Wherefore hee was driven to returne to Well apontum: where joyning with Hanne, that had made readie a good Armie ; her affaired againg to make way by force to his brother. So he paffed on ward, and came againe to Venulia, having Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he over the River hilled mis to Canulium, where he fate downe, not farre from the place in which he had obtained, his most memorable victorie. There also did Nero sit downe by him; and both of them refled, without making offer to fight. It feemed perhaps vnto Hannibal, who knew the Countrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to Canufium : where if he could once againe deale with both the Confuls, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrie. If this had so fallen out; Rome would have beene vidone for ever. But the Carthaginians should not have heeded to with any fecond victorie, in the naked Champans about Canna; if flich an armile, as this which Adrubal now brings, had come to fecond Hunnibal, when hee was in his full firength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthie Generall had good reason afterward to say, that Hanne was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of Italie; which elfe no power of the Romans could haue done.

Whilest Nero waited upon the Carthaginians, and thought it ellower to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their luctour. He was ad-20 pertiled of Aldrubal his approch; by Letters and Mellengers intercepted, as they were going to Hannibal. Thele gave notice, that Afdrabal had left the fiele of Plas centia, and drew onwards apace: being alreadic come within two hundred tillles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by with the Coll ful. Of these newes Claudius Nero was nothing joyfull. For if Handlow could once be joyned as head, vnto that great bodie of an Armie, which Afdrubal brought with him; it was most apparant, that how soeuer the fortune of Rome Hibbild anold, for the prefent, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of fo friding a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Affociates; to faith vnder the burden; as twelve of the thirtie Roman Colonics had alreadic done. Wherefore he 40 refolued, that it were better to make any desperate admenture, than to suffer the conjunction of two fuch malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the fulldaine, yet within few yeares, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to flay the progresse of Afdrubat : neither were there any good Legions in a readine fe, that could doe fervice in fuch a needfull case; excepting those, that were alreadie emploied under the two Consuls. Herevpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against Hannibal : but rather that it Behoued him , to helpe where more necessitic required; and to carrie part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet fince the meeting of the two to Carthaginian bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it feemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making flew, as if he would only flep aside, to doe fome small peece of service neare at hand; away hee posted as fast as hee could, to

affift his fellow Conful. His Meffengers ranne before him, to give warning to all Townes by which he was to paffe, that they should be readie to meet him, with vi-Availls, and all other necessaries for his Armie. Liusus the other Consul, at that time. lay incamped, neare vnto Sena Gallica; and Afdrubal within halfe a mile of him. In fixe daies Nero had finished his journie thither; and when he drew neare, sent Mes. fengers before him, to give notice of his comming. Livie thought it fittest that hee thould flav in some place of couert untill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe : least the Enemic, perceiving this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done : and a token given, that the Colonells, Cap. taines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that Nero had brought with him; 10 should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne fort. Their Companie was formwhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuertheleffe, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which received them, should bee enlarged; fince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counfaile of warre : wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie iournie, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, Nero was very earnest: and befought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere Hannibal should have notice of his absence. The souldiers also of Nero, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour 20 of the victorie was like to be theirs: for a fmuch as the battaile would not have beene undertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counfaile brake vp, that the figne of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generalls paulion.

Afdrubal was no leffe willing than the Romans to come to battaile: having long defired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it feemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses, looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iournie. Hereupon he beganne to with draw his Armie back into the Campe : and 30 gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whither the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might thew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended; but the trumpet, that founded only once in the quarter of L. Porcius the Pretor, did now, contrarie to former custome, found twice in the quarter of Linius the Conful. Hereat Afdrubal greatly mused : and being well acquainted with the Roman orders; held this for a fure token, that the other Conful, was there arrived. How this might be, if Hannibal were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon 40 confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neare hee lay to the Romans; nor troubled himfelfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation: he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night: intending to get ouer the River Metaurus; whereby to keepe him felfe as long as he could, from necessitie of battaile. But whether it were fo, that his guides did steale away from him in the darke, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauic, and hindred his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul Nero was at his heeles with all the Roman horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone af- 50 ter came L. Porcius with the light armature : whom the other Conful followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and readic for battaile. As drubal, seeing himfelfe ouer-taken with necessitie to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in whom he repoted least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill,

which the Enemie should not, without much difficultie, bee able to climbe; in the right wing he stood himselfe, with his Africans and Spaniards; his Ligurians hee placed in the midit; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman fide, Nero had the leading of the right wing; Livius of the left; and Porcius of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of fafetic there was unto the yanguished. Only the Romans herein seemed to have had the better in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men delirous to have fled from them. And, according to this prefumption, came Linius the Conful with a proud brauerie, to give charge on the Africans: by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the vi-Aprie seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout souldiers; and well acquainted with the manner of the Roman fight. The Liquisms also were a hardie Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the leffe, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midft. Linius therefore, and Porcius, found from opposition; and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Belides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first rankes; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes were driven to fall back. All this while Claudius Nero, labouring much in vame against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the Gaules; that stood op-20 polite vnto him, but out of danger. This made Aftrubal the more confident; who leeing his owne left wing fafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other fide, upon the left wing of the Romans. But Mero, perceiuing that the place wherein he flood, was fuch as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of Porcius and Linius; which having compaffed, he fell vpon Aldrubal, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victoric to be manifest on the Roman side. For Nero, finding none to relift him in front, ranne all along the depth of Adrabal his battaile: and falling upon the skirts thereof, difordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on every fide, the greatest part 30 was flaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and faued themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the rest were slaine; fome by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that ode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, beganne to wexe vnruly, and ruft back vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betweene the cares, in the joynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beaft vpon the fuddaine. This focedie way of preuenting such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the foundrons following them; is faid to have beene the device of afdrubal

CHAP.3. S.16. of the Historie of the World.

himselfe: who died in this battaile. Great commendations are ginen to Afdrabal, both by Polybius, and by Liuie. Heis faid at all times to have shewed himselfe worthie of Amilear his father, and Hannibal his brother; to have striven with great patience, against many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the meanes of those Gaptaines, that were fent from Carthage into Spaine; to have performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthie Generall; and finally when hee faw the loffe irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, hee was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of Linie, and of Polybius, doe very much disagree. For Linie saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an overthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the Romans at Canne; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were flaine, five thousand and soure hundred taken prisoners; and aboue sour thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captines with them, delinered, and set at

libertie. He faith alfo, that of the Romans and their Affociates there were flaine eight thousand and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes; but in gold and filuer. Concerning the bootie; Polybius hath no mention of it.

CHAP.3. S.16.

Likely it is to have beene as rich as Linic reportethit; for Afarbal came well flored with monie. But Polybing (who had no defire to make this battaile of Metamum, a parallel vinto that of Camne) reports no more than about ten thouland of the Cantosignium idee, and two thouland of the Roman, to have beene flaine. The rumber of the prifoners he doeth not mention is but only faith. That flome of the Carthaginian Princes were taken alite 3 and that all the reft died in the battaile. Whereby it may feeme, that they were all Burchines: For a funch as they preferred the honour of them filters, and of their Countrie, about their lines.

The joy of this victorie, was no leffe in Rome, than had beene the feare of the euent. For cuer fince it was knowne in what fort Were had left his Armie; the whole to Citie was troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one halfe of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if Hannibal should chance to have notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Armie that staied behinde, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet referuing their cenfure vnto the successe; with libertie to approue or condemne, according to the iffue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counfaile, waiting still readie at hand upon the Magiftrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every 10 ones helpe. In briefe, they were all fo full of melancholie, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Meffengers arrived from the Confuls, with Letters contayning all that had paffed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their prinate bulinesse; making contracts one with another ( which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wife, as if Hannibal were alreadie driven out of Italie.

Were returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of Afdrubal before the Carthaginians : and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them 30 loofe to give Hannibal notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners, might have ferued well enough to certific Hannibal of this miladuenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of Afarubal: especially since Hannibal, in honourable, and farre different manner, had given buriall to Gracehus and Marcellus; yea to all the Roman Generalls, whose carkaffes fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howfocuer the People of Carthage, wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more civill, and leffe prone to the infolence of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by Nero, is, that hee hoped much more by the fuddenterrour of fuch a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that 40 which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being over-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest libbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. Hannibal having loft in this vnhappie fight (befides that worthie Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that fo long fustained him in Italie; with-drew himselfe into the Countrie of the Brutians : and thither hee caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewife all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted mento defend fo many places as he held at the prefent, because they lay too farre afunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leffer compaffe in the vtmoft corner of Italie; it being a Countrie of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly denoted to his feruice. In this bufineffe Nero gaue him no memorable impediment: either because Hannibal was too strong for him, having all his forces vnited; or because it is

likely that this remoue of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not before the end of Sommer, when their haruest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. M. Liuius the other Conful tarried among the Cifalvine Gaules vntill the end of Sommer; there to fet things in fuch order as he thought requilite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Prouince; but that L. Porcius, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee delired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of a triumph, as he well deferued. But for a fmuch as it was well knowne, what interest Nero had in the late vi-Aorie : order was given, that not only Livie with his Armie should come home : but likewise Nero; though leaving his Armic behinde him, to confront Hannibal So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof Liuie made the greater flew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armicalfo being present at the triumph. But Nero that rode on horse back, and without fuch attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victoric was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Netther wanted L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Cacilius Metellus, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good feruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthie to bee chosen Consuls and Consuls they were chosen for the yeare following. But nothing was done by them, worthie of memorie, in their Consuiship. Neither indeede from this yeare, which was the thirteenth of the prefent warre, untill the eighteenth yeare wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italie; faue only the taking of Locri from the Carthaginians by furprise. For Hannibal wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer : and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him ; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceined of him; that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold him-20 felfe vpright. And furely very notable are the commendations given vnto him by Polybius; whom Linie therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of fo many fundrie Nations, Africans, Spamards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greekes; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in fuch good order, that they never fell to fedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which Liuie addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he fullained his Armie, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, youn the hungric foile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in fuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of Aldrubal, he made no inuation you the wealthier parts of Italie; but held himfelfe fill among the poore Brutians. Where we must leave him untill he be drawne into Africk by Scipio; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

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D. XVII.

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How P. CORNELIUS SciPIO the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

How the Carthaginians were driven by SCIPIO from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.



A G O, and A S D R V B A L the fonne of Gefco, tooke vpon them the charge of Spaine, when Adrubal the fonne of Amilear departed thence into Italie. These agreed together, that Mago should make a voiage to the Baleares; there to leuie a supply of men : and Afdrubal with-draw himfelfe into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) whither the Romanshad

ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. Mago had soone ended his businesse, and returned inco Spaine: where hee met with one Hanno (the fame perhaps that had lately beene emploied in Sicil) who brought new forces out of Africk, and came to fucceede in place of Afdrubal the Barchine. It is not vnlikely 10 that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage; when that fonne of Amilear, whose authoritie had beene greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old Hanno approue it felfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon delire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home; or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: Hanno tooke the field, and led Mago with him; as purpoling afresh to set vpon the Romans. So he entred into the Countrie of the Celtiberians, not very farre from new Carthage: where, by monie, and other perswasions, he leuied about nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himfelfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentive, as it may feeme, to the proceedings of Afdrubal the fonne of Amilear; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italie, to the affiltance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Linius the Confuls. But hearing of the leuie made by Hanno and Mago, among the Celtiberians : hee fent M. Syllanus the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and flue hundred horse. Syllanus got intelligence by fome fugitive Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countrimen encamped apart from the Carthaginians in great diforder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neare to these Celtiberians : and falling upon them on the suddaine, gave them such an over- 40 throw, that Hanno and Mago comming to their fuccour, in flead of heartning and reinforcing them, became partakers of the loffe. Mago faued himfelfe, with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand; and intendaies journey brought them fafe to Afdrubal. The rest of the Africans were either flaine or taken: among whom, Hanno had the ill luck to bee taken prifoner: though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew better how to make thift; and faued most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise bee, but that Scipio was much troubled with the danger wherein Italie stood, by the comming thither of Afdrabal. Tenthousand footand eighteene hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by 50 fome Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie : or was perhaps about to fend them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentine to the necessitie and succeffe of his Countrimen at home. But when had word of the great victorie at Metaurus, which fell out long before the end of this Sommer, then might hee well ad-

nenture, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spaine; which must needes be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the report of fuch an ouerthrow. The Spanil Souldiers that ferued under Hannibal, and those that had beene sent ouer into Africk; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed Aldrubal into Italie, were fallen into the handes of the Romans; and that Hannibal with his Armie, was closed up in a streight, whence hee could not get out: then did it greatly behout the Spaniards to conforme themselues vnto the will of the Vifors. That it was the fuccesse of things in Italie, which gave such considence vnto o Scipio; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprise in hand, untill the Sommer, was almost spent. Afarubal therefore yied the benefit of the seafon; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindred the Enemie, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeare, caused Scipio to returne backe : without any other matter performed, than that his Brother L. Scipio tooke by affault the Towne of Oringis.

Against the next yeares danger, Astrubal prepared a great Armie : and spared nor coft, nor trauaile, in strengthning himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in Spaine. With feuentie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie ... Elephants, he tooke the field : which number I beleeue that hee could hardly haue raifed, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italio. Scipio thought his Roman Legions too weake to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore hee judged it needfull to vie the helpe of his Spaniff friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were calt away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries; made him on the other fide very doubtfull, of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one Colchas, that was Lord of eight and twentie Townes, had promifed him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and fine hundred horse for his service : hee resolved to make vse of those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee to able to doe great harme, if they would reuolt. So with fine and fortie thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemie; neare to whom hee incamped. At his first comming, Mago and Masanissa fell vpon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whileft hee was making his lodgings. But hee laied certaine troupes of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retrait: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betookerhemselues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added fome courage to the Romans, and abated the prefumption of the Carthiginians: there were daily skirmishes betweene the horse, and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. Afdrubal drew forth his Armie, and arranged 40 it before his Trenches: the like did Scipio; each of them to flow that he durft fight 5 yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: Afdrubal being fill the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the cuening, withdrew himselse into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries, were placed on both sides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before defigned. But Scipio, when hee purposed indeede to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and to withall, came forth earlier than he had beene wont. He caused his men, and horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning before day : and then fent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies emptic: vling herein the same trick, whereby he might remember, that Hannibal had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards,

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in the battaile. Afdrabal fent forth his horfe in all hafte, to entertaine the Romans. whill he himfelfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which he incamped. In the skirmilhes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better : fince being over-preffed on either fide, they had a fafe retrait vnto their foot; and one troupe feconding another by courfe, returned to charge, This fight was protracted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well ted themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemie. But about noone, he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battaile of Spaniards faire behinde them; that came on leifurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercinaries that flood in Afdrubal his wings, were no way comparable, fant only in number, to the Latin and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in halle; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the fame time, by the Roman Velites, and by fome cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the fame purpose: they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The Carthaginiens would faine have fuccoured them; but that they durft not flire out of their places, because of the Spanish battaile which was coming against them though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of Adrubat his Armie stood idle; vn. till the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the Spaniards; he must have cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him between the Ro. 20 man wings; to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himfelfe inclosed in such fort, as was the Conful Paulus at the battaile of Canna. Whereforchee did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies; than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer bee ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chanceled them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In procedle of the fight: the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured luftie, when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gaue not ouer, till they had forft the enemie to change his 22 pace and runne from him. Aldrubal did his best to have made an orderly retrait: and afterward againe, to have caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not fuffer the victorie to bee so extorted from them: neither was it calle to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obitinate passion of scare which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of Asdrubal had that day beene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the fuddaine, and bred fome superstition in the Romans, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The fame night, Afdrubal gave no rest to his men: but caused them, hungric, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein 40 hee feared to bee affaulted. But little affurance could hee haue in the firength of his Trenches; when he had loft the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One Attanes, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his fubicits: many followed this example; and foone after, two ftrong Townes were veelded vp to Scipio, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the perperse for tune of this late battaile, whereupon Afdrubal had fet his reft; bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to believe the more casily those reports which they heard from Italia. For henceforward, they never did good office to the Carthaginians. Aldrubal, perceiuing this, with-drew himfelfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. Scipio followed the next morning; and overtaking the Cartha- to ginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand; that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here beganne a cruell flaughter: for there was no refishance made, but all fell to rout, faue only scuen thousand, that with Aldrubal himselferecourred a very strong peece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

This place he made shift awhile to defend but wanting there necessaries to sustaine himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he refolued to make thift for one; and itealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-fide, that was not farre thence; hee tooke Inipping, and let faile for Gades. When Scipio vnderstood that Afdrubal was thus sone; he left Syllanus with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to beliege their Campe (which was not taken in hafte, for Mago and Mafaniffa stated in it) whilest he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere Mago and Mafanissa followed Asarubal to Gades: and their Armie dispersed it felte; fome flying ouer to the Romans; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of Spaine, there were only three Townes left, Illiturgi, Castulo, and Aftapa, that made countenance of warre against the Romans : of which only Cafulo had in it a Carthaginian Garrison; consisting of such as had saued themselves by flight, in the late ouerthrowes. Hereby it feemes, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who faid, that Caftulo yeelded long fince vnto the Romans ; though Hannibal tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out, on the Carthaginian fide. Illiturgi had fometimes beene inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their denotion. Yet after the death of the two elder scipioes, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune; it not only rebelled; but with great crueltie betraied, and flue, the poore menthat escaped thither from the overthrowes. Aftapa was a Towne, that had ftill adhered to the Carthaginians; and, which was worfe, had thriuen by spoile of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeare) Scipio went against these, and tooke himselfe Hiturgiand Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one Cerdubellus. Astapa was taken by Lucius Marcius: or rather destroied by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and filter, with what socuer elfe was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard; that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Towne. This prouition being 20 made : all the Inhabitants that could be are armes, rushed forth desperately : and fell vpon the Roman campe; where friging beyond their power, they were every one flaine. Then was the Towne forth-with fet on fire, by those that had taken charge to docit : and many of the Romans confirmed with the flame; whilest they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold, and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile readie

CHAP. 2. S. 17. 1.1. of the Historie of the World.

Afdrubal, being beaten into the Hand of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with feuen Gallies; leaving Augo behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. Hee visited in his way home, Syphax King of the Mafafili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to winne him to the friend-40 thip of the Carthagmians. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his euill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried syphax quite another way. For Scipio, having driven the Carthaginians out of Spaine, did forth-with bethinke himselfe, how to finish the warre; by putting them to the like distresse in Africke. Hercunto it feemed that the helpe of Syphax would be much availeable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and fustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eafily be moued to feeke revenge. He had also beene beholding to P. and Cn. Scipio, that fent him ouer a Captaine into Afrike: who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadouts to 50 Rome, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great extremitie. So that hereby P. Scipio conceined hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in Afrike; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer C. Lelius his Embassadour, to deale with Syphax: who declaring that the Carthaginians did very ill in Italie, and had nothing now at all to Zzzzz 2

doe in Spaine; eafily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better. and were without question his better friends. Only Syphax requested, that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto Scipio condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre distant from Spaine, well worthic of the adventure. So with two Quinquereme Gallies hee tooke Sea : and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time, with Asarubal. This would have beene very dangerous to him, had he beene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen, they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. Syphax might well be proud; feeing at one time, two fuch Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. Hee would have brought them to treat of peace : but the Roman excused himselfe, by want of fuch commission from the Senate. He feasted them together : and shortly difmiffed Scipio, with whom he readily entred into couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

#### t. I I.

Funerall games held by SCIPIO. A duell betweene two Spanish Princes. A digression, concerning Duells.

SCIPIO returning into Spaine, and refting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeare, vpon those of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, as hath beene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end : hee performed at new Carthage, with great folemnitie, some Vowes that he had made; and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at fharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vied in the Citie of Rome for there were enough, that either offe- 10 red themselues as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to give proofein fingle combat, of the valour that was in their feuerall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, Corbis, and Orfus, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principalitie of a Towne called Ibes. Corbis was the elder, and the elder brothers fonne: wherfore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our Irill Tanillrie. But the father of Orlua flood lately feized of the Principalitie: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother; vet this his fonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his 40 father, and old enough to rule. Faine would Scipio have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had alreadic laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only Mars, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, eafily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats have beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy, by Thefeus, Hercules, Pollux, and others: as also of two at the Warre of Troy; the one, betweene Paris and Menelaus; the other, betweene Hector and Aiax. Neither want 50 there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that betweene David and Goliah; and Givers performed by fome of Davids Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelue of the Tribe of Inda, and as many of the Beniamites. The Romans

had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the Horaty, against the three brethren Curialy that were Albans. The combat of Manlius Torquatus; and thortly after, of Valerius Corninus with two Champions of the Gaules, which challenged any Roman; were of leffe importance, as having only reference to brauerie. In England there was a great combat fought, betweene Edmond Ironfide and Canutus the Dane, for no leffethan the Kingdome. The vie of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon every occasion, great or small. In the raigne of Edward the third, who Justained the partie of Mountfort against the Earle of Bloys, contending for the Duchie of Britaine; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations; between thirtie of the Britons, and thirtie English: two of which English, were Caluerlie a braue Captaine; and that Sir Robert Knolles, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French warres, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord Knolles is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Hiltories. Most of them have beene combats of braueric, and of gayete decure, as the French terme it; for honor of feuerall Nations; for love of Mistreffes: or what focuer elfe gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out them selues. But befides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats, which are, either vpon acculation for life; or vpon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in Writ of right. and And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake even now, betweene Corbis and or [ua.: Nnto these (methinkes) may be added, as of different condition from the reft, the combat vpon Wager; fuch as were that betweene Dauid and Golish; or that betweene the Horaty and Curiaty : in which, without regard of Title, the Domimion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured you the head of Champions. Ypon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord Hen. A. 21, Ric. 241. rie of Boulinbrooke Duke of Hereford, and Moubray Duke of Norfolke. There was a combat performed by Sir Iohn Aufley and one Cattrington: whom Anfley charged A. 3. Ric. 241, with treason; and proved it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene Robert of Mountfort and Henrie of Effex. The like also, betweene a Nauar- A. o. Henradi. 20 rois and one Welch of Grimsby, whom the Nauarrois accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our trial by battaile doe determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquilhed, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But we enery where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of Normandie, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) bee ouer-come. He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not fo : neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but hee may trie it by his Champion; as did Paramor and Lowe, or offered to doe, in the 40 raigne of Queene Elizabeth. And in this cafe, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loofeth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, upon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of braueric; but in campe close, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was fo ordinarie in France, before the time of St. Lewes, and Philip the faire his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclefiafficall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurifdiction. And it feemeth that the French Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the \* Me- . Silvening de morialls of the Chamber of Accompts, is found an Article to this effect : That if a combat I oralico Vadia were once accepted, and after, by confent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings fixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the 10 partie vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And vpon this custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vie when any man hath had an hard or vnjust judgement; faying, That hee was tried by the Law of Lorar, or Berne; on le battu pave l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battaile, that great learned man Tuo, Bishop of Chartres, did often complaine, and

seriates , qui Theobaldi Aureliants inter farrant, retulesunt nubis, quad anidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam ed Monomachia provocaveric. en bane prouocatiovestra indicio confirmauer:t,

· clears vefit specially against the French Church-men: as appeares by \* his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Arch bilhop of Sens, and toothers; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of reiall, was retrencht by Saint Lemes, and Philip the faire; fo that no man thould decree, or grant it, faue the King himselfe. It hath lince beene granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings; as to the Lord of Carenges against taques le Gris; and to Iulian Remere the Spaniard. 2 gainst More, his Countriman : wherein Sir Henrie Kneuet, Father of the Lord Kneuet now living, was Patron to Romero that had the victorie, and laftly to the Lord of Chair Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other of to fence descriing death, (and in those only) the rule held, That le desendeur estoit tenu de propojer ces dessenses per une dementir; The Desendant was bound to pleade not guil tie, by giving the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did taifiblement confesser le crime ; filently confesse the crime. But after such time as Francis the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery pettie Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giving of the Lie mortalitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put up, what the great Emperour Charles the fift had patiently endured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded/upon noneof those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honor of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe fo many Duells, as are founded vpon meere private Anger, yea or vpon matter faming worthie of anger in the opinion of the Duellifts. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint perfonall combats; the giving of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrells. This is held a word fo terrible, and a wrong fo vnpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, 20 than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derined a kinde of Arte and Philosophic of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yeathere are (among many other no leffe ridiculous) some so mysticall curiolities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemie a flight touch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword: the one, having relation to a slaue; the other, to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for mine owne part, if I had had any fuch Italionated enemie in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions, who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I fay, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; vie nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworne to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not Liers by Record, by being fued in some Court or other of Justice, vpon breach of se word, or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day; or promifed any thing elfe, wherein he faileth; bath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make nowa-daies? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, vsed in their or-

dinarie complements, and (in effect) to enery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or falute, other than a courteous and courtlike kinde of lying? It is (faith a wife French-man, deriding therein the Apill custome of his Countrie) wie marché complot fait ansemblation fe macquer, mentir, coloiper les ons les autres ; A kinde of merchanding, and completinade among them, to mock belie, and deride each other : and to farre now-a daies in fallaipp, and in wee as he that yeeth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynically True it is not with flunding (ominting the old diffunctions) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complemental lies, with those which are famtime per fweded by necessitie woon breach of promise; and those which men 10 vie out of cowardize and feare othe latter confesting themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God ; a vice of all other filed the most villainous. But now for the Light folfo, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrella in effect : to it I fay, That who forgings another manthe Lie, when it is manifest behat he bath lied, dorh him no wrong at all; neitherloughtit to be more hainoully taken, than to tell him, that he bath broken any promise which he had notherwise made. For he that promileth any thing, tolls him, to whom he hath promifed, what hee will performe it ; and, in not performing it, be hatti made him lelfe a Lier. On the other lide. He that gives any manthe Lie, when him felfe knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to him felfe. And what cause have I, if I an fay that the Suppreshines when it doth thine, and that another fellow tells me I lic, for it's mid-night; to profecute fuch an one to death; for making himfelfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Liet in his owneknowledge ! For he that gives the Limin any other difpute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; give sittimpertinently and Ruffianlike. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudeneffecto taxe day man in publike with anymeruth; (if it be not pernicious, and to his projudice against whom the varruth isyttered) but all that is rude; ought not to be civilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French cultome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counfaile of God. But you will fay; That thefe discourses favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare Got or Hell; whereas he that a is truly, wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing also tabe frared. For against an Enemies (word wee shall findeten thouland seven-pento-men (waged at that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance leffe, shamany profest Sword-man in the World. Diligentisma in tutela fui Fortitude; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it salfe. It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritic between doubting and daring. Sicul non Martyrem pona: sienea fortem pugna; sed coufa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr : fo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good caufe. In which who foeuer thall refoluedly end his life, refoluedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie: as hee may justly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious 40 hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe we indeede take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs. by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to give him, of whom we would bee reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our owne consciences; animala, in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies. Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble spirits the defence of their bonours, being prest with injuries ? I fay that I doe not; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is affailed, in the flaughter of the Affailant. You will secondly aske 50 me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by Cartel by one of like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to fatisfie the challenger in private combat? I answere that he is not : because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can judge it, which can destroy it; except you will still those Artes honourable, where the Hangi man gives the Garland. For, feeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conquerour; and the Lawes of God appointed the Devill to fecond the conquered dying in malice. I fay that he is both bafe, and a foole, that accepts of any Cartel to accompanied. To this perchance it will bee anfwered, That the Kings of England, anthorner Christian Kings, have feldome taken any fuch advantage over men of qualture; who wport caren retimes have flaine their private enemies. It is the that as incines of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; fo did our Noble menend Gentle then in former ages, in all important injuries, fue vinto the King , to approve themselves by battalle and publique to combat. For as they dared not to brackthe Law's fo did they diffaine to fubmit themselves to the shamefull revengethereof; the same revenge (Berause it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-pursse or other Theeues, Nav let it be granted that a pardon beconsocured for fach offenders; Yet's not the Manflaier freed by his pardon. For the forewore medies thath the partie grieued not withstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Affize, or by battaile, upon his ap. peale, which (faith St. Thomas Smith) is not denied and he further faith I for I vie his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit the Man-flaier) be continued either by Great Affize or by Battaile woon that appeale I the Man flater shall die notwithflanding the Princes pardon. So tauourable (kith the fame learned Gentleman) 20 are our Princes, and the law of our Realme : to justice, and to the punishment of bloud violently flied. It may further be demanded how our Noble men's Gentle men thall be repaired inchonour, where an enemie, taking the flare either in worder or blowes, thall lay on them an inflame vinfufferable to I fay what a Marthall Court will eafily gine fatisfaction in boths. And if wee hold it no difgrate to fill mit our felues for the recoverie of our Dubes, Goods, and Lands, and for all things elfe, by which the lives of our febres, our wines, and children , are fuffaired ; to the Judges of the Law i because it that bee fellonie; to take by violence even that which is our owned why should incondrate bubmic our feities to the Hudges of honourin cases of honour because to recour our reputation by strong hand, may be awarder? But yet 10 againg it may be objected. That the leffe of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the loffe of our goods, of our lands, or of our lines; and I fay fo too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee fo deare vitto vs., other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and under-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looseth his honor. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because even and equall in persons and 40 armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marfhall of England hath power to faue ouery mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may fuftaine in lurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill wordes that we haue giuen, and to confelle that we haue done him worng to whom we haue giuen them, is a fufficient faits faction; and as it may fall out, more than fufficient. For hee that gives ill wordes in choller guad fuddenly, denies them, or repents himfelfe of them you adulfement; hath the difaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeeded not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompense will bee made 50 for them; that all appeare by a notable example of a molt worthis Gentleman Monniform doubter that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a sudgement of the Constable and Marsfhalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue indge

ment . M. de Plesis was set in a chaire under the degrees where the Contable and Marshalls fate : the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a fword with the point towards himfelfe. and in his left hand the like cudgell or baltinado, wherewith he had stricken AL de Plefis; both which weapons he deliuered into Plefis hands, submitting himselfe to such renenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of Plefis to vie his owne difcretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one before hand in point of honour, who struck M. de Plesses, like to a Ruffian comming behinde him, and (having advantage of companie, and his horses readie) shifted himselfe away on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner : Or whether Monsieur de Plesis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgave him; let any wife man judge. To this if it be faid, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no difgrace vnto him: I answere, that one may say as well, that it is no difgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallowesto repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enan forced repentance is no diffrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted upon vs for formewhat unworthie of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth cither out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainely, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie injuries or fuddaine injuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, then reuenge them: fo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather defire, that thereby the world should beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any fuch refolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe an indeede to be a valiant man, scornes to hunt after the opinion.

Now the fame power which the Contrable and Marthalls of France have, hath alfo a Marthall of England, or his Deputies; by whose indegement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preserved; wee may therefore as well submit our selves to the ludge of honour in all disputes of honour, as wee doe submit our selves in all controverties of livelihood and lift, to the ludge of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalricia England, in France, and eschwhere; was not less chairtable than politice. For the bloud of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honic bees, as that of Bulls doth, which sling but the singers or the face: but it produce that monstrous Beats, Reweige, which hath shung do to death, and eaten up of several Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more launentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon supreme Governours, than the cermission.

His Majeflie therefore (which Hemie the fourth of France all 6 endeuoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian like deede in Seatland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessor sould neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the deadly send; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for ever-more. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happie in preventing the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious varguistics of Duelliss.

Vnto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be cadded, Take ach of the sear of great Latitude, and worthie of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or lessels, in their several degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessaries upon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and

Sir Them. Smith in his Com. weal of Engl. fuch pernicious lies, as proceede from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false

witnesses: the former fort, being excusable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, be-

ing altogether detestable. No leffe, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call killing by guile, dolo or perinfidias; though our Lawes doe not much diffinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, for saking his owne priviledge, commandeth, that the guilefull murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of

Lib.5.cap.12.

his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the fword, nor by overt violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poiloning; and by the pen, or by practife. For such distinction is found, betweene comming presumptuously vpon a 10 man, to flay him with guile; and lying in wait for bloud, prinily, for the innocent, without a cause, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spred before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, Queene Marie of England, and the Kings Majestic now raigning, have given notable testimonie of their justice, vpon three Noble men, who committed guilefull murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talard : who being (faith the French Historian) de haute & ancienne lignee , & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especiall fauour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the handes of the Hang-man. Queene Marie, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects 20 very deare vnto her. His Maiestie, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no leffe ancient and faithfull, than himfelfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poifon, and of punishment following fuch wicked Artifans; euery Age hath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Judge) the Authour of the French Recherches gives vs two notable inflances: the one of des Efbars, who (faith Pafquire) fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contente l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre : & Dieu permit que depuis il sut pendu & estrangle ; Who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Eshars worshipped as his Idol : but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone af- 20 ter hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor Paret: who, to fatisfie the Kings passion, practifed the destruction of the Admirall Chabet, a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other men, fo in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, prefuming vpon the great good service which hee had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of Marfeilles against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and defired nothing fo much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being cafie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and 40 other Judges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law ) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with fome of the Judges with fo great cunning; with others, with fo sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proved against the Admirall, worthic of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating fallhood in fo great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignement, and condemnation? Belle legon certes (faith Pafquire) à tout Juge pour demourer 50 tousiours ensoy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire sa-

neur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge ; A faire lesson to all Iudges , to dwell alwaies in them-

felues, and not to fuffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginarie fauour, which in the end overwhelmes them. And as for the Admirall : though it might have beene

antiwered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as undeferued. That he was tried, according to his owne defire, by the Lawes of his Countrie, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue back vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

CHAP.3. S.17. 1.3. of the Historie of the World.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chofen Conful.

Home C.

THe last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the Reople, and mutinic of his Souldiers. He fell dangeroufly fick, in such fort, that the rumor of his death ranne current throughout Spaine. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, pettic Kings, that had for laken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the Romans. They were vainely perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themselves should become the mightieft in all Spaine. But feeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best; to take the present aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rathly fell vpon the Sueffetani and Sedetsni. Confederates of the Romans; and waited their Countrie. Part of the Roman Armie lying at Sucro, in flead of making head against these Rebells, grew to be affected with the like diftemper. They had not reaped fuch profit of their Roman conquests, as might fatisfie their defires; or as they thought calle to bee gotten, if they might betheir owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported: they thought, that the time ferued very well, to enrich themselves with spoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, drining away their Colonells, that should have bridled their furie a they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, Albim Calenus, and Atrius Finber, to their Com-20 manders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein Lucius Martius was chofen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipio's. But whilest they were deuising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of them felues, in a time of fuch combuffion, as was expected; there arrived more certaine newes, that Scipio was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Golonells, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of confideration, and feeming to bee glad that they had no further ouer-shot themselves; led them to Carthagena, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, Stifie had refolued to doc exemplarie justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them 40 in feare, of what they had deferued. Therefore hee caused Syllan us to make readie the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against Mandonius, and indibilis; He caused Albius and Atrius with some thirtie other of their Complices, to be fecretly apprehended in their lodgings. He called the Mutiners to affembly; and having them ynarmed as they were, encircled round by Syllanus and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hee bitterly inneighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; Albim, and Atring, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Romm cuftome toward fuch offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew: and received e-50 uery man his pay when he was fworne.

Mandanius, and Indibilis continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of Scipio his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet; but by the feueritie vsed to the Roman Souldiers; they stood in feare, as

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Scipio obtaines lesue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of Massan sanissa who io yned with Scipio. The victories against Asdrvbal and Syphax.

VB. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, and P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, entring into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that Scipio should bee allowed, to be show part of the monie which he had brought out of Spaine into the treasurie; vpon the fetting forth of folemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whileft he was buffed in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reviue the memoric of his victories alreadie gotten; and to give hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish embassages availe much in the Senate, especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions, highly and deferuedly; faying, That they were the most happie of all their Countition, since they being present, had seene him chosen Conful, and should carrie home such joy full newes. The Saguntine Embassadours, were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome, though coffly it were both to them, and to the Romans, had well deferued. Neuertheleffe, when Sosno pio proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince : there wanted not many, even of the principall men, that vehemently gainefaid him. Of thefe was Q. Fabius Maximus the chiefe: who feemes to have been troubled with that difcase; which too often causeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke asquint upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleaged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul : whereof the chiefe were, That the treasurie was vnable to suitaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard forgreat forces, where they could not at pleafure beerecalled, vnto the defence of Rome it felfe, if neede required. Hereunto he added many wordes concerning the danger wherein Halie flood, not only of Hannibal, but of Maon go his brother, that was arming the Ligus jans : as also concerning the honour of the Conful; which would (he faid) be greater in fetting Italie free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the Spanifb warres, as of leffe moment than the intended voiage against Carthage: nor withall to lay great blame upon Scipio, for having furered Afdrubal to paffe into 114lie: the wing, that it was greatly to be feared, least the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, not with It and ing the good fuccesse of Scipio (if it happed to bee good) might be fent from Carthage, to the vtter endangering of Rome, whilft the Roman forces were emploied abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that years 40 a Province: which the Conful neuerthelesse propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter alreadie concluded, and no longer to be argued. Scipio on the other fide, infifled your this one point; That it was better to make an offenfine, than a defenfine warre; especially against such as the Carthaginians; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of monie, with levies made abroade. As for the care of Italie, he doubted not, but P. Licinius his Golleague, would bee as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiling to draw Hannibal into Africk, for defence of his owne home; and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuic of Fabius, which withflood fuch a gallant enterprise; hee proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the to manner of his proceeding: for a fmuch as it was notifed abroad, that if hee could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carrie it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who referred in this honorable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, Scipio referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates Aaaaaa

and found them in a Valley, that was fearce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and fending Lalius with all his horfero feeth a compalie about the fulls, and charge them in rearcy he ouer threw them. Indivision and Mandamus had after this no hope remayning, to preferue them felues and their effates, otherwise than by making film iffion. Mandamus therefore came to spipe: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfle, and for his brother malibila, obtayned his request, yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves less free Princes, then they formerly had beene.

Afterward Scipio went toward Gade: and was met on the way by Masmilis; to

being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio went against them:

who fecretly promifed to doe him all feruice, if the People of Rome would fend him to make Warre in Africk. Vnto Mago that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italie; and there wage an Armie of Gaules, and Ligurians, to joyne with Hannibal. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from Carthage; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of Gades; without sparing either private men, the common treasurie, or the Temples. In his voiage thence, heclanded at Carthagena: hoping to haue taken it by furprise. But hee failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his ta- 20 king leave of them, would not fuffer him to enter againe into their Citic. By this heeforesaw, that it would not bee longere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voiage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Island Citie of Gades, was yeelded to the Romans, prefently after the departure of Mage. Then did Schipie deliuer yo the Province, to those that were fant from Romes Couccede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied to him: for that it had as yet been egranted who no Procondial; excepting to such, as received that dignitive after a Consulhin, as it were by prorogation. But to makeamends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie? P. Cornelius Schipie was chosen Consuls and P. Lieinius Crassius joy-ned with him. This Crassius, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Roman's; might not, by the cultomose of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superfiction: though Casar, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were stated by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that his Scheage desiring to haute the Warre transferred into Assiria, was into a danger to loose that honourable charge, by any 40 milchance of lot, in the distillion of Prounincies; for that his Scolleague was notes.

pable of emploiment fo farre off.

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good will and pleafure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the Isle of said might be appointed vnto him for his Province; with leave to paffe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of monic, and no great liking to his voiage, made the Roman Senate have little care to turnish out Scipio to the warre, by him intended vpon Africke. Here. withall it fell out, that Mago, comming on the fuddaine from the Baleares to Genua. and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no leffe terrible inuation vpon Italie, than that which Afdrubal had lately made. He could not indeede raife any great Armie of the Liquians; for that he found them diffracted with civill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time, than he could willingly have spared : yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnfteadie Gaules readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the Romans, that under Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be emploied where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lona bardie, and Liguria, there to make head against Mago. But all his menaces passed a. way in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report is vicertaine) loaden with the bootie that hee had taken; fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that gouerned in Sardinia. This did much difable him: and though after awhile, there came letters from Carthage, together with 20 ftore of monic, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of Scipio into Africk, disturbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Against Hannibal, was nothing done this yeare. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Roman Historians have beene pleased to take notice. Only it is faid, that he foent the former by the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, where hee raifed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punike, and Greeke letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the hight of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the looling hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great peffilence, infeffing both the Carthaginian, and the Roman Campe, is faid to have beene the occasion of this yeares idlenesse: which fell not out much amisse for the Citic of Rome, that was marualloufly emponerished by this warre; and had alreadic tried the vtmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of Campania (not many yeares fince confileated) should bee fold, or let out : in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no loffe; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other monie, none was given to Scipio. Neither was hee allowed to make preffe of Souldiers for his African voiage; neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him : or rather they did it for themselues; that were therein wifer than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councells of estate; that the busic, or obstinate heads of a few, doccarrie all the reft. And many times, men make a furrender of their owne judgements, to the wifedome that hath gotten it felfe a name, by giving happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, hee that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde him felfe deceived: the counfaile of those many being wholly directed by the empetr of a few, that ouer-fway the rest. Q. Fabius was accounted the Oracle of his time : for his warie nature forted well with the bufineffe, 50 that fell out in the chiefe of his emploiment. Vnto him therefore Q. Fulsius adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduife, and deliberate, yet could well appre hend)

apprehend) embraced the needfull refolution of Scipio: in fuch fort, that belides his Raman forces, he had from divers parts of Italie about feven thousand Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for failes, Axes, Beede hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of thips, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes : every placefurnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could affoord. Vnto this willingueffe of the People, the diligence of Scipio was correspondent. In the compasse of fine and fortig daies, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched, twentie Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into 10 Sicil. In Sicil he found, belides other forces, two Legions, that had ferued at Canna: which were old Souldiers, and (as hee himfelfe well knew) not guiltie of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heavie censure. They had scrued under Marcellus, and Lauinus; at the taking of many Cities, and strong peeces; in which regard, they were like to bee of good vie to him in Africk; where would bee flore of fuch emploiment. For increasing the number of his horse, hee pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthic yong men, and fuch as loved well their eafe. Thefe he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment : but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horse and Armes, to as many Roman Gentlemen; which hee brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilest hee an was providing, to have things in a readinesse for Africk; the banished Locrians that followed the Roman fide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the Caribaginians in one of the Citadells of Lorie (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might beranfomed, and rewarded. Scipio being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surprifed. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison: which fent to Hannibal for aide. The Romans in like fort, fearing least their owner paucitie, should make them too weake for Hannibal, craued helpe of the Consul Scipio. The 30 Townesmen, were doubtfully affected : but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept Hannibal out; whom the comming of Scipio caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by Scipio incustodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Loerians ynto the Roman Senate; not only against those of the Garrison, but much more against Pleminius the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the reft. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of Proferpina, that had a great fame of fanctitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Theeues. The Locrians therefore adulfed the Senate, to make present ato mends to the Goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint; comforted the Locrians, and redreffed the injuries done vnto them; fent for Pleminius, with other principall the offenders, whom they cast into prison, and vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto Proferpina her monie twice told. But old Q. Fabius was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon Scipio, that had placed fuch a manin Locri; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp inucctive that Fabius made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of Scipio, as against to the diffolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in Sieil, neither mindfull of any feruice toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so farrevrged, that ten Legates were sent ouer into Sicil, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Adiles; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italie, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit: The end of all was: they found him fo well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his journie; and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had alreadie emploied Lalius in Africk; rather to make discouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie : and firuck no little terrour into the Carthaginians; who faw their affaires to be evpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journie was, That speaking with Majanisja, he well in. formed himselfe of the state of Africk; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promifed to joyne with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning Masanissahis revolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made 10

under-hand with the Romans .: Livie doth professe, That there was no such cuident

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cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without some good cause. But Appianus (an Historian farre inseriour to Liuie, both in Worth and Time) gives one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belong. ing, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessarie truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to paffe, that the knowledge of fuch a matter should have escaped the diligence of Linie, if it had beene true : vnleffe wee should beleeve. that he wilfully forbare to rehearfe a Tragedie; the forrow whereof would cause Appian.Alex. men to thinke amiffe of Scipio. Howfoever it was, thus \* Appian tells it: and many 10 circumstances of things done confirme it. Afdrabal, the sonne of Gifco, had a faire daughter, whom both King Syphax and Mafanissa loued. Masanissa, being brought vp at Carthage, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by Afarubal to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great feruice. But afterwards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the mariage of Afdrabals daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon Syphax; without standing to acquaint her father or Mafamilla therewithall. This they did, for that syphax was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemic. Hereof Malamile was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with Scipio, secretly as he 20 thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveighed himselfe homein to his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeve Appianus: all the narration well cohering with things paft, and following. Only it feemes, that howfocuer Sophonisbathe daughter of Aforubal, was promifed by the Carthaginians vnto Syphax: yet fince this their courtesse proceeded from scare, He thought it wildome to continuc and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; until A SDRVBAL had fent for his daughter from Carthage, and the marriage was confummated. In other matters concerning the warre it ielfe, wherein Appian differs much from Linie, and from Polybius, whom (as appeares by the broken peeces of his works 40

remaining) Linie did follow; it will be no offence, to take litle heed vnto his reports. Mafaniffa was the sonne of Gala, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crowne descended, by order of the Countrie, vnto Desales the brother, not vnto Me fanisha the sonne. But this Vncle of Masanisha shortly died and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebeli that made himselse Protector over the yonger which was a child. The Traitorsortified himselfe against Masanisa, whose returne bee feared; by Alliances with the Carthaginians and Syphax. But all would not ferue: He, and his Pupill, were disposfeffed of their Estates by Majarifa; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father Gala. The Carthaginians in reason should hauebeene 50 glad, that Masanissa, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not beene guiltie of the injurie ly them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cosen raigned, and hee seemed unlikely to fland them in any slead, But Syphan, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Corrival

warred upon him; and oner-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheleffe Mafaniffa still retayned the hearts of his people; and hereby remayned strong enough, to infest both Syphax and the Carthaginians; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the leffer Syrtis, betweene the borders of the Cartharanans and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans; vet fo, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrie, euen as farre as to Hippo; and when Leline arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him, to haften on Scipto to the inualion of Africk.

But Syphax, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good succelle, than could be expected from the good will of poore Majaniffa; fent an Embaffage into Sicil about the fame time, which was little pleafing vnto Scipio. He excufed himfelfe of his promife lately made: and fignified his alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, That hee could not choose but fight for the defence of Africke, wherein he was borne and raigned; and for defence of his beloued wines Countrie, if it were inuaded. Neuertheleffe he promifed to remaine a Neuter; so long as the Romans and Carthaginians held warre abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This mellage haltned Scipio in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised affistance of Syphax had not a intle advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the aftent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way, to preuent all discourse, and set the warre undertaken immediately on foot. The Embasfadours he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to confider, that what he had promifed he had also fworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having fent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voiage; which he intended no longer to deferre. For, faid he, Mafaniffa hath beene with Lelius : and Syphan hath newly fent to me; greatly wondering vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will o provide for them felues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the meffage of these Embassadours; whose followers had beene seene walking vp and downe Spracuse. And left any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the bulineffe, Scipio immediately fent about his fleet vnto Lilyboum; and requesting by letters At. Pomponius, that was Pretor in Sicil, to meet him there; halted thither with his Armic. At Lilybeum he agreed with the Pretor, about the division of the Legions betweene them; which to leave behinde for defence of the Hand; and which to carrie with him into Africk. What numbers hee transported, it is not certaine: fome Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twentie 40 hundred horse; others increasing them to fine and thirtie thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe : since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voiage into Spaine, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set downer by an Historian, who borrowed them from Lime, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Armic landed in Africk, neare vnto a Fore-land then called the faire Promontorie: which how farre it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme, because it is uncertaine, whether it were that to Cape or Head-land which bore the name of Mercurie, and lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whether that of Apollo, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of Masanissa vnto Scipio at his first arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of Xylander: who thinkes the faire Promontorie to have beene the fame. that was also called Mercuries Cape, since with little difficultie Masanissa might come Aaaaaa 2

thither from the leffer Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But for almuch as without any memorable impediment, foone after his arrivall, Scapio encampi dbefore Vices, that flood Westward from Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: It may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of Apollo; whence the way to Vica was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of Carthage were fent, the next day, fine hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for Masanissa, that roued about the Countrie with a troupe of horse. to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vfually reforted, like as before he had met with Lelius at Hippo that was farther off: as it would have beene for Scipio, with his Armic and Carriages, to ouer-comethe trouble of a long journie, and fetch a great compasse to Vica by Land; when hee might have disembarqued nearer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a conjecture. That Scipio came first of all to Emporia, a plentifull Region about the leffer Syrtis; fince he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from Lilybaum, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrie thereabout was very rich, and fit for fustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make relistance. Thus much perhaps Mafaniffa had fignified vnto Lelius, when he spake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, how socuer they made braue promifes, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee faw their fleet and Armie to be fuch, as not only served to invade the Lands of Carthage, but 10 threatned a conquelt of the Citic, and whole Estate : then might hee better adule them to fet faile for Vica, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The Carthagenians had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to bee leuied in halte. If drubal the sonne of Gisco, the same that had lately been chaced out of Spaine by Scipio, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by Hanne and his fellowes, of whose faction he was or it ought were wanting in him, yethis Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King Syphax, made him passeable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the Romans: when letters were brought from Carthage, both to Sy- 20 phax and to him, informing them of the Inuation: entreating the one of them to giue affillance; and comanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be readie, Scipio had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and flaine Hanno a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, belides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conneighed aboard his Hulkes or ships of burden, and sent them back loaden into Sicil. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called Salers; which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another Hanno, with foure thousand Numidian horse: whose service being sitter for the field, than for defence of walled pla- 40 ces; made Scipio to perceiue the vnskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he fent Masanissa before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a Brauado, trained out the improvident Hanno fo farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was eafily gotten; and Hanno either taken, or flaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the Towne; which prefently they made their owne. Thence went Scipio to Vites, a Citic of great importance, \* of which mention hath beene formerly made; and fate downe before it. Fortie daies hee spent about it : affailing it both by Land and Sea, and vling all his engines of batterie whereof hee had plentie; yet was in no likelihood of prenailing. And now the Sommer was quite spent : so that it was time 50 for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must bee well stored against the yeare following. Whilest thus necessitie vrged him to leave Vius: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there : Astrabal and Syphan gaue him the honour

of a faire pretence to leave the fiege. Afdrubal had made a Leuie of thirtie thoufand foot, and three thouland horse; yet adventured not with this ill-trained Armicto draw neare vnto the Romans, before the comming of Syphax. Syphax brought with him vnto Carthage liftie thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of Afdrabal, they marched brauely toward Scipio; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the bankes of an Inler, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foor-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he mored his ships; 10 and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeare, when it thould ferue him againe to fight. Of cattaile and other bootie Masanissa had brought in great flore; by driving the Countrie, before the comming of Afdrubal and Syphan. Corneal fo he had gotten fome: and great store was sent him from Sial and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from Strainia: though scarce enough to serue turne; for that it was a matter of more cost, The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with Captines, to bee fold for slaues. Afdrubal and Syphax encamped near vnto Scipio : not fo strongly fortifying themselves, 20 as did the Romans; either for that they wanted the feuere institution, which the Romuss vied in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in Scipio no disposition to iffue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter paffed without action.

When Spring drew neare; Scipio thought it good to affay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It was confidered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that Syphan had given proofe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe : and being peraduenture no leffe wearie with fatietic of his wife, who 20 had caused him to enter into this warre : Hee might bee moved with a little entreatie, to with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a Neuter. But it is not vnlikely, that fuch a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honored in the Citie of Carthage, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleafed him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himfelfe awhile : his wife Queene Sophonisba lying also there at the same time, to cherilh him in his resolution. How socuer it were, Syphae did only make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That Hannibal should be recalled out of Italie by the Carthaginians: and that the Romans in like fort should quietly depart out of Africk; and so mak : an end of the Warre, wherewith now both Africk and Europe 40 were disquieted. Vnto this would not Scipio at the first give care: yet being pressed earnestly by many melfages from Syphax, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadours: He beganne to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins, and couered with boughes: and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with Syphax, vsed courrings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelefly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to fet their campson fire; and thereby give them 50 anotable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serve. It was a plaine open Countrie wherein he lay : and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be refifted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

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vpon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himfelfe, to make fome fudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee fent many Embaffadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended furprife. With these Embassadours he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers difguifed like flaues; that wandring (as it were) idlely vp and downe the Campe, might observe the waies and entrances, with what soeuer else was needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee defired : woon the fudden hee fent word to Syphan, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, for a fmuch as he could not get the confent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the 10 end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deligne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: Adrubal and Syphax were very pentiue; as having lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better: they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw Scipio out of his campe; and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refufall of peace, as did M. Atilius after the like prefumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches: what elfe remained than to beliege him? which they themselues were well able to doe by Land; and the Carthaginian fleet thould doe by Sea, that was making readie for the purpole. By fuch discourses these two comforted themselues; 20 recompencing in conceipt the loffe of their hopes path, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed : for that, confulting about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipia, Hee was not idle: but made preparation out of hand; as it were to doc fomewhat against Vtica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readie; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against Vtica before. This he did, partly to keepe fecret that which he had in hand, left being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemie might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of Vica from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leave behinde him in 20 his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readie for the journie. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The Carthaginians lay from him feuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vidertake himselse with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto Lelius and Masanissa, whom hee fent before him to set vpon the Campe of Syphax, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of Syphax should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might feeme to have taken hold by casualtie upon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of Afdrubal, it would bee suspe- 42 Acdas the doing of enemies; and gine Syphux warning to looke vnto himselfe. To this end therefore Scipio marched faire vnd foftly; that Lalius and Masanissa, who had a longer journie, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discouered, might have time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of Syphan beganne to blaze: which not only the N umidians, but their King himfelfe, imputed vnto cafualtie; as thinking themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfeasleepe; and others, that had sitten up late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the tumult, that they neither could 50 rightly understand in what case they were; nor give remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the fudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped

the fire, fell vponthe Enemies fword, which was readic to receme them. Especially Malaniffa, that best knew the Countrie, did great execution vpon them; having laid all the waies, by which he forefaw that they would feeke to escape. The Carthaginians perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: fo that some ranne out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying only what would ferue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart : where, fearcleffe of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the slame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell outright as Scipto would have it. Hee therefore loft no time: but fetting vpon those that were running towards the Numidians, to he killed fome, and purfued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of Syphax. Afarubal feeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not stand to make relistance, but shifted only for himfelfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine faction, had beene taken in fuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old Hanne would have judged him worthie to be crucified. It would then have been faid, That with leffe than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue given some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires, had he not beene only carefull how to faue his owne fearefull head. Nevertheleffe Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have beene true, That if Marubal, Except. 2 Pal. or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the camp was 46-14. once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good; because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not neede to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to

heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold

the cruell flame that confumed them; which (as Polybins affirmes) none that hath be-

ing is able to describe. It is enough to fay, That of those many thousands very few

did escape; which accompanied A drubal and Syphax in their severall waies of flight.

Belides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the Aumidians, that faued

themselues in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it

must needes have beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made 20 away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore Linie, who in

the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow Polybius; may seeme to have followed fome leffe worthie Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in ca-

fling up the fumme. For hee reckons only two thousand foot, and fine hundred

horse, to have escaped; fortie thousand to have perished by sword or fire; and

aboue fixe thou fand to have beene taken prifoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre thort of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes. Aldrubal, putting himselfe into the next Towne that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the Romans worke, vntill the Carthaginians at good lei-40 fure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot. and fine hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne, if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to veeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arrivall of Scipio would soone give an end. Wherefore, left they should lay hold upon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; Hee shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to Carthage. As for the Towne, which hee left; it opened the gates to Scipio, at his first comming; and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoyning would needes bee valiant, and make countenance of warre ; but

ned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for they heard newes of such a

their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by Scipio; who abando-

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastrie of the field, tooke counsaile about the profecution of the Warre. It was refolued vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armic, should attempt the Cities round about him : and that Ma- 50 famiss, with his Numidians, and Lalius, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after Syphan; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice it feemes that Mafaniffa gave : who knew best the qualitie of the Numidians;

and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdome, vsurped by Syphax: which to accomplish, it no leffe concerned the Romans at the prefent, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded , Lelius was sent away with Mafamilla: and Scipio stated behinde; carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yeelded for feare : many were taken by force : and all the fubjects of Carthage wavered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid vpon them, for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italie. What to doe in this cafe the carthaginians could hardly refolue. Fortune was their Enemie: they had loft their Armies, and many of their Townes; neither durft they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or monie; who neuerthelesse of their owne free will were likely to give little helpe. Very much it grieved them, to fend for Hannibal out of Italie: yet fince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadours should bee forthwith fent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to fet out a fleet against that of Scipie; that rode before Viica, weakely manned, and cafe to be taken, whilst Scipio himselfe was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the Citic of Carthage: vpon the fafetic whereof they faid that all depended; adding, that whileft they were true, and at vnitic among themselves, they might well enough sublist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counfailes were not rejected : but order was forthwith taken, both for all thinges concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the Roman fleet at Viica. Neuertheleffe it was confidered, that hereby they should only protract the warre: without any way aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no. though it thould fall out, that all the ships at Vtica might bee taken or destroyed. Wherfore the determination held concerning Hannibal, That he should immediately come ouer into Africk, as the last refuge of Carthage. The Councell was no sooto ner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselues to the execution of that which was decreed: fome, to fortification of the Towne: fome, to make readie the Fleet; and fome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselues for Italie. In this their trepidation Scipio comes to Tunes, a Citie in those daies very strong; and standing in prospect almost of every part of Carthage. This place, or rather some defencible peece adjoyning, He cafily tooke; the Garrison forfaking it, and running away, as foone as he drew neare. But whileft hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie: He might perceive the Carthagmian fleet setting forth, and making towards Vica: What this meant, he readily conceived: and flood in great feare, lett his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being 40 heavily loden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for affaulting the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall service. Wherefore hee hasted away towards Vices, to affift with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Tunes. For had not he now made great expedition, hee should have come too late. Neither could be indeede have beene there in due time; if the Carthaginians had vsed such diligence, as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way : and at their comming to Vica, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselues in order of battaile, as if the Romans would have put forth to Sea against them. But Scipio had no such intent : He thought it would bee sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sca: it should little availe the Carthaginians; if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden; and, fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge ouer

the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thou fand of his choice men, with store of Darts and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any advantage or neede: but theie he couered with plankes; vling the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it felfe not be torne afunder. Scarce was this worke finished; when the Carthaginians, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the Romans, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that flood voon the bridge, had fure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence, which the Carthaginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and uniteadic, could not doe. But the Roman Frigots and long Boats, aduenturing forth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them: nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them grapling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw voon the masts and yards which serued as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all afunder; in fuch fort that one ship followed another, and 20 all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to faue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them entouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but having haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to Carthage. Their well-come was greater than their victorie: because among so many grieuous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whileft things thus paffed about Can thage; Lelius and Mafaniffa, in their journie against Syphax, found as good successe as could be defired. The same of the victories alreadic gotten, reflored Mifamija to his Kingdome, without further contention: 20 the Malafili, his subjects, joyfully receiving him; and for saking the V surper. But here they staied not : neither indeede would Syphax permit them to be quiet. Hee had fuch abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past; and, therefore being follicited by Afarubal and Sophonisba, hee prepared againe for warre, But belied the initigation of his beloued wife; the loffe of the Mafafili would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of Lalius and Masanista, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leffe vnwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; bee the title vnto fome part neuer fo vnjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite: which 40 thought that shee had vomited up her owne guts; when it was only the garbage of some other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, Syphax, like the yong Kite, beleeved the Kingdome of the Mafafyli to be part of his entrailes: Lalius and Mafaniffa will shortly give him somwhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesses (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmitic; as also to fet in his place another, who might doe them fuch good offices, as Syphax had lately done vnto the Carthaginians. How eafily this might be effected, Mafaniffa knew belt: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this to day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with Syphaz: who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman

Centurion, long agoe fent vnto him out of Spaine from Cn. Scipio. But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiously. They were a rabble of all forts, gathered vp in hast : and few of them had feene the warre before. Encamping neare vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way; and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmilly, more and more were drawne out from ejther Campe: fo that at length Syphan, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemie, came vp with all his Horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged Masanissa, whose numbers were farre leffe. But whilest he was profecuting his hope of victorie : fome Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse; which fell to the fides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaile standing now more firme than a little before; Syphax was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine to make them give ground. Mafanifalikewife, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this assistance : and charging afresh the Enemie, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified fo the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would Syphax have flayed them from flight; and to that end made head in person against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out vnhappily, that he was cast from his Horse, which received a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were flaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they for sooke the place, and fled : and that their King, vpon whom all depended was in the Romans hand. Mafanisla told Lalius, That this victoric should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they hasted away to Cirta the chiefe Citic of the Kingdome; whither her himfelfe defired to be fent before with the Horse, carrying Syphax along with him. Hercunto Lalius agreed. Masanista comming to Cirta, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee; wherein by many faire promifes and threats, but e-30 specially by showing vntothem syphax bound, he prevailed so far that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to betheir King hereafter, Among the reft, Queene Sophonisba yeelded her felfe into his hands : and vehemently befought him, that the might not be deliuered vo vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beautic, so commended her suit, that Masanilla forthwith granted it; and to make good his promife, married her himfelfe that verieday: thereby to prevent Lelius and Scipio from determining otherwise of her, fince the was his wife. But Lelius, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainoufly; fo that at first he would have haled her away, together with Syphan and other prisoners, and have sent her vnto Scipio. But being over-entreated by Malanilla, hee fuffered the matter to rest awhile as he found it, and referred all to Scipio's discretion: to whom he fent away Syphax and other Captines immediatly; following shortly after himfelfe with Mafanissa, when they had done what was needefull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of Syphax there was great toy in the Roman Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of Scipie and Afdrubal, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and pelent fortune; miniftring to enery one a large argument of discourse. Scipio demanded of him, what had moved him not only to for fake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon them, unprouoked. He briefely answered, T hat his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Funic, and a pestilent creature : and saying, That Masanissa was no wifer than himselfe; since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat Scipio was greatly troubled : and

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stood in great doubt, left this perilous woman should depriue him of Masanilla, as thee had done of Syphax. It was not long, ere Mafaniffa and Lalius came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking Masaniffa apart, hee brake with him, as touching Sophonisba: letting him understand, that the Romanshad title to her head; and that the was a mischieuous enemie of theirs. Wherefore hee entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memorie of his great feruices alreadie done; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. Masanissa blusht, and wept : and finally promifed to be gouerned by Scipio; whom he nevertheleffe to entreated, to thinke vpon his faith given to Sophonisba, that she should not be delivered into the Romans power. So he departed to his own Tent, where after fome time spent in agonie, he called vnto him a scruant of his, that had the custodie of his povfon ( which Princes then vied to have in readines, against all mischances that might make them vn willing to live): and tempering a potion for Sophonisba, fent it vnto her with this message; That gladly he would have had her to line with him as his wife: but fince they who had power to hinder him of his defire, would not yeeld thereto. he fent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the handes of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to takeor-

At the receit of this Message and Present, shee onely said, That if her Husband had no better token to lend vnto his new wife, shee muti accept of this; adding. That shee might have died more honourably, if shee had not wedded so latelybefore her Funerall. And herewithall shee boldly dranke off the poison. This Linie reports it. But Appian varies from this: and fets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene spoken before, concerning the pracontract betweene Masanisa and Sophonisha. Hee faith, That after the taking of Syphax, Embassadors from Chita met with Lelius and Mafaniffa vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citie, and the Kings Palace: and that Sophonisha, for her owne primate, fent meffengers to excufe her marriage with syphax; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in 30 whose power the was. Mafaniffa readily admitted this excuse; and accepted herto wife. But when Scipio had received information from Syphan, how cunning in perfwafion Sophonishs was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage: he fell out about her with Misanissa at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the Romans. Mafaniffa faid, flee was his owne wife, and vnto him betro hed many yeares before. But Saipio would not heare of this: or if it were true; yet he faid it was no reason, that Masanissa should keepe her in posfession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall hee sent to fetch her away: and Majaneffa accompanied the meffengers, as it were to deliver her; but making her requainted with the necessitie, gaue vnto her a cup of poison, wherewith siece ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed vnto the Romans her dead bodie; which he royally enterred. The fudden violence of Mafaniffa his love, and the readic confent of Sophonisha to marrie with him : adde not so much credit vnto this relation of Appian, as doth the want of all other evidenreause (which a Linie notes) of the sudden falling out betweene him and the Carhazinians; under whom he had bin trained up, & don them great service. Howfocuer it were: Scipio, hearing of this tragical laccident, fent for Atsfanissa, and comforted him as well as he could sleft his melancholic should lead him to some inconuenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had descrued of the Citie of Rome, he proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto him a Crowneofgold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way, to divert his thoughts from the fadde remembrance of that which was past; unto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to fmile

This was the first time that the Komans tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though Masanisa well descrued : yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Countrie, together with the greatest part of Syphax his Dominions. It seemes not vnlike-10 lie, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselse with his Troupe of Horse, in such sort as hee did before the comming of the Romans; hee might neuerthelesse hauerecouered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subjects, without other helpe, when syphax had once or twice been evanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserved : neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to beflow it, that was their affured friend, and paffable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Mafafyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the fame Nation. Yetthis liberalitie of the Romans, was noyfed abroad as verie glorious: and the Ro-20 mans themselues, in a politicke sort of grauitic, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their faluting him by the name of King, had beene a matter of great consequence. Hee thriued indeed well after it; and by their maintenance waxed mightie in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all fides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grow that Vermina the sonne of syphax (of whom wee shall shortly speake more) which held some pecce of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested there withall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of fuit: yet the Roman Senate was puntilious herein; and answered very granely, That 30 it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly descrued of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in procedle of time grew fo proud of this their imaginarie prærogatiue, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vponthem, the salutation by b the name; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or b cafas com profit thence redounding.

à. XİX. The Carthaginians desire Truce: and breakeit.

He Carthaginians were extremely difmaied, when they heard of the great calamitie, that was befalne their good friend Syphax; and undergreat calamitie, that was befalne their good friend 3) phax; and where flood that Majanija, their mortal lenemie, had got polleffion of his floor of their floors. Since their processing to Tanes in Kingdome. To increase their feare, Scipio returned againe to Tunes in Kingdome. 1 o increate their reare, super the view of their Citie: where hee made an end of that Fortification, view of their Citie: where hee made an end of that Fortification, had neither

which hee had begunne at his last being there. The Carthaginians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstandhim: but their hearts so failed them, that they fent forth vnto him thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their O Privie Councell, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of Supio, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but killed the effect of him, exterpre Po-

and of those that sate in Councell with him. Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They con-Bbbbbb 2

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der for her selfe.

feffed themselves to have vniustly broken the Peace between them and Rome ; and to have descrued what socuer punishment it should please the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly befought Scipio and the rest, that, in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would show mercie vnto the Citie of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their elemencie; which, by the follie of her Citizens, had now twice descrued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon Hannibal: who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no Barchines: but rather, that they were Hanno and the choice of his companie; who had now their long defired worke in hand, of fuing vnto the Romans for peace. What focuer they were, it must needes be that they were most infolent men ouer those that were subject vitto their power; for they would not have made such adoration vnto the Romans, in their owne necessitie; vnlesse they themselves had expe-Eted the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not vhknow me to subjector to his assistants, in what poore case the Citie of Rome then was; and how viable to defraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in fuch ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately been. For they had monie enough, wherewith to wage more men; they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; 10 and they had the Scafree. But they wanted the Roman resolution : and therefore distrusted the walls of Carthage , though Viica, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against Scipio, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though so of ten victorious in the field. Scipio therefore accepted their submiffion, and told them That though he came into Africk, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, here would not denie to grant them the Peace, Which they defired, for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of justice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he imposed upon them, were these: That they should render up vinto him all prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugitive flaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italie and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland between Italie & Africk: That they should deliver up all their ships of warre, saue twentie; and T hat they should pay a great fumme of monie, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barlie. To confider of these Articles, hee gaue them three dayes : and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might fend Embaffadours vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, Mulaniffa was difmiffed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had beene alreadie at an end. Syphax was a little before fent with Lalius vnto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that the long endured miferies would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were fet open, and an holy day appointed for thank figuing and fupplication to their Gods. Lalius was accompanied with Embassadors from King Masanissa; who grarularing the happie successe of the Romans in their African Warre, and giving thanks vinto the Senate for the benefits done by Scipio vinto their Mafter, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subjects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed upon him; who by rendring them to libertie, should doe an act verie plaufible that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behinde with Majaniffa in complement : but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that Scipio had done, and should so doe for him; they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were captiues; and fent him two purple Callocks, that had each of them one gold button; with fuch other Prefents, as in time of their pouerty might ferue to testific their good

will. Scarcely were these and Lalius gone from Rome; when the newes came, that Embassadours from Carthage were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadours were not admitted into the Citic, but were lodged without : vntill Lelius being fent for, came backe from Oflia, to be present when their demands were to bee heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bellona; that flood in the suburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was Peace : but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get respite from warre; vntill Hannibal and Mago should come out of Italie, either to chace the Romans out of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betweene them and Luctatius Gatulus, at the end of the former warre. This League they faid, all things well confidered, did ftill remaine in force: neither had there fince beene any warre at all, betweene the people of Rome and the Carthaginians. For it was onely Hannbal, that, without any leaue from Carthage, had of his owne head belieged and razed the Towne of saguntum: and after that aduentured in like fort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Halie. This being to their Meffage was none other, than to defire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of Catulus, might hereafter stand in sorce; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale; hearing these Embassiadours make (as it were) a jest of a warre, that had beene foterrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by Luchatius, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselues by their age : (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time; untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in companie of Lelius; without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answere. This not with flanding, we find in Polybius, That the Senate receiving advertisment Except Pepple from Scipio, of that which had passed betweene him and the Carthaginians in this Lis. Treatie of peace, approued the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto conclusion. This may with good reason be beleeued : fince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly

hopes must rest vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battaile betweene Hannibal and Scipio: wherein if fortune should be auerse to them, their forces in Africk were nobetter than quite lost. Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the Carthaginian Embassadours came backe frome Rome: a Fleet out of Sieil, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for Africk to victualle the Roman Campe, was ouer-

taken by foule weather at Sea ; and hardly escaping wracke, was dispersed, and driuen aground in divers parts of the Bay of Carthage, even in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in Appian, and may gather out of Polybius, a great dearth of victuails in Carthage: which caused the people to Panico. crie out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a bootie escape them; faying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedie desires: the multitude in Carthage understood (20 it seemes) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was Except Polys. the manner in Carthage, as like wife in Alexandria, for all the Rascalitic, together with 50 women and boyes, to be medling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in

such tumults no lesse violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under Afdrubal, to gather up the differfed Roman ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recoursed the flation whereto their Campe adioyned) and Выбыбы з

bring them into Carthage: which was done. Scipio was hereat much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relected; but for that by this breach of truce, he forefaw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war. and put him to more trouble. Where for chee fent Embaffadours vnto them : both to require satisfaction for the injurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining anie other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gauethe Carthaginians to vinderstand, That Letters were come from Rome vinto Scipio, with allowance to conclude the peace; vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (faid they) we hold it strange, That yee, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before vs, and kissed our feet, after an unusuall manner of humilitie, confessing your 10 Selues to have perfidiously broken the league that was betweene ws, and thereby to have deserned such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soone forget what yee then uttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selues worthe to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which yerepoje in HANNIBAL that thus emboldens you. Tet were it not amiffe, that yee should consider, how long he hath beene pent up in a corner of Italie, among the Brutians, where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stirre: so that yee are like to sinde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Africke. and readie to give vs battaile: yet shouldst well agree with your wis dome, to doubt what might befall, remembring that he is aman, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were 10 ouercome; what refuge have yeleft unto your selves against hereaster? What gods will yee eyther sweare by, to bee believed, or call upon in your miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture willyee henceforth wse, to move compassion? Surely yee have alreadie wafled all your forces of perswasion, and shall not againe decine vs, if ye resule the grace, whereof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angrie, when they heard themselues upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embasfadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselues: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his Faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submiffion; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all instification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that 10 the Roman Embassadours were verie much delighted, in the rehearsall of that point which was yeolded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the surie of the multitude was in some sort appealed; eyther by Hanne, whom Appian (I know not why) cals Hanno the great; or by the verie reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly fort; though it were without an swere to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Convoy home; though with little intentof good vnto their persons. As drubal was then in the mid-way, as men failed from 40 Carthage towards Vica. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River Bagradus. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leave of them, as if they had been ethen in safetie; fince the Roman Campe was even in fight. The Embaffadours tooke this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, for a fmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Afdrubal fell vpon them in fuch manner, as they might well 50 discerne his purpose; which was, to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of Asdrubel sthey flipt away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chace; and had well neare furprifed them. But they discouered some

Roman Companies on the shore over against them, and therefore adventured to run their vessell aground : whereby they faued their owne liues ; though a great part of their companie were flaine, or hurt. This practife of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to studie nothing else, than how to get the victorie, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same scare, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not been given to vnderstand, that Hannibal was alreadic landed in Africk, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more case conditions, than were those that Scipio, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

ò. XX.

In what fort HANNIBAL frent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of MAGO in Italie. HANNIBAL and MAGO called out of Italie. How the Romans were diversly affected by HANNI-BALS departure.

Ver fince the loffe of that battaile at Metaurus, Hannibal remained in the Countréy of the Brusium; waiting for another supplie from Carthage. The Rowan Consuls that succeeded vnto Clundus and Linius,
by whom A shad was outcome and flaine, were contented to bee
quiet all their yeare. Neither did Liamin the Colleague of Scipio ought worthie of remembrance against Hannibal: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. Sempronius the Conful who followed Licinius, and Cn. Ser-30 uilius Capio, who followed Sempronius, were carneftly bent to have done formwhat : but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with Hannibal. they had the better; in some, the worse : and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weake.

The Romans had at this time so manie great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon Africk, wherein they were at no final charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happie conclusion. They stood neuerthelesse in much seare of Mago, the brother of Hannibal : who 40 tooke exceeding paine among the Ligurians and Gaules to raife an Armic, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in Italie, that beganne to waxe colde. Mago folicited alfothe Hetrurians; and found them foreadie to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no lesse needful for scipio to return home out of Africk, than thortly it was for Hannibal, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Confuls or Proconfuls, with an Armic, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians; for a fmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which fide Mago would breake out. Being thus bufied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge Hannibal with any great power.

50 As for Mago; when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he mee in the Countrie of the Infubrians, which is about Milan, with M. Cornellys the Roman Proconful and P. Quintilius Varus one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubt-

fulls in fuch fort that the Roman Commanders beganne to distrust the iffue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prætor, taking vnto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout; and strained themselues hard; as if at that brunt the victorie should have beene carried before them But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beafts being fitter for fuch vie, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were feattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannage them. Hereby the Numidians got aduantage vpon them : whole manner of fight was more availeable against those that were loose, than against the Troups that were close and thick. 10 Then felthe Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to give backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemie; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make refistance, they held their ground. The Proconful therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these Mago employed some of his Gaules, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When Mago faw that his men beganne to shrinke , Hee put himselfe in the head of his 20 Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length he received a grewous wound in his thigh, whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himselfe: So the Romans obtained victorie, not withoutgreat coft; as purchasing the death of about fine thousand enemies, with the loffe of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconfuls Legions; also besides divers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of service. Neyther were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, be- 30 fore they had recoursed some ground that might assure them from pursuit. Howeuer it were, this victorie would have much imported for the affurance of Italie, if the State of Carthage could longer have permitted these valiant sonnes of Amilear to abide therein. But Mago with drawing himfelfe (by casic journies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadours from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to understand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and Hannibal should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italie, since Carthage it selfe was readie to bee lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards.

About the same time Hannibal received the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. Fich heard it with great impatitence; gnalling his teeth, and graining, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readic to burft out, whileft the Embassadours were deliuering their errand. When their message was done, Hee told them, That his wayer plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bia me come home, hunlong ages done their best to hate me out of Italic; though mare, ciglely, and crookedly they went to worke, by slopping the supply, that should have enabled use to manage the Warre here. So I 10 o therefore, blad not need to bragge, that hee bath drawn me home by the best-sit with Hann 0, that hath wrought this noble fest; and onerwhelmed the Hause of the Barchines, for takes of other meanest educit, with the vume of Cartos these. He had before prepared a Flect in readincife, doubting that, which after came to passe; wherein he embarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the Haliam, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that strunke backe from him, and refulled tood efervice in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could

takahe flew; not fparing those that fled into the Temple of Inno Launia, which had been held an inviolable Sanchuarie unto that day-lev was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Inle no less palionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leave their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked bake with the shore; accusing both pods and men; and curing his owne dulins (iii), the had not led his Armie from Canna, hotte and bloudied as it was, directly wrothe wals of Rome. With such vexation of fight Hee quitted the possession of Italie; wherein he had lived almost halte his time.

If it could have been foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of Hannibal his departure out of Italie: they would (I thinke) leffe earneally haue preffed the Carthaginians to fend him ouer thither. When fure addertifement was brought vnto the Citic, that Hannibal was gone with all his Armie art Holiday was appointed for thankleining vnto their gods ; & extraordinarie great factifices publikely made, for joy of fuch happic tidings. Yet old Que abitio was of opinion, That the danger did ftill remaine the fame, though the place were changed for that Hannibal, at his comming into Africk; would finde P. Scipio other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countrie, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the warre from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped, was enough to make them prefume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the Saguntine Emballadors brought vnto them a great maffe of Golde and Silver, together with some Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spaine; onely the Carthaginian prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the sugantines that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more necessitie from private men. Hence also proceeded the seuere chastisement, laid vpon those twelve. Colonies, that for want cyther of meanes, or of good will, had refuled to give aid to the 20 Romans. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to fer our for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So confident were the Romans growne (though their wealth were not as yet futeable to the greatnesse of their fpirit) ypon the good successe of the Battaile at Metauris; and the hopes which they reposed in Scipio. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie', whereof Italie had beene few dayes fince discharged, was landed safe in Africk: they began to revolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest Q. Fabius (who died about the fame time) would bee found a true Prophet. For be-40 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against Syphax and Afdrubal no specialtie of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The Numidian King had beene wont to bring into the field a rafcall multitude of halfe-fcullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a sit Captaine for such souldiors. Likewise Afdrubal, the fonne of Gifco, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at fauing himselfe by a swift retrait. But now there came an Armie, of men hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, flelhed many hundred times in Roman blond, so and wearing the spoiles not onely of good fouldiors, but of braue Captaines, by them flaine. Such talke vsed the people of Rome, faying, That Scipio was like to meet in battaile, with many that had flaine Roman Prators, yea and Confuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had beene first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuctall Roman Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the feige of Townes; breifly,

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that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had ever served in warre, and following the dreadfull Name of Hannibal.

## A. XXI.

HANNIBAL in Africke prepares to fight with SCIPIO: treates with him about peace in vaine; loofeth a battaile at Nadagara, and per/wades the Carthazinians to fue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.



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ANNIBAL disembarqued his Armie at Leptie, almost an hundred miles from Carehage, Eastward from the Headland of Mercurie, and fomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, fomewhat farre from the Ene-

mie; that he might furnish himselfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. Tychaus a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of Syphax, was faid to have in those dayes the best Horfes of scruice, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did Hannibal allure vnto his partie: making him understand, that if the Romans got the victorie, it should bee easie for Masanissa, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as manie other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument and the same of him that yield it, prenailed with Treham; who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. Appian further addes, That Mezetulius, (the same who had made himselfe Protectour ouer Masanissa his Cosens; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the Namidian Kings of that race) brought vnto Hamibal another thousand Horse: as likewise that Vermina the sonne of Syphas, a holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assaile the places that yeelded obedience to Majaniffa. This Vermina, as we finde in Livie, came with more than fixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour Hinnibal when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the flate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leifure of those preparations, which would have made the victoric affured. When they confidered the worth of Hannibal, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for Peace; whilest they had such a brane Champion aline, to maintaine their cause by warre.

But when they bethought themselues of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out carneftly, that it was no time to linger, but prefently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, eyther good or bad. And to this purpole, they fent their Mandates to Hannibal: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answere, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since hee was General of their forces, He thought it refonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to give them fatisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his 50 Embassadours: and the newes of Hannibal his being landed in Africk; made Scipio to vinderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance, Wherefore hee fent vnto Masanissa: and informed him of all that was fallen out;

praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other butinesse a-part. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masanilla had with him; that were lent vnto him by Scipio, to doe him feruice in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his owne forces would little auaile him; if Hannibal should drive the Romans out of Africke. Wherefore taking fuch order as he could vpon the fudden, for the fafetie of his owne Kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and fixe thousand Foot, hee made

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadours that had been at Rome, returned backe under the conduct of Lelius and Fulnies: who brought them fafeinto the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themfelues towards the Roman Embaffadours : they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answere for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion.

IM. Babius one of the late Embaffadours that had beene in Carthage, being left by Scipio to take charge of the Campe, laid hands upon them, and detained them; fending word vinto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the Carthaginians might beer epaid in their owne Coyne, for the injurie by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to 20 heare of this; and commanded Behins to vie them with all possible courtefie, and fend them fafe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caufed them to acknowledge themselues, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the Romans, This not with standing, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to facke, withouthearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Towne by affault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatfocuer they were; without regard. This they did, to make them elues terrible: and the better to worke fuch impression in the mindes of those, with whom they had to doe, they yied oftentimes to kil the verie Dogges and other Beafts, that ranne Execut. & Po. 30 athwart them in the firects; he wing their bodies a funder, as men delighted in finedding of bloud. This being their practife at other times; it is likely, that now they omitted no pecce of crueltie; when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indienation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were fo earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hamibal being encamped at Zama, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discouct where the Romans lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto Scipio: who in stead of trusfing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleafure; appointing one to conduct them up and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This 19 done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and fent them away fafe vnto their General. Hamibal understanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemie: with

whom on the fudden he grew defirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference; and fignified fo much vnto him, by a meffenger fent of purpofe. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answere, that Hee would meet him shortly in place convenient. The next day Mafaniffa came with his Armie : whom Scipio taking with him removed vnto a Towne called Nadagara, neare vnto which lice fat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the Carthaginian, That the time and place did fitly ferue, if He had ought to fay to him. Hannibal thereupon remoo ued from Zama, and came within foure miles of the Enemie : where hee encamped well to his owe good liking in all things elfe; excepting that his men were driven to

take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of

Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well fearched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off : and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while filent viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian faluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Afric's and of Italie; for that the Countries of Sicil and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for fo manie Fleets as had beene loft, and of fo much bloud as had beene fhed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not bee recalled: He faid, That it was meet for them to confider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had beene exposed, by the greedie defire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was cuentime for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wifedome hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and cuill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that Scipio, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his mind upon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subject. Tet (faid He) mine owne example may peraduenture susficeto teach thee moderation. For I am that fame HANNIBAL, who after my victoric at Canne wanne the greatest part of Italie: and denifed with my felfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome, which I hoped verily to have taken, Once I brought mine Armie to your walles. as thou haft since brought thine to ours of Carthage ; but now, see the change! I standhere entreating thee to grant us peace. This may ferue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie. I fought with thy Father, Scipio: He was the first of the Roman Generals, that ever met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I should have such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is even one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof shee hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone? Thinke upon M. ATILIVS. If hee would have hearkened unto such perswasions, as I now vieto theezhe might haue returned home to Rome an happie man. And so maift thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How sail thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and what some Ilands else are situate betweene Italie and Africk, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left with the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou halt have gloric enough by effecting thus much : and the Romans may well be glad of fuch a bargaine. Asfor vs : our owne quiet full henceforth give vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too listle; I must defire thee to ponder will how great an hazzard thou must undergoe, for the obtaining of a vericlistle more, than that which thou maift have without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold upon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but till to morrow night, and thou must take such sertune. as it shall please the gods. The offue of battaile is uncertaine, and many times beguilethexpectation. Men and steele we shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of vs hath affurance. Let vs therefore without more a doe. make peace. And doe not tall me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I HANNIBAL that now defire peace with thee, which I would never doe, If I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it : like as I have maintained unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie mee, the Warre by meebegunne. Hereunto Scipio made answere, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicil and in Spaine, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall iffue of the Warres had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he faid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that with-

out any note of infolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plaine, that all thefe Countries, with which the Carthaginians now fo willingly departed, were alreadie wonne from them by the Romans? If, faid Hee, theje Conditions had beene propounded whilest as yet you detained some part of Italie; the; might peradjuenture not have beene relected. But as the cafe now flands, I fee no reason, why I flould remit unto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have reclaed alreadie, and thought mee to deale graciously in being fo moderate. Rather I far, that the injuries which they have done me fince, have made them unworthie of obtaining peace upon fo friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, HANNIBAL, though thou woulded be 10 gladto make thy Citizens under fland, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes ealed. Oncly thou must thinke, that in like fort it concernes me in honour, not solet them bee estners or fauers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweft well, that, befides those offers which thou here hast made , they were well contented to restore unto us ransome-free all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay ws five thousand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliner hoftages for affurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of allthis, by their breach of Truce; their foiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embaffadours? Not fo. But if they can be contented, befides all this, to make fuch amends as I shall require, for these iniuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what an fivere to give you, otherwise, you may even prepare for warre, and blame your 20 owne felues , for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiors prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell betweene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at breake ofday they issued into the field: a notable Match, and such as hath very selsome beene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner : placing first the Hastati, divided into their Maniples, or fmall Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the Principes, likewise divided; and so after them the Triary. But herein 30 Scipio altered alittle the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his Principes opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the Hastiti, that so the Hall sti, as was vivall, might fall backe betweene the Principes; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants; wherof Hannibal had many. For of those beastes the danger was lesse, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke fuch order, that when they had paffed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the Principes in Front. Vnto his Velites or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselues ouer-charged, eyther by the Enemies, or (which was most to bee feaned) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able. should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armies there by leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to faue themselues on the void ground, that was betwist the first and second, or the fecond and third Battailes, without cloying up the way betweene the Maniples; which he delired to kepe open. His Italian Horse he placed in the left wing vnder C. Lelius. In the right wing was Mafaniffa with his Numidians. He himfelfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vling words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieued, fince their comming 50 into Africke. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end : and that their victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to relift them. On the contrarie; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home,

yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in

Afrisk, that would give them shelter; if they sell into the Cartheganian hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would live like wretched slaues vnder mott meretlesse Emmies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been knowne to saide of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other tide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore. in Front of his Battaile. Next behinde these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries, Lieurians, Gaules, Baleares, and Moores. Then followed his Battaile : which was of Carchaginians and Africans, more intereffed in the quarrell than were those Mercinaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately fent from King Philip. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to Latine, in his own right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. Tycheus and the Numidianshe placed in his left wing against Masanissa. He was indeede farre too weake for the Enemie in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For Tycheus and Mezetullus had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the source thousand of Masanisa. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than fuch as could be leuied in the hast of a few daies; and the remainder of those, that had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to flie. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to flay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had Fermina the fonne of Syphax come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with fixteene thou and and apwards, the most of them Horse: the advantage of number might have served wel to supplie all other defect. Yet fince the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay : Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselse, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their seuerall conditions: promifing vnto the Mercinaries bountifull rewards: threatning the Carthaginians with incuitable feruitude, if they loft that day; but especially animating his old fellow-fouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make anestimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had flaughtered at Canna. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Reman Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of fundric battailes, could no longer be trufted to beare Armes in their owne 40 Countrie. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chaced. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strine to make good their honour; and to purchase the same of men inuincible.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the Numidian Horsemen on both fides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other infirtuments of warre, sounded to bartaile: and Hamislasom manded his Elephants to breake upon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertaine kinde of helpe) those that flood neare unto the point of you were alwayes an uncertaine kinde of helpe) those that flood neare unto the point of you will be the same from the same flowing the same flowing that dail offerdered. Massing this signue charge upon the same Namidians; and not suffering them to re-all themselves drawe them quite out of the signue flowing that the same flowing that

they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open way, accordingly as Scipio had well prouided. Diners of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned : but ranne backe vponthe right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they difordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing : against whom they gaue to Lelius the same advantage, that Masaniss had against the Numidians; which he vied in like fort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote advanced, and drew neere together with a flow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast : at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercinaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quickneffe, to haue the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the Principes, following fomewhat neere after the Haftati, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves readie, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercinaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the newleuied Carthaginians and Africans, when they faw their hire! fouldiours give backe. did also themselves retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, to thinke 20 themselves betraied: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way vnto the Mercinaries for their fafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the enemies, that purfued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chaced by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and flaine, through their owne indifferction, by their owne Mercinaries. The Roman Haflati in like fort, fighting with desperate menin a throng, had their hands fo full of worke; that the Principes were faine to come vp 20 vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the cares among themselves. In this place was made a great flaughter, both of the Mercinaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eafily flie. Such of them as escaped, ran towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or faue these Runne awaies. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would have rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne afide beyond his Battaile, and faue themselues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meete with Hannibal, was covered with fuch thicke heapes ofdead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with bloud: that Scipio began to stand 40 in great doubt, less the orders of his Battalions should be dissoluted in passing that way. In such case, if hee should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remayning yet entire, and without feare expecting him ; He might be well affured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the Hallati to make a fland there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaile of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up his Principes and Triarij : He placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the Haftati, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards Hannibal: who entertayned him after another manner, than euer he had beene received in his life befor e. All the daies worke till now, feemed to have beene onely a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe 50 Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable souldiours. The Romans were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old souldiours of Hannibal were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather chose to die voon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, af-

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after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worse; vnlesse it may seeme, that the Romans were beginning to shrinke; foras funch as the returne of Mijanissa and Lalius from pursuit of the Enemies Horse; is said to have beene most happic and in a needful time. These you the sudden charged the Hannibolium in Rere, and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaile there dyed of the Romani. fifteene hundred and vpwards: on the Carlbagnian fide, about eventie thoufand, befides as many that were taken; of whom, Sopatre Captaine of the Chactediniani, was one. The fingular skill than Hamiliah hewed in this his laft fight, is highly commended by Polyhims; and was acknowledged, as Limiereports by Seepin himselfe. But the Enemies were too firong to for him in Horfe: and being enioyned, as hee was, by the flate of Carlbage to take battaile with fuch difaduantage, faccould worke no maruels. He faued himself with a few Horfe; and Raid not in his journie, till he came to Advantam. Thence was he fent for to Carlbage; from which he had beeneabfent fixe and thirtie yeares. At his comming into the Senate He faid plainly. That there was none other way left, than to take fuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carlbagnians, not knowing what other courfe to take, refolue to fend Emballadours againe, and trie the fauour of \$cipin, whole armes they could not now refilt.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to Vica: where hee found P. Lentulus newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrific the Citie, than with any hope to takeit. His Legions he committed vnto Cn. Octanius; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then fending Lelius away to Rome with newes of the victorie, He fet faile from Vica towards Carthage. Hee was encountred on the way by ten Embaffadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vie the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answere, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where He would give them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attemptit; He returned backe to Ptica, and called backe Octavius thither, with whom in person Heeset forwards to Tunes. As they were in their journie thither, they heard the newes, that Vermina the sonne of Syphax, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were alreadic vanquished. This Vermina feemes to have beene both careleffe of getting intelligence how things paffed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselse with a few; leaving fifteene thou fand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good companie had beene with Hannibal at Nada- 40 gara, they should hauebeene farre better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian loft, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, thoughit were no great accesse vnto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of Scipio. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirtie Embassadours from Carthage: whose behaviour though it was more pitifull than it had beene before; yet procured it leffe commiferation, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like fort humbled themselues. Neuerthelesseit was confidered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to beliege the mightic Citie of Carthage. And particularly Scipio stood in great doubt, less the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to 50 one of the Confuls. Cn. Sernilius Capio, that Conful who had charge of the warre against Hannibal, at such time as he departed out of Italie: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicil(as it were in chace of Hannibal by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into Africke, and taken from Scipio the Com-

mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restraine the ambition of this Conful Sernilius. After him followed Tiberius Claudius, who made fuit for the same Prouince of Africk and was therein so earnest, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his defire; yet he needes would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Conful might joyne with Scipio, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could have his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the journie, wherein no man cared to turther him: Winter came on, and he was only toft at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of Hetruria, and afterwards by Sardinia; where his Confullhip expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to Rome, of the victoric obtained against Hannibal, and that the warre was now even at an end. Yet was Lentulus the new Conful to pattionate, in defiring Africk for his Province, That he faid he would fuffer nothing to paffe in the Senate, vntill he had first his wil. Much adoc there was about this : and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by Scipio; if the warre continued, Scipio should have command therein by Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused Scipio to give the more favourable answere vnto the Carthaginian Embassadours. Hee willed them to consider what they had deferued and in regard thereof to thinke themselves weldealt withall, in that he was contented to leave vnto them their libertie and their own Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection: leaning also vnto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the reft hee was at a point, That, before he cyther granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whillt the late Treatic was in dependence. Hereunto if they would yeild; then required He That immediatly they should deliner up unto the Romans all Prisoners, Fugla tines, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewife all their Gallies, excepting tenne: and all their Elephants: That they (hould make no warre at all thenceforth out of Africk, neither yest within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Townes. no goods what socuer, belonging any wife onto MASANI'S SA or to any of his Ancesters, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored onto him; That they should find corne for the Roman Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries . during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded : That they should paytenne thou and Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages, fuch as Scieno would choose, being none of them under foureteene yeares of age, nor a-

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home; and reported them viito the Citie. They were verie unpleasing; and therefore one Gi/co stood up to speake against them; and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they should not condificend vnto such intolerable demands. But Hannibal perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this uaine Oratour, by the vinquiet yet vinwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his franding, by plaine force. Hereat all the people murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by fuch infolence of this prefumptuous Captaine. Which Hannibal perceiuing, role vp and spake vnto them : saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citic would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of fine and fortic. Haning thus excused himselfe of the disor-50 der, He discoursed unto them concerning the Peace : and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good aduice, they refolued to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by Scipio: to whom they payed out of hand fine and twentie thousand pound weight of Siluer, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them Cccccc 3

done to his Fleet and Embaffadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three moneths: in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Heegaue injunction, that they should neyther in the meane while fend Embaffadours any whither elfe, nor yet difmiffe any Embaffadours to them fent; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their crrand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Faction, were become wife and honourable men, by the miferies wherinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious Counfailes. A/drubal, furnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and great friend of Hanno. was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to Rome for obtaining peace. They 10 went thither in companie of Scipio his Embassadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at Rome Embassadours from Philip King of Macedon; who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to wait awhile for audience, till the election of new Confuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the Romans had lately fignified viito their King that they found themselues grieued; returned the blame upon those Greekes themselues, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they M. Amelius: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately beene sent from Rome vnto King Philip, 20 tarried in Greece behind his fellowes; and there lenying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the Romans. Further they defired of the Senate, That one S-pater, a Micedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countrimen, that had lately ferued Hannibal for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in Africk were kept in bonds by Scipio; might bee released, and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this M. Furiw, whom Aurelius had fent to Rome for that purpole, made a sharpe answere. He said, that the Greekes which were confederate with Rome, endured to many injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as hee might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for Sopater : He affirmed him to be one 20 of the Kings Counfaile, and verie inward with him; one that ferued not for monie, but carried monie with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the aide of Hannibal. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answere; they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee sought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as he had begunne. For in two maine pointes He had broken the League, that was betweene him and the Romans : first , in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had aided their Enemies against them with men

These quarrels with Philip, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Ea- 40 sterne Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a verie reuerend companie, when they entred into the Senate: and Asarubil aboue the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessitie of sending Embassadours to Carthage, whon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the Romans lide, faying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could bee not altogether excuse the Citie; that had been too vehement in the profecution of bad counfaile. But if Hanno and himfelfe might have had their wils: the Carthaginians, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace which they now defired. Herewithall hee commended the 50 moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaics they had beene victorious. To the same offect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversitie of their stile. They had patience

enough to endure such reproofe of Persurie, as they themselves might have laid vponthe Rom ins; if their diligence and fortune had beene fuch as the Romans was. Among the reit, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would fweare to keep the peace hereafter : Afdrubab made answere; Euen by the Jame gods, that are fo feuere unto those that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus the Conful interpoling the authoritie of his Office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to loofe the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in Africke But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom refted the Soueraigne Comno mand of Rome; and by them referred wholly vnto pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio with tenne Delegates fent vnto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed best : which were none other, than the same which hee had alreadie propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embassadours humbly thanked the Schate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countrimen, which were prisoners in Rome : afterwardes , that they might ransome and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should 10 be sent ouer into Africk, and be freely restored to libertie by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leave, and returned home, in companie of the tenne Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with Scipio in Com-

At their comming into Africke, the Peace was given, and accepted, without anie controuerlie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were delipered up to Scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitues; and vpon those of the Romans, than vpon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines hee beheaded: the Ro. mans he crucified. About the first payment of their monie, the Carthaginians were 30 somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could have spared two hundred I alents for the present : yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftic yeares; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collecting of the fummethere was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman voke had begun to pinch them; fo as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwife Hannibal could not refraine from laughter. For which when he was checked by Afdrubal Hadus and tolde, That it worst of all befeemed him to laugh, fince he had beene the cause why all others did weepe; Hee answered, That laughter did not alwaies proceed from ioy, but sometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet faid Hec, My laughter is more feafonable, and leffe abfurd, than your teares. For 40 yee should have wept, when yee gave up your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vie of Armes ; without the good leave of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keepes vs under; and holds vs in affured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little monie is wrung out of your private purles, ye have thereof some fense, God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee hall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miserie, for which ye have shed thefe teares. Thus discoursed Hannibal vnto those, who talking the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counfaile, repented when it was too late; and in flead of curfing their owne disorders, which had bred this grieuous discase, accused that Physicion, whose noble endeauours had beene employed in procuring the remedie.

30 Scipio being to take leave of Africke, produced Mefaniffa, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he configned ouer those Townes of King Syphax, which the Romans at that present held : wherein, to fay truth hee gave him but his due ; and that which otherwife he knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the Romans, and friendship of

Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hecreafter, to all the descruings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there refted no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans embarqued themselves for Sicil: where when they arrived at Lilybaum, Scipio with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to Rome by land; and fent the reft before him thither by Sea. His journy through Italie was no leffe glorious than any Triumph : all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the city in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with fogreat ioy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time fhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphax were carried through the 10 Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison : or whether he were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be anowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the Remans, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous war. But hereof wee shall have better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of Syphax, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contempla-Exemple Poly. tion of that grievous warre past, whereof the Romans had been in a manner without

hope, that ever they should set Italie free. This made them looke cheerefully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well 20 could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to Scipio the Title of the African : ftiling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kind of furname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert : especially by many of the Casars, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if fuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue vnto Scipio the African.

CHAP. IIII. Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedon; His first Acts and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The Ltolians ouerrun Pelopon. nesus. PHILIP and his Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by P HILIP.

Plut. in vita

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the great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter hath beene affigned as a probable cause. For fince Nature is confined vnto a subice that is not unbounded; the workes of Nature must needes be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependence vpon the wil of man, 50 we are leffe to wonder, if we find leffe variety: fince it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto human: power; and fince they are the fame affections, by which the wils of fundry men are o-

per-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldsans inuaded the kingdome of the Medes, with two hundred thousand foote and threescore thousand horse; but fayling in their intended conquest, they became Subject within a while themselves vnto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell vpon the Greekes with fuch numbers of men, as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the Persians were beaten home, their Empire was neuer secure of the Greekes: who at all times of leasure from intestine war deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great Alexander. It Nabuchodonofor with his rough old fouldiours, had undertaken the Medes: or Cyrus with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon Greece; the issue might, in humane reason, have beene farre different. Yet would it then have beene expedient for them, to employ the travelland vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though leffe renowned, than their owne . For the menacing words vsed by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kind it may bee, that Nabuchodonofor likewise offended the Medesand Persians ) were not so availeableto victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Affe. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vinderstanding the language of Fame: and despiling the vertue that makes little noise, aduenture to prouoke it against themselues; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foyled by any of leffe-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Euilmerodach, had flumbled; Pyrrhus the Epirot hath dalht his foot, Hee was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better souls diour than any other Greekilh King, when he entred into war against the Romans. This war he vindertooke as it were for his mindes fake : having received no injurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that ferued under him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous Romans, that they should onely serue as a Rep to his further intended conquelts, of Sicil and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrehus, had found their owne vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the Greekes: then did all the brauery of the Epirot (his Elephants and what soeuer else had served to make him terrible) serve onely to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselues. \* For fince they had ouercome the best Warriour in Greece, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himfelfe Lord of Greece and Mace- Spaines predon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vinwarlike Provinces, tended inuinwhich in compasse of twelve yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won? being beaten Certainly there was hereunto requilite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion, by some good meanes, the whole Country of Greece: all the rest, this done, all seas, inuiwould follow of it felfe. How to deale with the Greekes; Philip and Alexander had of Spaine; and fliewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more achauing broken quaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soone after the the Spaniards wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leifure to hear- gathered tokenafter newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion; that should be on neuer made that fide presented. They had also then a strong Fleet : and were become though account of any not other wife very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the Illyrian Queene Testa made at the same time cruellwar vpon the Greekes: wasting their Country, and facking their Townes, onely because they were vnable to relift, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were desirous to enter; the Queene was not flow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with 5.7.

Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be defired by the Greekes. But no fuch thing happened: though they fent Embaffadours, as it were to offer themselues; by signifying, that for the loue of Greece they had vndertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the Greekes and Romans: which afterwards increased very haltily, through the indifcretion of King Philip the Macedonian; whose busines with them being now the subject of our flory, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a busic time in the world, when, within the space of foure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three 10 of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest kingdomes. This happened from the third yeere of the hundred thirtie ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died Selencus Ceraunus King of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the great. Ptolemie Philopater succeeded in the Kingdome of Ægypt vnto his father Euergetes. And Philip the fonne of Demetrius, being lixteene or seventeene yeeres old, received the Kingdome of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Achaans and most of the Greekes; by the decease of his Vncle Antigonus Doson, that was called the Tutor or Protector. Aboutthe same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedamon, and the Countries about Mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then began his reigne in Cappadocia, 20 Lycurgus found meanes to make himfelf King ouer the Lacedemonians, whole Common-weale, fince the flight of Cleomenes, had continued in a manner headlesse; and Achaus, a kinsman of Antiochus, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount Taurus, and kept a while the state of a mighty King . Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open warre brake out betweene Rome and Carthage; and that Hannibal began his great Invalion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed vnto an end : Of Antiochus, Ptolemie, and the reft, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans finde them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Pelaponne/us; greatly de-30 stredof the Achaems, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of Antigonus from the danger (accounted great) of an casie subiection vnto Cleomenes: was now become no leffe obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should have beene to the Spartan; and therewith all it lay open vnto the violence of the Ætolians, who despised even the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons therof. These Atolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Messenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Pelaponnefus. Their inualion was no leffe vnexpected, then it was vniuft; whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Country; finding none prepared to make relistance. The Acheans were called by the Meffenians to helpe: which they did the more willingly ; because the Atolians, passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner ) done what harme they lifted. Old Aratus could ill abide these Atolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the iniuries, wherewith most vngratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Acheans. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that he could hardly endure to stay a few daies untill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the Acheans for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselse a man fitter (as hath beene already no- 50 ted of him ) for any other service, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to paffe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrie, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recourred ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

So they departed homerich, and well animated to return eagaine. As for the Achieans; they got hereby onely the friendship of the Meffenians : with whom, by licence of King Philip, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the Atolians inuaded Peloponne fus againe; having no more to doe, than to passe over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of Leganto, where they might land in the Country of the Eleans. There ioyned with them in this their fecond Invalion a great number of the Illyrians: who neglecting that condition imposed upon them by the Romans, of letting out no ships of war vnto the Coast of Greece; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischiefe. Demetrius Pharius, a creature of Chap. 3.5.1. the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians : who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his kingdome, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the Cyclades in the Ægean

CHAP.4. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Sea: whence returning, he did fome good offices for King Philip or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians under Scerdilaidas, or Scerdiletus, having gotten what they could elfe-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the Etolians into Peloponnefus: who made greater hauocke in the Countrie now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any relistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And because men were delirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that viged to have fome grieuous punishment laid vpon the Lacedamonians: who were thought under-hand to have favoured the Atolians, in meere despight of the Acheans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the Lacedemonians had beene so affected : and (which was

worfe) at the arrivall of Philip, they flue fuch friends of his, as having checked their inclination, feemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they welcommit themselves to indecement; but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: fince their towne was lately much disquieted with civill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant alwajes to remaine at his denotion. Philip was easily satisfied with this: not for that the (or rather old aratus, who then wholly gouerned him) did miffe-vinderstand the Lacedemonians: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to beinterrupted. There met at Corinth, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the Acheans, Baotians, Phocians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complaying vpon the Azolians and defiring to have war decreed against them, by common affent. Philip fent his letters vnto the Ætolians: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. But when the Ætolians understood this for certainty, they adjourned the Councell vnto a further time : faving, That fuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, faue in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This tricke of Law not with standing open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had descrued it, made election of Scopas to be their Prætor, that was Author of these inualions made on Pelapannel w ; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must have laied the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick

After this, Philip went into Macedon; where he prepared bufily for the warreagainst the yeere following. He also affayed the Illyrian, Seer dilaidas, with faire words and promifes : whom he casily won from the Atolian side, for a much as the Atolians had cousened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like fort the scheans, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their owne Country, fent vnto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Mellenians, and Lacedemonians: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, & to denounce war vnto the £tolians; without flaving (as it were) to await the cuent, Hereunto they received

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diuerfe answeres, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a tree-harted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the Etolians, of whom they stood in continual danger; faid, that they could not honeftly refuse to shew their faithfull meaning in that war, which was concluded by generall affent. The Epirots that were more mighty, were neuertheleffe more cunning and referred : fo that they flood vpon a needlesse point ; and desired to be held excused, until Philip (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaime the war. The Meffenians, for whose cause the warre was vndertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the Atolians held upon their borders; and faid, that they durft not be ouer-bold, until that bridle to were taken out of their mouthes. As for the Lacedemonians; the chiefe of them fludied onely how to mannage that treason, for which their City had beene so lately pardoned: and therefore difmiffed the Embaffadours of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeares together continued subject against their wils to the Macedonians, expecting fill when Cleomenes should returne out of &grpt to raigne ouer them againe 3 and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these there were some, that thought the publicke satety to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preferued them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes ; being perhaps not a little moued with respect of the 20 benefit, which might redound vnto themselues, byadhering firmely to those which at the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were still deuifing, how to make all ready for Cleamenes against his returne; and therefore fought to joyne with the Ltolians, which were the most likely to give him strong affinitance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate; and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it fuffice, that about these times there came certaine report of Cleamenes his death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended : fancying vnto themfelues the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come again. 30 Cleamens was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and luftre; which once he had in a manner performed: But fince he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deferring vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of Hercules, as in former times; for that without such helpes, they must continue little better than fubiects vnto the Macedonian, and far leffe by him respected, than were the Acheans. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Atolians to fend an Embaffic to Sparta: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himselfe the Author. Much disputation 40 and hot there was, between those of the Macedonian partie and these their oppofites: in fuch wife that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maffacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Atolians, the discristic of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the Lacedemonisms and Etolians: without all regard of the Macedonians or Acheans; who had spared the Citic, when they might have destroicd it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King; that we may juillie wonder, how they grew fo careleffe in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royali families they found Agespolis the sone of Agespolis the son of King Cleombrotus: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his Grandfather. This Agesippolis was a yong boy, standing in neede of a Guardian ; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernment. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how yong socuer, should have his fa-

thers whole right and title: the Lacedamonians, though standing in neede of a man, were to punctuall in observation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vicle Cleamenes to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime; but made election of one Lyoungus, who having no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed upon each of the Ephoria Talent, and thereby made himselfe be falured King of Sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of Hercules. This Lyeurgue, to gratifie his Partifans, and to approue his worth by Action; inuaded the Countrie of the Argines: which lay open and ungarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne divers Townes; wherof two hee retained, and annexed unto the State of Lacedamon. After such open hostilitie, the Lacedamonians declared themselves on the Atolian side; and proclaimed warre against the A-

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the Acheans

and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. Philip was not readic; the Epirots gaue vncertaine answere; the Messenians would not stirre; all the burden must lie voon themselues and the poore Acarnanians, whom the Atolians, by fauour of the Eleans, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe and on by helpe of the Lacedemonians, could affaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Etolians, palling over the Bay of Corinth, furprised the Towne of Agira: which if they could have held, they should thereby grieuously have molested the Ashems: for that it frood in the mid-way betweene Leium and Sieven two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrie. But as Egira was taken by furprise : so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile, whilest they that should have made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fel heedleffely to runfack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head. by whom they were driven with great flaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About no the same time, another Atolian Armie landing among the Eleans, fell upon the Welterne Coast of Achaia; wasting all the Territoric of the Dymeans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achean Confederacie. The Dymeans and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so wel beaten that the enemiegrew bolder with them than before. They fent for helpe vnto their Pretor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the Acheans having lately beene much weakened by Cleamenes, were now able to doe little of themfelius: neither could they get any itrength of Mercinaries; for a fruch as at the end of Cleomenes his war, they had couctoufly with-held part of their due from those that serned them therein. So through this disabilitie of the Acheans, and insufficiencie of their Pretor, the Dymeans, with others, were driven to with hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike feruice, and to convert the monie to their own defence. Learness also with his Lacedemonians, began to winne upon the Arcadians; that were confederate with Philip and the Acheans.

Philip came to the borders of the Atolians, whilf their Armie was thus employed a farre off in Peloponne (us. The Epirots joyned all their forces with him: and by fuch their willing readines, drew him to the feige of a Frontier pecce, which they defired to get into their own hands; for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped thortly to make themselves Masters of Ambracia. There he spent fortiedayes, ere he could end the busines, which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entred into the so hart of Ætolia at his first coming it was thought that he might have made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not feldome, that the importunitie of Affociates, to have their own defires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those vies for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the profecution of their maine de flignes.

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CHAP.4.S.1.

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The stay that Philip made at Ambracus, did wondrously embolden the Atolians: in such fort, as their Prætor Scopes adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrie; and therewith not onely to ouer runne Theffalie, but to make impression into Macedon. Hee ranne as farre as to Dum, a Citie of Macedon vpon the Agean 10 Sea: which, being for faken by the Inhabitants at his comming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neyther Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouer urned all: and among the reft, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the Micedonian Kings. For this he was highly hononred by his Countrimen at his returne; for a fmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto Peloponnelus, but euen to Macedon it felfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrie, for their paines taken at Duam. Philip having difpatched his worke at Ambracus, made a throng invalion vpon Etolia. Hee tooke Phoetie, Metropolis, Geniade, Peanism, Eleus, and divers other Townes and Castles 20 of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the . #10lians in fundrie skirms flees; and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into Peloponnesus, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrie of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently follicited by the Achean Embaffadours : newes came out of Micedon. that the Dardanians were readie with a great Armie to fal vpon the Countrie. These Dardanians were a barbarous people, divided by Mount Hamus from the Northerne part of Macedon; and were accustomed to seeke bootie in that wealthic Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Having therefore intelligence, that Philip was about to make a journie into Peloponne/us; they purposed in his absence, which they 20 thought would be long, to get what they could for them felues in his Countrie; as had beene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to difmiffe the Achean Embaffadours, (whom hee should have accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them have patience untill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home : and as he was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there came to him Demetrius Pharius with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaced out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himselfe a friend to Antigonus Doson, in the warres of Cleomenes : and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readic, at their first request, to take part with Philips Captaines. These, or the like confiderations, made him welcome vnto the Maccelonian King: whole 49 Counsailor he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake up their Armie; and gaue oner for the present their invasion of Macedon, towardes which they were alreadie on their way.

All that Sommer following the King rested at Lavissa in Thessalie, whilest his people gathered in their Haruest. But the Atolians rested not. They arenged themfelues upon the Epirots: whom for the harmes by them and Philip done in A:olis, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of Dodona. When Wintergrewon, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid afide: Philip fole a journie into Peloponnejus, with flue thou fand Foot, and about four hundred Horfe. As foone as hee was 50 within Cerinilis, He commanded the Gates to be that, that no word might be carried forth of his arrivall. He fent privily for old Accusto come thither ynto him; with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would have the Achean Souldiors readie to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with

fomewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with fuch opposition. Indeed they had little cause to seare: since the Acheans themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians; untill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Etolians, and their fellowes, were by him surprised, and all made prisoners, or flaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first comming, Philip got verie much reputation : as likewise hee purchased both reputation and loue, by diversactions immediatly following. He wanne P/ophis, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of Arcadia; which the Eleans and Atolians then held. Hee wanne it by affault at his first comming : wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemie, not belocuing that he would undertake fuch a peece of worke at such an unseasonable time of the yeare, was carelesse of prouiding even fuch flore of weapons, as might have ferued to defend it. The Towne was preferued by the King from fack, and given to the Acheans, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to Lasion, which yeelded for verie feare; hearing how calily he had taken Plophis. This Towne also he gaue to the Acheans. The like liberalitie he yied towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to hufbandrie, and lived abroad in Villages; even fuch as were of the wealthier fort among them. So hee came to the <sup>20</sup> Citie of Olympia: where having done facrifice to Jupiter, feafted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes, Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to there with the Atolians, in the spoiles of their other-wise-deseruing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaile hee tooke, with great numbers of flaues, and much wealth of all forts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-pcople were fled. Some of these were taken at the first affault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his journie, by sending Embassadours to yeeld beforchee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to fet themselues at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the Ætolian Gaptaines; because they distrusted their abilitie to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to flay there dayes. Faine he would have fought with the Etolians, but they made such hast from him, that he could not our take them, vntill they had couered themselues within the Towne of Samicum; where they thought to have beene safe. But Philip affaulted them therein fo forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lines and armes. Hauing performed so much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in Megalopolis; and then removed to Argos, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrivall in Peloponnefus, the Lacedemonians with Lycurgus their new King, had gotten somewhat in Areadia; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the Eleans, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads, they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselues home. This Lyeurgus, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with monie: fo was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one Chilon, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himselfe to have best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselse, by 50 propounding vnto the Muititude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equali distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inflitution of that Commonwealth. He wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon

the Ephori as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to Ly-Dddddd 2

curg to his house: who perceining the danger, stole away and sled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto prædisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilft he was vling his best perswations, they were consulting how to apprehend him. Chilon perceived whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So hee lived afterwards among the Acheans a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for Lyeurgus, he returned home : and suspecting thenceforth all those of Hercules his race, found meanes to drine out his fellow. King yong forth all thole of Hercases in stace, journal means to the doings grew to be fulpected, Agespoolis, whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be supposed by the Februs Burt hough 19 in such fort as once he should have beene apprehended by the Ephori, But though his actions hitherto might have beene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himfelfe into judgement, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourne among his friendes the Ætolians. His wel-knowne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him fuch good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe; not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tvrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they lifted. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that hee chaced Agestipolis out of the Ci-20 tie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three verie justly deserved. What soeuer hee was towards some private Citizens: in the war against Philip, He behaved himselfe as a provident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

### ò. I I.

How PHILIP was misseaduised by ill Counsailors: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were instly punished. He inuadeth the Atolians a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: Which is granted vnto them.



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Hilest the King lay at Argos, deuising vpon his businesse for the yeare following; fome ambitious men that were about him, fludied fo diligently their own greatnesse, as they were like to have spoiled all that he tooke in hand. Antigonus Doson had left vnto Philip luch Counsailors, as to him did feeme the fittest men for gouerning of his youth. 40

The cheife of these was Apelles; that had the charge of of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Polititian, thought that he should do a notable peece of service to his Prince; it he could reduce the Achams vnto the same degree of subjection, wherein the Macedonians lived. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Acheans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastice some of that Nation; cauling his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to helpe their fellowes; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to 50 passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vniust that pleased the King. But these Acheans were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereof if they could have been contented to fuffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the Macedonians to helpe

them in the warre against Cleamenes: They bemoned themseliues vnto old Aratus; and befought him to thinke vpon fome good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. Aratus forthwith dealt carnestly with the King 3 as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King be stowed gracious words upon those that had beene wronged; and forbad Apelles to follow the course begunne. Hereat Apelles was inwardly vexed, though he diffembled his choller for atime. He thought fo well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable service, in buinesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head, since, in biting at the taile, the fifth had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Acheans there were fome, who bore no heartie affection to Aratus. These he enquired out : and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promiting to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of Arstan, He must be faine to deale precisely with the Acheans, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Acheans, and all other Peloponnesians, bee quickly brought to conforme themselves, vnto the dutie of obedient Subjects. By fuch perswasions, He drew the King to be present at Agium, where the Acheans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have beene needfull in a bufineffe of more importance; the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained fo much, That Egeratus, a verie insufficient man, but one of Apelles his new Fauorites, was chosen Prator, instead of one more worthin for whom Aratus had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a verie strong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The Garrison yeilded it up for feare, at his first comming : whereof hee was glad; for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the Dymeans, as hee pre-20 fently did.

CHAP.4. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he hard of no messingers from the Eleans, to fue for peace. For at his departure out of their Gountrie the last Winter. hee had let loofe one Amphidamus a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vindertooke to make them forfake their alliance with the Atolians, and jovne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be cotented to do, He willed Amphidamus to let them understand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein invalion; and that they should hold their libertic entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tri-40 bute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be defpiled, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when Philip came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrie: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before over-haftie to beleeve fuch faire promifes ) to fulpect Amphidumus as a Traitour, and one that was fet on worke for no other end, than to breed a mutuall diffidence between them and the Ltolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him Prisoner into Etelia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himfelfe; in better for Aratus, For the King (as was faid) maruailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the Eleuns, concerning the offers which he had made vnto them 50 by Amphilamus: Apelles, his Counfailor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant Aratus. He faid that old Aratus, and his sonne together, had such denices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them he faid it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out; For when Amphidamus was dismissed home, the two Araii (the father and the fonne) had taken him aside and given him to vnderstand, that it would Dddddd 3

be verie prajudiciall to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the denotion of the Macedonian; And this was the true cause, why neyther Amphidamus was verie carefull in doing this meffage, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie; deuised by Apelles himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. Philip had no fooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee fent for the two Arati; and bad Apelles rehearfe it ouer againe to their faces. Apelles did fo, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men alreadie conuicted. And when hee had faid all the rest, ere eyther Philip or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King bath found you fuch vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Acheans; and therein having made it 10 knowne what yee are, to depart into Macedon, and leave you to your felues. Olde Aratusgrauely admonished the King; That whensoever hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should for beare awhile to give credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with Amphidamus; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to Apelles. For it would be a veric abfurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yes, and anothers no. Hercof the King liked well; and faid that he would make 20 fufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest Apelles delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted; Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the Arati: which when hee found no better than a meere device against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to Apelles, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could

The varefiful temper of Apelles, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous 30 for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the Aratis fo fayling of them he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himfelfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie, but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too firong to be caught and held by the fubtile workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the source that next vnto Apelles were left by Antigonus in chiefe place about Philip; Taurion, his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and Alexander Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and fuch as would not bee corrupted. The other two, Leontius Captaine of the 40 Targuetiers, and Megaleus chiefe of the Secretaries, were callly wonne to bee at Apelles his disposition. This Polititian therefore studied how to remoue the other two from their places, and put some Greatures of his owne into their roomes. Against Alexander He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumniation and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of Taurion hee vsed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King mighe ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such art he thought to have removed him, as wee fay, Out of Gods bleffing into a warme Sunne. In the meane feafon Aratus retired himfelfe; and fought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the 50 new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was loft, whilest Philip wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should have beene furnished by the Acheans. This made the King

understand his owne errour; which he wisely fought to reforme betimes. Hee perfwaded the Ashams to rejourne their Parliament from Asimm, to Sixpm the
Towne of Asiams. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: pertwading
them to forget what was past; \$\frac{1}{2}\$ laying all the blame upon Apeles, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of the sew orthic
men, Hee casslic obtained what he would of the Ashams. Fiftie talents they gaue
him out of hand, with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he
him selfe in per son followed the warters in Pelopamps, he should receive ten talents
amoneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so he might inso under the Astoliams. Eleans, and Landelmoniams, that were maritime people, at his pleafure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It wased Apelles beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; seuen by the ministerie of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with Leantins and Megaless: binding himselfs and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing they thought to bring it to passe, that verie want of abilities odoe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfero their directions. The Kingit is like had stood in some awe of them whiles the was a child: and therefore these wise men pershaded them see the submit of the submit o

have bent all his forces against the Eleans; to whose aid therefore the Atolians sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would have fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselues. But against the Eleans and those that came to help them, Philip thought it enough to leave the Acheans, with some part of his and their Mercinaries. Hee 20 himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of Cephallenia: whence the Atolians, dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of Palea, that had beene very feruiceable to the Enemie against him and his Confederats; and might be very vie full to him, if hee could get it. Whilest hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene ships of war from Scerdilaidas; and many good fouldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnanians, and Messenians. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts faue one, on which fide Philip carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he onerthrew two hundred foot thereof. Leonteus Captaine of the Targettiers, was ap-40 pointed by the King to make the affault. But he, remembring his couenant with Apelles, did both will fully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the Macedonians were put to foile, and many flaine; not of the worst fouldiers, but fuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angrie with this: but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the fiege. For it was caffer vnto the Townel-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed, and uncertaine what course to take : the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard vpon him, each of them delirous to draw him into their owne Countrie. The 50 Messenians alleadged, that Lyangus was busic in washing their Countrie : vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Etelian windes which then blew, serving fitly for his Nauigation. Hereto also Leontius perswaded; who confidered that those windes, as they would easily carrie him thither, so would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-daies) and make him spend the Sommer to small purpose. But Aratis gaue better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee showed how unfitting it were, to let the Setolians over-run all The flaite againe, and fome part of Macedon, while it the King withdrew his Armie farre off to feeke Imall aduentures. Rather, he faid, that the time now ferued well to carry the war into Aetolia; fince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for Lyeurgus; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesus: and it might suffice, if the Acheans were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets faile for Aetolia; and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which divided the Aetolians from Acarnania. The Acarnanians were glad to fee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as 10 could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to affure his Retrait; He passed on to Thermum; which was the Receptacle of the £tolians, and furest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, environed with rockie Mountains of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the Atolians vieto hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their folemne games. There also they yield to beltow the most precious of their goods, asin a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them carelesse in looking vnto it. When Philip therefore had ouercome the bad way, there 20 wasnothing elfe to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that he thought the paines of his journie well recompensed. So he loaded his Armie; and confuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging vnto the Ltolians; in remembrance of the like their courtelie, thewed vpon the Temples of Dium and Dodona. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as Monsieur du Gourgues the French Captaine told the Spaniards in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from Thermum, the Etolians laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeved before; and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were 30 that lying in ambush fell upon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his Illyrian; who flaying behind the reft, did fet vpon the backes of the Aetolians, whilest they were builty charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with flaughter of the enemie, he returned the fame way that he came : and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, Hee fafely carried all that hee had gotten abourd his Fleet. Once the Aetolians made countenance of fight, iffuing out of Stratus in great brauerie. But they were beaten home fafter than they came, and followed to their verie gates.

The ion of this victorious Expedition being eueric way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finisher accident; it pleased the King to 40 make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest Leontius, with his fellow Megalens. They came, because they could not choose: but their heavie lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It greeued them to thinke, that they should be able to giueno better account vnto Apelles, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since Apelles himfelfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. The forrow and indignation, which they could ill diffemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drinke, into open riot. Finding Aratus on the way home to his Tent : they fell to reuiling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as 50 happens in fuch cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paffed. Which made him fend for Leontius and his fellowes. But Leontius was gotten out of the way: Megaleas, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder; and they, to giue him froward anfwers: infomuch as they faid at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded Aratus with a mifchhefe as he deferued. Hecreupon the King committed them to ward. Leonius hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who is was that had darde to lay hands yon Maguicus, yea and to caft him into prion? Why, faid the King, It was cuen I. This refolute anfwer, which Leonius had not expected, made him depart both fad and angrie; feeing himfelfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after Maguleus was called forth to his anfwer, and was charged by Aratus with malon year from the Maguleus was called forth to his anfwer, and was charged by Aratus with malon year. In the many with malon year, and the Compact made with Apalles: matters no leffe touching Leonius, that food by as a looker on, than Maguleus that was accufed. In conclution, the prefumptions again thim were foftrong, and his anfwers thereto fo weake; than the, and Crisus one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: Crimon being remanded back to prifon; and Caontum becomming Bayle for Magaleus. This was done

vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to Corenth. Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as he was at Corinth, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacedamenions. These and the Eleans had done what harmethey could in Peloponne fiss, whileft the King was an absent. The Acheans had opposed them as wel as they could; with ill successe: yet fo, as they hindered them from doing fuch harme as elfe they would have done. But when Philip came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about Lacedamon : and was in a manner at the gates of Sparta, ere men could well beleeue that he was returned out of Ltolia. He tooke not in this expedition any Cities, but made great walt in the fields: and having beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to Corinth a rich bootie of Cattell, flaues, and other Countrie-Spoile. At Corinth hee found attending him, Embaffadors from the Rhodians & Chians: that requested him to fet Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the Metolians. They had gracious audience : and he willed them to deale first with the Aetolians; who, if they would make the fame request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The Metolians had fped ill that yeere neither faw they any likelie hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had fent forth to wast The saile and Macedon, found such opposition on the way; that not during to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane leafon they had been greinoufly afflicted, as before is thewed, by Philip in the center of their owne Countrie. All Greece and Macedon was vp in armes against them, and their weake Allies the Eleans and Lacedamonians, Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their Peloponnesian friends fhould be able to hold out; fince they were not strong enough to keepe the feild, but had alreadic fuffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to feeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the Etolians readilie entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceffion of the fame Embassadours, to entreat his presence at a Diet of their Nation, that should bee held at Rhium; whither if he would vouchfafe to come, they promifed that hee fhould finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whileft these things were in hand 's Leonius and Megaless thought to have terrified the King, by railing seldition againt him in the Armic. But this device forted tonogood effect. The souldiours were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded by with so much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a nosse, and breaking open of dores; without surface harmedone. This was enough to informethe king (who easilie pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were verie falle. Yea the souldiours themselfues, repenting of their inscience, desired to have the Authors of the tumult foughtout, and punished according to their deferts. The King made shew as if hee had not cared to make fuch inquistion . But Leontins and Megaleus were lore afraid , left the matter would foone come out of it felie to their extreme danger. Wherefore they fent vnto Apelles, the Head and Archetect of their treason; requesting him speedilie to repaire to Corinth, where he might stand betweene them and the kings displeasure. Apelles had not all this while beene wanting to the busineffe, vndertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken vpon him. as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand : and thereby was he growne into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in Macedon and Thessalie addressed themfelues vnto him; and received from him their dispatch in everie busines. Likewise 10 the Greekes in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnific the vertue of Apelles; making flight mention (onely for falhion fake ) of the king : who feemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of Apelles his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in fetting him elfeout vnto the people: but in mannaging the kings affaires, he made it his especiall care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publicke service, should be wanting. You he enforced the king, for veric neede, to sell his owne Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolue these and all other difficulties, by onely faying, Sir, be ruled wholly by mee, and all first be as you would wish Hereto if the king would give affent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts defire. Now taking his journie from Chalcis in the Isle of Eubara, to 20 the Citie of Corinth where Philip then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltic, by a great number of the Captaines and fouldiours; which Leontins and Megaleas drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine; he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But Philip was well aware of his pride; and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherfore one was fent to tell him, that he should waite awhile, or come another time; for the king was not now at leifure to be spoken with. It was a pretie thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants for fake him, as a man in difgrace; in fuch fort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him fauc his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchfafed him now and then some slender graces; but in consultations, 30 or other matters of privacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught Megaless to looke vnto himselfe, and runne away betimes. Hercupon the King sent forth Taerion his Lieutenant of Peloponne/w, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe some peece of feruice; but indeed of purpose to apprehend Leontius in the absence of his followers. Leontius being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to fignifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith fent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne : as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were all the matter, they faid that they were readie to make a purfe for his discharge. This affection of the souldiours, made Philip more hastic than else 40 he would have beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of Megaleas were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the Atolians; vilifying the king with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out awhile, for that Philip was cuen readie to linke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the king vnderstood more perfectly the fallhood, not onely of Megaleas, but of Apelles; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him to poore. Wherefore hee fent one to purfue Megalens, that was fled to Thebes. As for Apelles, he committed both him, his fonne, and another that was inward with him, to prifon; wherein all of them (hortly ended their lines. Megaless alfo, neither daring to frand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was wearie of his 50 owne life; and flew himfelfe about the fame time.

The Etelians, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonnage of Philip: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of Aratm, wrought verie effectually toward their overthrow.

ouerthrow; they grew verie delirous to make an end of it. Neuerthelesse being a turbulent Nation, and readie to lay hold vpon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and Magaleus, together with some indignation thereupon conceined by the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhum. Of this was Philip nothing forie. For being in good hope throughly to tame this virquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay a lide all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; wherin he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian fouldiors, by ycelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one Ptolemie, a companion with Apelles and Leontins in their Treatons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians; and fuffered death. Thele were the fame Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of Leonius his imprisonment : yet now they thinke the man worthie to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vie to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in Macedon, Philip wan some bordering Townes; from which 20 the Dardenians, Etolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accultomed to make rodes into his kingdome when hee had thus provided for fafetic of his owne, the Atolians might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Emballadours from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolemie King of Agrpt, and from the Citie of Byzantium, recontinuing the former follicitation about the Peace. This falhion had beene taken up in matters of Greece, cuer fince the Kings that raigned after Alexander, had taken vpon them to fet the whole Countrie at liberrie: No fooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppreffed, and fubdued by force of war, but prefently there were found intercessours, who pittying the eftution of Greekish bloud, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advanto tage. By doing fuch friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad fought to binde vnto them those people, that were, howsoeuer weake in numbers, ver verie good fouldiours. But hereby it came to paffe, that the more froward fort, especiallie the Æioleans, whose whole Nation was addicted to falshood and robberie durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours : being well affored, that if they had the worst, The lone of Greece would be fufficient to redeeme their quiet. They had, fince the late Treatie of peac, done what harme they could in Peloponne [us: but being beaten by the scheans, and standing in feare to be more foundlie beaten at home, they defired now, more earnestlie than before to make an end of the warre as foone as they might. Philip made fuch answer to the 40 Embassadours, as he had done the former veere; T hat he gaue not occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it; but that the Etolians, if they had a defire to live in reft, must first be dealt withall, to fignific plainly their determination, whereto himfelfe would returne fuch answer as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he dailie got by the warre. But it happened in the middeft of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Askeedan, what a notable victorie Hamilton had obtained against the Romans in the battaile at Thin affinement. These letters he communicated vnto Demetrius Phorius: who greatly so encouraged him to take part with Hamiltal: and not to sit fill, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby be grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the \*\*Etolams: which was concluded flortly in a meeting at \*\*Nanpādius\*\*. There did \*\*Agelaus an \*\*Etolam\*\* which was egreat Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing war between themfolius.

felues: without being molefled by the Barbarians. For when once either the Komans, or the Carthaginians, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it felfe; and that Philip, if he were defirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly feruing, to enlarge his dominion, by winning fomewhat in Italie. Such aduice could the Atolians then give, when they flood in feare of dan. ger threatning them at hand : but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselues by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their owne good counsel, that they inuited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrie, (but themselves before any other part of the

Countrie) under seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple,

That every one should keepe what they held at the present, without making resti-

PHILIP, at the persuasion of DEMETRIVS PHARIVS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, againft the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene HANNIBAL, and PHILIP.

His being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themselves to quiet cour-

inserted into a more busic peece.

tution, or any amends for damages past.

600

Fesof lite; and Philip, to prepare for the businesses of Italie, about which hee consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of Canne. after which he ioyned in League with Hannibal, as hath beene shewed before. Demetrius Phe rius bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to be auenged vp. on them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, 30 that was in a manner wholly guided by his counfaile, to take part with their enemies. It had other wife been farre more expedient for Philip, to have supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal termes; and thereby, as did Hiero a farre weaker Prince, have both fecured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of cheife place in his freindship. The issue of the counfaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans; the trouble which they and the Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might eafily be broken : haue beene related in another place as belonging vnto the fecond 40 Punick warre. Wherefore I will onely here fet downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and Carthage: which may feeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in

regard of the forme it selfe then ysed; though it had beene over-long to have been

THE,

# OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEENE

HANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE CARTHAGINIANS; and XENOPHANES, Embassador of PHILIP King

of Macedon.

HIS is the League ratified by oath, which m H a m N . NIBAL the Generall, and with him. MAGO, Myrcal, and BARMOCAL, as also the Senatours of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, have made with XE-

10 NOPHANES the fon of CLEOMACHUS Athenian, whom King PHILIP the Sonne of DEMETRIVS bath fent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Asso. ciates: Before Iupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolaus: + Damoni before Mars, Triton, Neptune : before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth : before 30 Rivers, and Meadowes, and VV aters; before all the Gods that have power over Carthage; before all the Gods, that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece : before all the Gods. that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL the Generall bath faid, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his o Armie: Be it agreed betweene You and Us, that thu Oath stand for freindship and louing affection, that We become freinds, familiar, and brethren, Vpon Couenant, that the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of HANNIBAL the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians ving the same Lawes, and of the Uticans, and as many (ities and Nations as obey the 5º Carthaginians, and of the Souldiours and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold freindship in fra-

lie, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shal hold freind. Eeeeee

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom Viee hold alreadie league and friendship. To this League if VVe or Yeshall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common confent.

CHAP.4. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

## ò. IIII.

How PHILIP reelded to his natural vices, being therein loothed by DEMETRIVS PHARIVS, His desire to tyrannize wpon the free States his Affociates : With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whileft he bore a part in the fecond Punicke warre. He poisoneth ARATVS: and growes hatefull to the Achsens.

Itherto Philip had carried himfelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wildome, he might have offered his freindship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians who had the better hand : yet this his medling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde,

with a defire to fecure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath beene said) by Dememetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himfelfe to his defires: and thereby thortly gouerned him, euen as he lifted. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: deirous of power to doe what he lifted, and not otherwife lifting to doe what hee ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire show he might breede in to men fuch a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that ha e tooke in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in Italie, hee thought it requisite in good pollicie, to bring the Greekes that were his Affociates under a more abfolute forme of Subjection. Heercunto Apelles had aduited him before : and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if hee might not wholy have his owne way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to obserue the Kings humours and guided, like a Coach man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselse did onely seeme to tollow. Therefore hee grew daily more and o more in credit: fo as, without any manner of contention, hee Supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a verie hote Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forrein war) vnto domesticall objects : than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew fo violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: refoluing fo to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strine any more about their Gouernment : for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found Aratus but ie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne fecret pur pofe. Wherfore he consulted not with this reperend old man: but talked in private with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to fland thus disputing : and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the infolence of the vnruly Rabble: Contrariwife, in talking with the heades of the po-

Eccce 2

pular Faction, He faid it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselues to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselues from Tyrants. Thus whilelt each of them prefumed on the Kings affiftance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would have apprehended fome feditious Oratours, that were, they faid, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes : and running upon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemes, that it would be easie to worrie the sheep, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his failhood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the 10 yonger Aratus forbeare, to tell him of it in publick, with verie bitter and difgraceful words. The King was angrie at this. But having alreadiedone more than was commendable, or excusable; and yet further intending to take other thinges in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his bell friends; Hee was content to fmother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. He led old Arates aside by the hand; and went up into the Catile of Ithome, that was ouer Aleffene. There he pretended to doe facrifice; and facrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would ferue to command the further parts of Pelaponnefus, as the Citadell of Corinth, whith hee had alreadie, commaunded the entrance into that Countrie. 20 Whileft hee was therefore facrificing, and had the entrailes of the beaft deliucted into his hands, as was the manner; Hee thewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he faw therein did fignifie, That being now in possesfion of this place, hee should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have foothed him a little; were it onely for defire to make amends, for the angric words newly spoken by his sonne. But as Aratus flood doubtfull whatto answere, Demetrius Pharius gaue this verdict : If thou bee a South syer, thou maift goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good aduantage, if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opertunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes. Thus 30 he fpake, refembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus vito the two hornes of Pelaponnelis. Yet would Philip needes heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the Meffenians: But if, by feizing vpon Ithome, Hee must loose all the other Castels that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by Antigonia, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his fouldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice Philip yelded at the present : but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betweene Him and the Arati; whom hee thought more froward than befeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man defirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discourred his Tytannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in reforting to his house, He had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leifure he might repent, that in despight of Cleomenes, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, hee had brought the Macedonians into Pelotonnelus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponne [us into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him companie. In this journie He found by experience what Aratus had lately told him; That vnhonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants; and fo they purposed to continue. But He would needes have them foto remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will. Hee feized vpon their Towne of Oricum, and laid fiege to Apollonia; having no good colour of

these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not feeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of fetling the countrie, as his intended Voyage into Italie required: He kindled a fire in it which he could never quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whileft he was thus labouring to bind the hands that (hould have fought for him in Italie; M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts; who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Etolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee haue related before. in 60-3-5-13-10 place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though Philip did the offices of agood Captaine: yet when leifure ferued, Hee made it apparant that hee was a vicious King. Hee had not quite left his former defire, of oppreffing the libertie of the Meffenisus ; but made another journie into their Countrie, with hope to deceine them, as before. They understood him better now ahan before; and therefore were not hastieto trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not ferue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, inuaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon Meffene hee lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his 20 Counsailor, and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angrie he wexed against those, that feemed not to fauour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of Taurion, his Leiutenant, he poyfoned old Aratus; and shortly after that, hee poyfoned also the yonger Aratus: hoping that these thinges would never have been knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselues were more fure, than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed vnto Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymmes, and Proceffions, to be celebrated cuerie yeare twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpofe; as was accustomed vnto the Heroes, or men, whom they thought to bee to translated into the number of the Gods. Hereunto they are faid to have beene encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo: which is like enough to have beene true; fince the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of Aratus their Patron, and fingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Acheans a margailous diflike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counfaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleiued:neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The Atolians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans had madea League: whereof the Condtions were soone 40 disulged, especially that maine point, concerning the distison of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the Etolians should have the countrie and townes: but the Romans the spoile, and carrie away the people to sell for slaves. The Acheans, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make ftreight alliance with the Ltolians, as knowing their vacuill disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch did the Greekes account all other Nations except their owne ) to make hauock of the Countrie. The same consideration moved also the Lacedemonians, to stand off awhile. before they would declare themselves for the Liolians; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industric therefore of Philip, and the great care 50 which he feemed to take of the Acheans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them. especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himfelfe the Dymeans, by an inclimable benefit : recourring their Towne, after it had beene taken by the Romans and Atolians; and redceming their people wherefocuer they might bee found, that had beene carried away

Ececce 3

Capting.

Captine, and fold abroad for flaues. Thus might he have blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other soule acts, whereof he was not ashamed; He tooke Polycratia the wife of the yonger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might ferue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of fuch faults he shall be told, when the Romans make warre vpon him the second time; for of that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make re-

of Philopoemen Generall of the Acheans: and MACHANIDAS. Tyrant of Lacedemon. Abattaile betweene them, wherein MACHANIDAS is flame.



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T happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of Aratus there flood vp Philogamen: 20 whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the Achaans redoubtable among all the Greekes, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence

of their neighbours. This is that Philopa men: who being then a yong man, and having no command; did especiall service to Antigonus at the battaile of Sellasia against Cleomenes. Thence-forward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and feldome or neuer at peace betweene themselves; Hee bettered among them his knowledge, and practise in the Art of warre At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried him felte fo thrictly, trauailing with all the Cities of the Confede- 20 racie to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all peeces: as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that hee made the Acheans verie throng in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no leffe care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be frong enough to defend it felfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the helpe of others. Hee persuaded the Acheans to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, houlholdfluffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that coil vpon their Armes; wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiors; and futeable in behaulour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had ferued hi- 40 therto with little light Bucklers, and flender Darts, to cast afarre off: that were viefull in skirmilhing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hastie Expeditions; whereto Aratus had beene most accustomed. But when they came to handie ftrokes, they were good for nothing: fo as they were wholly driven to relie vponthe courage of their Mercinaries. Philopamen altered this : causing them to arme themselues more weightily, to vie a larger kind of sheild, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the forme of their embattailing : not making the Files fo deepe as had beene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the service of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prætor of the Acheans; when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon caused him to make triall, how his fouldiers had p, ofited by his discipline. This Muchanidas was the succesfor vnto Lyourges; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ftrong Armie of Mercinaries : and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta; but to hold

the Citie in obedience to himfelfe perforce. Wherefore it behould him not to take part with the Acheens, that were favourers of libertie; but to firengthen himfelfe by freindship of the Atolians: who, in making Alliances, tooke no furthet notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of Lacedamon, through their inueterate hatred vnto the Argines, Acheans, and Macedonians; were in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Atolian Faction. Verie vn wifely. For in feeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordinip of Peloponne fus; they hindred themselves thereby from recourring the Mastrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the Spartans, to-10 gether with the regard of his owne fecuritie, and no fmall hope of good that would follow, fuffered not Machanides to be idle; but made him alwaies readie to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whileft they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had bee often done, especially in the absence of Philip: whose sudden comming into those parts, or form other opposition made against him, had vsually made him taile of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the Acheans; and thought his ownomen better fouldiours than were theirs.

Mantineans: being not without hope to doe as Cleomenes had done before him; yea

Whilest Philip therefore was busied else-where, hee entred the Countrie of the

and weaker opposition, than Cleomenes had found. But Philopoemen was readie to Pith. L. 11. entertaine him at Mantines; where was fought betweene them a great battaile. The: Tyrant had brought into the fielde vpon Cartes a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To preuent this danger, Philopamen sent forth his light armature a good way before him; fo as Machanidas was faine to doe the like. To fecond thefe, from the one and the other fide came in continuall supplie; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the Acheans and of Machanidas, were drawne vp to the fight : boing fo far advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no 30 otherwife be differned which preffed forward, or which recoyled, than by rifing of the dust. Thus were Machanidas his Engines made unserviceable, by the interpolition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as Poly-Polibibid. bius well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein viually the hired fouldiers of T yrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which live oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) 40 to affure their owne feruitude: fo the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his prosperitie, have good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that ferue vnder a free State, have no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellowes, will not take much paines to

vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Acheans, being forced to give ground, so were viged to violently in their retrait by those of Machanidas, that shortly they betooke themselves to flight; and could not be staid by any perswasions of Philopamen, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the Meheans. This difafter had beene sufficient to take from Philopamen the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him that errour which might

bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him fland in neede

of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more

fubjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take revenge

20 and perhaps to get the \* Lordship of Peloponnessus, as having stronger freindes, \* Exercise 2

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled : leaving behind him in good order of battaile his Lacedamonians; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the Atheans, that were alreadie disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his raffineile had carried him out of fight; Philopamen advanced towards the Lacedamonians that flood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time: and therefore paffable (as it feemed ) without much difficultie, especially for Foot, The Lasedemonians aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the Acheans; who had in a manner alreadie loft the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them reconcred the further banke, than they were floutly charged by the Achaens, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first rankes being broken, all the rest began to shrinke: so as Philopamen getting over the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. Philopamen knew better how to vie his advantage; than Machanidas had done. He fuffered not all his Armic to diffund and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the T yrant must come backe. The T yrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked verie heavily when he faw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustic Troupe of Horse about him Hee made, towardes the bridge: hoping to find the Acheans in diforder; and to fet vpon their backes, as they 20 were careleffely pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie faw Philopamen readic to make good the bridge against them; then beganne eneric one to looke, which way he might thift for himfelfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch fide; and fearched for an eafle paffage ouer. He was eafily discourred by his purple Gaslocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. Philopamen therefore leaning the charge of the bridge vnto another, coafted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it felfe, as he was getting ouer it. flew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaile on the Lacedemonians fide about foure thousand and more than foure thousand were taken Priloners. Of the Achean Mercinavies, probable it is that the loffe was 30 not greatly cared for; fince that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should have need.

PHILIP having peacewith Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagona, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

Y this victorie the Acheans learned to thinke well of themselves. Nevther needed they indeed after awhile (fuch was their discipline, and continual exercise) to account themselues in matter of warre inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the Macedonian, Hee made no great vie of them : But when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Atolians, He Hudied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; fince the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or verie nearely together, and some of them not honest : wherein if the Acheans would have done to him feruice; they must, by helping him to oppresse others that neuer had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated Attalus King of Pergamus, who had joyned with the Romans and Atolians in warre against him.

This Attalus, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in Philet.crus his Vncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew after wards thereby to be the more effected; as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged viito wines or children. He was entertained into the familie of Docimus, a Captaine following Antigonus the first; and after the death of Antigonus, he accompanied his Mafter, that betooke himfelfe to Lysimachus King of Thrace, Lysimachus had good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his monie and accompts. But when at length he flood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant : Hee fled into Afia, where he feized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The towne and monic, together with his owne feruice, He offered vnto Selenous the first, that then was readie to give Lysimachus battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that Seleucus having flaine Lyfimschus, died fhortly after himfelfe, before he made vse of Philetarus or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is faid to have been a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. Philetarus left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called Eumenes. This Eumenes enlarged his kingdome; making his advantage of the diffention, betweene Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the fonnes of the (cond Antiochus. He fought a battaile with Hierax, neere vnto Sardes; and wan the victoric. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that served under his Enemie, he yield a pretic denice. He wrote the word\*VICTORIE vpon the band of his Soothfayer, in \*Int Front. fuch colours as would eafily come off: and when the hoteliner of the beaft that was Strat.L. 1. C. 11. facrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters. He published this vnto his Armic as a Miracle, plainely fore-thewing that the gods would be affiftant in that Battaile.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemie to Seleucus: who neuer durst attempt to recour from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a furfet of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to Attalue, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto Attalus the yongest brother of Philetarus. Attalus was an undertaking Prince, verie bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He reflored his friend Ariarathes the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was greinoufly molefted by Achein: who feeting vp himfelfe, as King against Antioches the great, reigned in the leffer Mia. He was belieged in his owne Citie of Pergamus: but by helpe of the Tectofaga, a Nation of the Gaules, whom hee called our out of Thrace, He recovered all that he had loft. When these Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment : but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themfelues, without inuitation, and found themselues worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused Prastas King of Bithynia to cease from his warre against Byzanium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neverthelesse within awhile after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vied it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor fexe. But the swarme of them increating; they occupied the Region about Helleftont; where, in feating them felues. they were much beholding vnto Attalus. Nevertheleffe, prefuming afterwards so upon their firength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vinto Attalus than to any that had worse described of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time follow-

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritic of such, as had saued themfelues and their Proninces, in the flothful reigne of the Perfians, or in the butie times of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were vericancient. For the first of their line had married with Atossa, fister vnto the great King Cyrus. Their Countrie was taken from them by Perdicers, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom Perdice as crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his of-fpring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian 19 Empire; and are faid to have iffued from the royall house of Achamenes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves from Pylamenes, a King that affilted Priamus at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselues vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of Prustas had begun to reigne in Bithynia. some few generations before that of the great Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonians way: by whom therfore, having other employment, they were the leffe molested. Calantus, one of Alexanders Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrie: where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Licutenant of Antigonus, that made them fomewhat more humble. And thus they fluffled, as did the reft, vntill the reigne of Prufice, whom wee have alreadic fome- 20

#### ð. VII.

The Towne of Cies taken by PHILIP, at the instance of PRVSIAS King of Bythynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, PHILIP growes hatefullto many of the Greekes: and is warred upon by ATTALVS King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

R v s 1 A s as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Attalus; whole. greatneffe he suspected. He therefore strengthned himselfe, by taking to wise the daughter of Philip; as Attalus, on the contrarie side, entred into a strict Consederacie with the Etolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greekes. But when Philip had ended his Ætolian warre, and was deuifing with Antiochus about sharing betweene them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein Ptolomie Philopater a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his fonne Ptol. Epiphanes a yong child his heire; the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the Ciani, and beflow it vpon him. Prusas had no right vnto the Towne, nor just matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly feated for him; and therewithall rich. Philip came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadours came to him whilest heelay at the feige, from the Rhodians, and divers other States: entreating him to for fake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condificend to their request, when he intended nothing lesse. At length hee got the Towne: where, even in presence of the Embassadours, of whose sollicitation he had semmed so regardfull, He omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the Rhodians. who had made vehement intercession for the poore Ciani; and were aduertifed by Embassadours of purpose sent vnto them from Philip, That, howfocuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as foone as he listed: yet in regard of his love to the Rhodians, Hee was contented to

giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embaffadours faid, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noysed abroad fuch reports, as went of his fallhood and oppressions. Whilest the Embassadours were declaiming at Rhodes in the T heater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned : shewing that Philip had facked and destroyed the Towne of Cios, and, after a cruell flaughter of the Inhabitants, had made flaves of all that escaped the Sword. If the Rhodians tooke this in great despight, no leffe werethe Atolians inflamed against him : since they had lent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia and Chalcedon (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was Attalus moued, with confideration of the Micedonians violent ambition, and of his owne estate. He had much to loofe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had alreadie, as a new King, followed the example of Alexanders Captaines, in purchasing with much liberalitie the loue of the Athenians, which were notable Trumpetters of other mens vertue, having loft their owne. On the freindship of the Atolians he had cause to presume; having bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with Philip. The Rhodians that were mightie at Sea, and held verie good intelligence with the Layptims, Syrians, and many other Princes and States, Hee calify drew into a fireight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceined against Philip.

CHAP.4.S.7. of the Historie of the World.

Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readic assistance of the Rhodians , Attalus prepared to deale with the Macedonian by open warre. It had beene vnfeafonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; fince his defire to fasten upon Asa was manifest, and his fallhood no leffe manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from Chios, and fought with him a battaile at Scarwherein though Attalus was driven to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the Rhodians tooke his deaths wound : and though Philip after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore : Yet for a much as He had fuffered farre greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemie : and since Hee durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victoric was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, Philip afterwardes belieged and wanne some Townes in Caria: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether your any hopefull defire of conquest; it is uncertaine. The stratageme, by which hee wonne Prinassus, is worthic of noting. Hee attempted it by a Myne : and finding the Earth fo stonie, that it relisted his worke, Hee neverthelesse commaunded the Pyoners to make a noyfe vnder ground; and fecretly in the night-time. Hee rayfed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the befeiged. that the work went merualloufly forward. At length he fent word to the Townermen that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall flood onely your woodden props : to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The Prinafians little thought, that hee had fetcht all his earth and rubbifh by night a great way off, to raife up those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be outfaced; and gaue up the Towne as lost, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But Philip could not stale to settle himselfe in those parts. Attalus and the Rho. dians were too ftrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haft back into Matedon; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purfuit.

Hele Asiatique matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet fer. ued well to make a noyfe in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, it not with a defire of making warre in Mucedon, at least with a conceipt that it were expedient fo to doc. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that

there was none other Nation than the Greekes, which lay betweene them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greekes were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continual dealings in Greece cuer fince the Reignes of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturals : yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because Hee was original- 20 ly for footh a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene most beholding vnto him, were neuerthelesse wearie of him, by reafon of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detaine the Roman Armies: especially since the divisions of the Countrie were fuch, that eueric pettie Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltic of Rome, had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were alreadie quite exhausted, by that grieuous warre with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loane to the Republike all their monie:neyther had they as yet received, neyther did they receive vntill fifteene or fixteene yeares after this, their whole fumme backe againe. That part of paiment also which was alreadie made, being not in present monie, but much of it in Land : it behoued them to rest awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leffe able to beflow colt. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that Attalus and the Rhodians had fent Embassadours to follicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had fent letters of the fame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by fetting out the preparations of this dangerousenemie, that follicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant thortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. Philip had indeed no fuch intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himselfe, or by his alliance in Greece, to be relitted by Attalus and the Rhodisms, especially with the helpe of the Ætolians their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne proteffed enemies. But fuch things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. Hee was too vnskilfull, or otherwife too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needes bee feeking new enemics. And he found them fuch, as he deferued to have them: for hee 50 offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and haddone; him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the vtmolt in making warre vpon them; or, in defilting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, having broken that League of peace which is of all other the most

natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlcffe they think them felues iultly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might wel be secure of the Romans, because of the written Couchants of peace between him & them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby fuch articles of peace can bee held inuiolable, faue onely by the water of Styx, that is, by Necessitie: which whilest it bindes one partie, or both visto performance, making it apparent that hee shall be a loofer who starts desaparent from the Conditions; it may follong (and follong onely) bee prefumed, that there thall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquilhed, the Romans neuer hearkned after Philip: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace o with Carthage, then was this River of Styx dried vp: and then could they fweare, 15 \* Mercurie did in the Comedie, by their owne felues, euen by their good fwords, \* Flant, Arts that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of Sopater into 16ar. Africke, and the present warre against Attalus; were matter of quarrell as much as needed; or if this were not enough, the Albenians helped to furnish them with

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territorie, tooke flate vpon them nevertheleffe, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ceres, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous supero flition, vainly faid to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) discouered themfelnes by fome impertinent queflions, to be none of those that were initiated. Herevpon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to have therein done amiffe; yet, as it had beene for fome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrimen at home tooke this in ill part; and fought to reuenge it as a publike injurie, by warre upon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip fome Macedonians to helpe them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence away with them a great bootic. This indignitie ftirred vp the high-minded Athemians; and made them thinke upon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe. 20 All which at the prefent they could doe, was to fend Embassadours to King Attalus: gratulating his happie succeife against Philip, and entreating him to visit their Citie. Attalus was hereto the more willing; because He vnderstood, that the Roman Embaffadours, houseing about Grees for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee there at the fame time. So he went thither, accompanied, befides his own followers, with fome of the Rhodians. Landing in the Pirans, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference : they rejoycing that he continued enemie to Philips and He being no left glad, when hee heard of their purpose to renew the warre. The Athenians came forth of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as folemne a pompe as they could deuile, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the Romans that were with him, in verie louing manner: but towards Attalns himselfe they omitted no point of obferuance, which their flatterie could fuggeft. At his first comming into the Citie they called the people to Affembly: where they defired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe; saying. That with an cuill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which he fludied to make them knowwhat loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to bee propounded. Hee did fo. The points of his Declaration were; first, what hee had willingly done for their fake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation o vnto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest Hee with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing and readic to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, He protested, that afterwardes it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as He to defire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours, Ffffff

and ordained, That vito the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens confified, thould be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Arbens.

Thus beganne a great noyle of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romani for their part; Attahus and the Rhodians taking all you them. But while their were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the Arbiansto their partie: the contraire to their olde manner were glad to bee at quite: Philip wanne the Townes of Marones and Arms, with many other strong places about the Heldesport, Likewise passing our the Heldesport, Hee laid siege vnto Abydus; and wanne to it, though Hee was faine to state there long. The Townes held out, rather you an oblimate resolution, and hope of sinceour from Attasia and the Rhodians, than any great abilitie to defend it selfe against so might be a Enemie. But the Rhodians sent thick could be a supported by the Rhodians for thicker onely one Quadrienne Gallie: and Attasus no more than three hundred men; sarre to weake an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embassiandours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much you them.

Thele Embassadours C. Claudius, M. Emplius, and P. Sempronius, were sent vinco Piolomic. Epiphones King of Egypt, to acquain him with their Victoric against Hannubal and the Carthagainins; as also to thanke him for his fa-10 uour vinto them shewed in that warre; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should be supported by the state of the properties of the state of the photological points and done before him). Hee beganne a verie young boy. The courteste for which the state were to thanke him, was, That out of Egypt they had lately been supposed with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of Warre had made all their owner Provinces viable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the Egyptims : sline it was well knowne, how Philip and 5m. tiseshu had combined themselues against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason bee hoped, that Hice, or 30 his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the Remons with Corne: lince this their Macedonian Expedition, concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leifure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Anylius the youngest of them should steppe aside, and visit Philip, to trie if Hee could make him leaue the feige of Abydus; which elfe Hee was like to carrie. Amylius, comming to Philip, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the Romans. For Attalus and the Rhodians, vpon whom Hee 40 made Warre, were Confederate with Rome: and the Towne of Abydus, which Hee was now befeiging, had a kind of dependancie vpon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, That Attalus and the Rhodians had made Warre vpon him: and that Hee did onely requite them with the like. Do you also (fayd Eng. lius) requite these poore A MY DENI with such terrible Warre, for any the like Inuation by them first made upon you? The King was angrie to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answere to Amyline; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (about all, ) your being a Roman, that makes you thus prasumptuous. But I would wish yee to remember the League that yee have made with me, and to keepe it : if yee doe otherwise, I will make yee under- 19 stand, that the Kingdome and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediatly yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died euerie one of them and fet their Towne on fire; binding themselues hereto

by a fearefull oath, when Philip denied to accept them upon reafonable Conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loft the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouernours and Ancients of the Citie, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to Philip: about which while they were busie, the memorie of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger fort; that, by exhortation of their Pricis, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselues. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He faid, he would grant the Adjudent intree dayes less the concentration of the American such as the contraction of the Membership of the Compassion, the the sold is men to enter the Towne, nor thazed themselues in interrupting the violence of those mad soles.

#### δ. I X

The Romans decree warre against Pullup, and send one of their Consult into Greece, us it were in desence of the Athenians their Consederates. How pore the Athenians were at this time, both in qualitic and estate.

His calamitic of the Abydeni, was likened by the Romans vnto that of the Squatines: which indeed it nearely refembled; though Rome was not alike intereffed in the quarrell. But to helpe themselues with pre-tence for the warre, they had found out another Seguntum, cuen the Citie of Albens: which if the Macedonium should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that he should presently embarke himselfe for Italie, whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum in five monethes, but in the fhort space of fine dayes sayling. Thus P. Sulpicius the Conful tolde the Multitude. when he exhorted them to make warre vpon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyribus was by him alleadged; to show, what 20 Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of Scipio into Africk, to thew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrie. By such arguments was the Commonaltie of Rome induced to beleive, that this watre with the Macedonian was both just and necessarie. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Conful hafted away towards Macedon, having that Province allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readineffe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thankes were given to the Albernian Embassadours, for their constancie (as was faid) in not changing their faith at fuch time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thankes were to due to them; though not vpon the fame occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any Greeke Towne, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne partes; had reason to give thankes vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue. fuggestion. That Philip was making readic for Italie: and since neyther Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, defired the Romans to give them protection: these busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and confequently with Philip, about a matter of May.game, (as was flewed before) fent Embaffadours into all parts of the World, even to Ptolemie of Agypt, and to the 50 Romans, as wel as to Attalus and other their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless at loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of P. Sulpinius the Conful were such, as might have argued Athens to bee the least part of his care. Hee failed not about Pelopomefus, but tooke the reading Seffer 2

way to Macedon; and landing about the River of Apfus, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the Athenian Embaffadours were with him, and craued his helpe; whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselues as men belieged, and entreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent vnto them C. Clausius with twentie Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces He retained with him, for the profequation of a greater designe. The Athenians were not indeed belieged: onely fome Rouers from Chaleis, in the Ile of Eubara; and fome bands of aduenturers out of Corinth; vsed to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of 10 these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and free booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike Athenians, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Seige. From fuch detriment the arrivall of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, eafily preserved them. As for the Athenians themselves; they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Sieil; to make warre upon the great Persian King; and to hold so much of Greece in Subjection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest: had now no more than three Shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly vpon the glorie and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had beene still their owne.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubwa, taken and fackt by the Romans and their Affociates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. PHILIP attempteth to take Athens by Surprise: wasleth the Countrie about: and makes a journie into Peloponne fus. Of NABIS the Tyrant of Lacedamon, and his wife. PHILIP offers to make warre against NABIS for the Acheans. He returneth home through Attica, which he foileth againe: and provides against his Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans, Diners Princes iorne with them. Great labouring to draw the Atolians into the warre.

HILIP, returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Conful his being about Apollonia. But ere he flirred forth to giue him entertainment; or perhaps before hee had well refolved, whether it were best awhile to fit still, and trie wher mishs heed and the state of the stat ning of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: Hee received advertisement from Chaleis of a grieuous 40 milhap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius with his Romans, finding no such worke at Athens as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad; purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew foone wearie of fitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to faue the Athenians grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a bufineffe of more importance. The Towne of Chalcis was negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemie at hand, and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof Claudius having advertisement, failed thither by night for feare of being descried; and, arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it 50 by Scalado. He vsed no mercie, but flew all that came in his way and wanting men to keepe it (vnlesse hee should haue lest the heartlesse Athenians to their owne defence) He set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all prouifions for warre, which were plenteoully filled. Neither were He and his Affociates

contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried abord their ships; and with enlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to thew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they overthrew and brake in peeces the Statuas vnto him there erected. This done, they hafted away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias about some twentie miles thence: whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all hast to take renenge. Hee thought to have taken the Athenians with their trustie friends, busie at worke in ransacking the Towne, and loading themselues with spoile: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundered horse : whereof leaving at Chales onely a few to burie the dead , Hee marched thence away speedily towards Athens: thinking it not unpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their victorie, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chaless. Neither had he much failed of his expectation; if a Fooot post, that stood Scour for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descried him a far off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to athens. It was midnight when this Post came thisher: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and with all speed made readie for defence. Within a few houres Philip was there; who feeing the many lights, and other fignes of buffe preparation vitall in fuch a cafe, understood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselues till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the wals. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaffe about by Sea, and had no cause of hast) yet having in the Towne some mercinarie souldiours. which they kept, of their owne, befides the great multitude of Citizens : they aduentured to iffue forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip make approch. The King was glad of this ; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therefore onely willed his men to follow his example ; and prefently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue fingular proofe of his valour and beating downe many of the Enemics with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would have allowed, eucn to the veriegate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vietheir casting weapons against him, without endangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments befides, necreadioyning vnto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even vnto the 40 sepulchers of the dead. The next day cathe the Romans, and some Companies of Attalus his men from Ægina; too late, in regard of what was alreadic past; but in good time, to preuent him of farisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to Corinth : and hearing that the Acheans held a Parliament at Argos, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The Acheans were denifing upon warre, which they intended to make against Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon: who being started up in the roome of Machanidas, did greater mischiefe than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly voon his Mercinaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedic extortioner ypon those that lived under him and one, that in his naturall o condition (meltranckly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife Apega was very fitly matched with him: fince his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives; whom (hee would never fuffer to bee at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iewells and apparrell. Her husband was so delighted Limite 32. with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to bee made linely representing her;

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and apparrelled it with fuch coftly garments as shee vsed to weare. But it was indeede an engine, seruing to torment men. Hercof he made vse, when hee meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this counterfait Apega flood, and there wie all his art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If he could not fo speede, but was answered with excuses: then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who fate by in a chaire) could perfwade more effectually. So hee led him to the Image, that role vp and opened the armes, as it were for embracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nailes, the like whereof were also sticking in the In breafts, though hidden with her clothes; and herewith she griped the poore wretch; to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was Nabis in his Gouernement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the Atolians, as Machanidas and Lyeurque had done before him. By these hee grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with Philip, at the end of their former warre. Of Philopamens vertue hee flood in feare; and therefore durft not prouoke the Acheans, as long as they had fuch an able Commander. But when Cyeliades, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all or the greatest part of their Mercinaries were discharged; Philopamen being also gone into Crete, to follow his 20 beloued Occupation of warre : then did Nabis fall upon their Territorie; and wasting all the feilds, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the Atheans were preparing for warre, when Philip came among them; and had fet downe, what proportion of fouldiours cuerie Cittieof their Corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them, not to trouble themsclues with the care of this businesse; for a smuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding joy and thankes they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That, whilest hee made warre vpon Lacedemon, Hee ought not to leave his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Corinth, and some 30 Companies into the Ile of Eubaa; that so he might securely pursue the war against Nabis. Immediatly they found out his deuice : which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his war against the Romans. Wherefore their Prætor Cycliades made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was affembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against Nabis; hee brake vp the Affemblie, with cucric mans good liking : whereas in former times, Hee had Leene thought no better than one of the Kings Paralites.

It greited the King to have thus fayled in his purpose with the Achaans. Nenertheleffe he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and fo returned by Co. 40 rinth backe into Attica. There he met with Philoeles one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusine, the Hauen of Pyraus, and even the Cittie of Athens. But the Romans made such hast after him by Sea, thrusting themseives into everic of these places; that he could no more than wreak his anger vpon those goodlie Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time fingularly beautified. So He destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plentie, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe beene Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his mento 50 breake the verie stones, that they might be unserviceable to the reparation. His losse at Chalcis being thus revenged vpon Athens, Hee went home into Macedon: and there made provision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to in-

fest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the Atolians: to whose Parliament, fhortly to be held at Naupactus, he fent an Embassage; requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

CHAP.4. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

Sulpicius the Roman Conful encamped vpon the River of Apfus. Thence he fent forth Apuffins, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to wast the borders of Mace. don. Apultius tooke fundric Castles and Townes ; vsing such extremitie of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towne which he wan by force, that none durst afterwards make refistance, vnlessethey knew themselues able to hold out. Returning towards the Conful with his spoile, He was charged in Rere, vpon the 10 paffage of a Brooke, by Athenagor as a Macedonian Captaine : but the Romans had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safetie at their Campe. The fuccesse of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet served to draw into the Roman freindship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus, the sonne of Scerdilaidas the Illyrian; Aminander King of the Athamanians; and Bato, the forme of Longarus; a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their affiftance vnto the Conful, who thanked them : and faid, That hee would shortly make vse of Pleuratus and Bato, when hee entredinto Macedon : but that the freindship of Aminander, whose Countrie lay betweene the Atolians and Theffalie, might be perhaps auaileable with the Atolians, to flirrethem vp againft

So the present care, was wholy set vpon the Atolian Parliament at hand. This ther came Embassadours from the Macedonian, Romans, and Athenians. Of which, the Maceionian spake first : and said, That as there was nothing fallen out , which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his Master and the Atolians: fo was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves without good cause; to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to confider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended onely to defence of the \*\* \*\*Etolians : and yet notwithstanding had been angrie, that the \*\*Actolians\*, by making 30 peace with Philip, had no longer neede of fuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busic, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which thefe Burbarians bore vnto the Greekes. For even after the fame fort had they leant their helpe to the Mamertines: and afterwards delinered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both Syracuse and Messana, were subject vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect healleadged many examples, adding, That in like fort it would happen to the Atolians : who, if they drew fuch Maffers into Greece, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to confult about Warre and Peace : the Romans would ease them of this care, and to fend them fuch a Moderator, as went cuerie yeere from Rome to Syracufe. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilest as yetthey might, and whilest one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with Philip: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeares agoe made the peace which stil continued; although the same Romans were then against it, who It would have troubled the Romans, to frame fought to breake it now. a good answer to these objections. For the Macedonian had spoken the verie truth, in shewing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie.did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were fet on by them to speake next: who had to flore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make Philip odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes palt, made war vpon the gods themselues, by destroy-

ing all their Temples in Attice. Herewithal they made a pitifull rehearfall of their

own ecalamities: and faid, that if Philip might have his will: £tolia, and all the refu of Greece, thould feele the fame that attituded left; yea that Atthen it felfe, together with Atthensa, topiter, feers, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the Roman whose custing, as well as they could, their own eoppression of all those, in whose defence they had be rectofore taken armes, wentroundly to the point in hand. They faid, that they had of late made warre in the £toliam behalfe, and that the £toliam to do with the second with the second with the second with the second warre in the £toliam to the testiam to the second with the second with Carthage, wanted less them selected with Carthage, wanted less the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemie, it concerned the £toliams to take part with them in their war and victorie, vnlesse they had rather perish with

It might eafly be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helper ere it was desired were themselfues carried with the war by more carnel motives, than a simple desire to helpe thole freinds, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have beene the cause, why Dorymachusthe Actolian Prator blifted them off awhile with a dilatoric answer: though hee told his Countrimen, That by reserving themselfues, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer away, first, in general tremes, I't had one much halt was an enemie to good counself: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But commaning never to the matter in hand, He passed to Detree, That the Prator might at any timecall and Assisting of the States, and therein conclude upon this businesses, any time and the contrar in notwith shading: whereas other wise it was valuatful to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Pataliaments, that were held at fet times.

#### δ. X I.

Themeeting of PHILLE with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of ATTALVS and the Roman Fleet.

Hilly was glad to heare, that the Romans had spod no better in their folicitation of the Exchans. He though them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne Perfeus, a very boy, was sent to keepe the fireights of Pelagonia against the Dardanius; I hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was independent on the contrage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least be leeue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may haue been the reason, why the same Perseus, a sew yeares before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of Exchai by his father; whome earnest business the same present of enemies being left on either hand; it was thought, that the Musedonius Pleet vnder the adides, would serve to keepe Attalus, with the Rhodium and Romans, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journie Wethward against Subjectus the Conful.

The Armies met in the countrey of the Dassacray, a people in the vtmost borders of Mseedon towards Alyria, about the monntaines of Candawis; that running along from Hamus in the North vntill they joyne in the South with Pindus, inclose the We terne parts of Macedon. Two or three daies they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth

of his Campe into the open feild. But Philip was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to fend forth fome of his light-armed Mercinaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmith. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at first ypon a Cast, and therfore sent for Perfeus with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no leffe vnwilling to loofe too much in reputation; He made thew aday after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his T argettiers : and o fo gaue charge to Athenagor.es, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the Romans to fight; initructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themselves respecliucly, as opportunitie should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambulh; having fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when Athenagoras began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they draue him to an haltie flight, and purfued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not flaying to let them runne into the danger, discoucred themselues before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conful hereby gathered, that the 10 King had some defire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Armie, and setting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of helpe which the Romans had neuer vied before, but had taken thefe of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce aboue fourescore yeeres ere this, that Pyrrhus carried Elephants out of Greece into Italie, to affright the Romans, who had never feene any of those beafts before. But now the fame Romans, (whilest possibly some were yet aline, which had knowen that Expedition of Pyrrhus) come into Auedon, bringing Elephants with them : whereof the Mucedonians and Greekes have none . Philip had patience to let the Conful braue, him at his Trenches: wherein he did wifely: for the Roman had 3º greater neede to fight, than Hee. Sulpicius was vn willing to loofe time: neither could he without great danger, lying so neere the Enemic, that was strong in horse, fend his men to fetch in corne out of the feilds. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: prefuming that Philip would not aduenture to meet him on even ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to ouer run the Countrie. The King was nothing forrie of this: but permitted the Romans to take their good pleafure :euen till their prefumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was come to passe, he tooke all his horse and light-armed foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages 40 that none should escape. The rest hee sent abroad the Countrie, to fall vpon the ftraglers: willing them to put all to the fword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The flaughter was great : and those which escaped the hands of them that were fent abroad to scoure the feilds, lighted all or most of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight : so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was cre the Campe had newes of this. Bur in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselues, raised a great tumult. Sulpicius hereupon fends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull : He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diui-50 ded themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon Philips Troupes, that were canualling the feild, tooke their taske where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the

disaduantage: as comming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was readie for them.

So they were beaten away : as their fellowes also might have beene, if the King had well bethought himfelfe, and given ouer in time. But while, not contented with fuch an haruelt, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in light : which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne fafetie. They ranne which way they could: and (as menthat lie in wait for others, are feldeme heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemie, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loit. The Kings horse was flaine under him: and there had he beene calt away, if a louing subject of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running

on foot was ouertaken, and killed. In the common opinion Philip was charged with improvident raffineffe; and the Conful, with as much dulneffe; for this daies feruice. A little longer flay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the feilds about them were wasted, they must needes have retired backe to the Sea.On the other fide it was not thought villkely, That if the Romans following the King, had fet vpon his Campe, at such time as he fled thither halfe amazed with feare of being either flaine or taken; they might have won it. But that noble Historian Li. nie, (as is commonly his manner) bath indiciously observed, That neither the one, 20 nor the other, were much too blame in this daies worke. For the maine bodie of the Kings Armie laie fafe in his Campe; and could not be fo altonished with the loffe of two or three hundred Horfe, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe; He was advertised, that Pleuratus the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen upon his Countrie; when they found the passage thereinto open, after Perfeus was called away from custodic of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to doe formewhat betimes that he might fet the Romans going the fooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublefome neighbours. In confideration of this, Philip was defirous to cleere himfelfeof the Romans, as foone as he might. And to that purpose he sent vnto the Conful ; re- 30 ouesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemie, as if he had not ftirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not flow to follow him. He ouertooke the Macedonians in a place of firength, which they had fenced (for it was a woodie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian Phalanx was of little vse ; being a square battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed, more feruiceable in that case. But they were few ; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman sheild. The Macedanians therefore helped them by flinging of stones. 40 But to no purpole. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victorie (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poore Townes there about; which partly were taken by strong hand; partly yeelded for feare. But the spoile of these, and of the feilds adjoyning, was not sufficient to maintaine

his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia. The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come backe, withdrew themselues apace out of the Countrie. The King fent Athensgoras to wait vpon them home; whilest he himselfe went against the Etolians. For Damocritus the Prætor of the Actolians, who had referued himselfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that Philip was beaten once and againe : as also that Pleuratus and the Dardsminns 50 were fallen vpon Macedon; grew no leffe bufic on the fudden, than before he had beene wife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime war, ioyned his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invalion vpon Theffalie. They tooke and cruelly facked a few Townes: whereby they

grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they litted. But Philip came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay difperfed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if Aminander, more warie than the Etolians, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrie.

About the fame time; the Roman Fleet, affifted by Attalns and the Rhodians, had taken some small Islands in the Egean Sea. They tooke likewise the Towns of oreum in the Ile of Eubara; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen to Attalus, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the Ætolians: the goods therein found were given to the Romans; and the people, for flaues. Other attempts on that fide were hindred; cyther by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

### ð. XII.

VILLIVS the Roman Conful wastes a yeare to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italie. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage, MASANISSA, and VERA MIN A. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. QVINTIVS FLAMINIVS is fent against him.

Hus the time range away : and P. Fillius, a new Conful, tooke charge of the Warrein Macedon. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiors: whereof two thousand, haning served long in S:oldelt Souldiors: whereof two thousand, manned, in that they all and Africk, thought themselues much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vinto their owne chates at home.

They were (belike) of the Legions that had ferued at Cann.e: as may feeme by their complaint, of having beene long abfent from Italie; whither faine they would 30 haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How Villus dealt with them, it is vincertaine. For the Historic of his yeare is lost; whereof the misse is not great; since hee did nothing memorable. Valerius Antias, as wee find in Liuie, hath adorned this Villius with agreat exploit against Philip. Yet since Liuie Lini.L. \$20 him elfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may teafonably believe, that Fillius his veare was idle.

In the beginning of this Ascedonian Warre, the Romans found more trouble than could have bin expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of Placentia, agoodly and firong Towne, which neyther Hannibal, nor after him Afdrubal, had beene able 40 to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like fort Cremon: was attempted; but faued herfelfe, taking warning by her neighbouss calamitic. Amilear a Carthaginian, that had flaied behind Afarubal, or Mage, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard: they fent Embassadours to the Carthaginians: giving them to vinderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behould them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen Amilear, who made warre in Italie. Herevnto it was added (perhaps left the meffage might feeme otherwife to have favoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitive slaves belonging vnto the Romans, there were some reported to walk up and down in Carthage; which if it were so, then ought they to be reflored backe to their Mafters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embaffadours that were fent on this errand; had further charge to treat with Mafaniffa, as also with Vermina the sonne of Syphan. Vinto Mafaniffa, be-

fides matter of complement, they were to fignific what pleasure Hee might dee

them , by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serue in their Warre

against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchfale vnto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to descrue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were fomewhat ferupulous in the matter : and faid. That having beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemie, Hee ought first of all to delire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vsed notto conferre vponany, fauc onely vpon fuch as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke sit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginisms made a gentle answere, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear : bani- 10 thing him; and confifcating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as manie as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requilite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they fent a great proportion of Corneto Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King Mafaniffa would hauelent vnto the Romans two thouland of his Numidian Horle: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. Vermina met with the Embaffadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans bulled in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Amilear and his 20 Gaules : they laid feige vnto Cremona; where L. Firius a Roman Prator came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. Amilear the Carthaginian died in this battaile : and the fruit of the Victorie was fuch, as both made amends for loffes past, and left the worke casie to those, that afterwardes should have the mannaging of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leifure to thinke vpon the businesse of Macedon: where Philip was carefully prouiding to give contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as also to affure vnto himselfe the Acheans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising 30 and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when Villius, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into Macedon, taking a journie (as Sulpicius had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to tric a new course. But then came advertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen Conful, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince, whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Armic.

#### d. XIII.

The Romans beginne to mike warre by negotiation. T. QVINTIVS winnes a passage against PHILIP. Thessalie wasted by PHILIP, the Romans, and Atolians. The Achaans for faking the Macedonian take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. PHILIP delivers Argos to NA-BIS the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after fnch a trifling manner. It was their vse, to give battaile to the Enemic, as foone as they met with him. If heerefuled it, they belieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his difadvantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with Philip, they beganne to learne of the fibtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation:

wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued, Their treasurie was poore, and stood indebted, \* manie yeares after this, vnto pri- \*Lin-L.34. nate men, for part of those monies that had beene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie averse from the Macedonian Warre; and had thereby driven the Senators greedie of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being wearie of the flow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie; that they might have the lesse need to relie your their Confederates. So they leanied eight thou fand foot and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with T. Quintius Flaminus the new Conful into Mscedon. Their Naule, and other meanes could well hane ferued, for the fetting forth and transportation of a greater Armie : but by straining themselves to the most of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the fullenance of those that are too manie and too farre from home) have bred some icalousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost fome friends, yea perhaps have increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This prefent augmentation of the forces was verie requilite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embaffadours; requefting that eyther they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against Antiochus who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it ovncourteoufly, that he quitted the Warre with Philip, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkeable. They said, That it was not their manner to vie the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to affoord it; That they could not honeftly take part with Attalus, their good friend though hee were, against Antiochus, whom they held in the like account; but That they would deale with Antiochus by Embassadours, and (as common friendes vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betweene them. In such louing falhion did they now carrie themselues, towards their good friend the King Antiochus: who reciprocally, at their entreatie, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome of Attalus. But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with Philip; it will verie soone appeare. T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Province, with the

fupply decreed vnto him; which confifted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had ferued in Spaine and Africk. He found Villius the old Conful, (whom at his comming hee presently discharged) and King Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the River of Apfins or Sons. It was manifest, that cyther the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into Macedon through the poore Countrie of the Daffarcti:ns; or elfe winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had alreadic two yeares together mispent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals : whereof they could neyther carrie with them flore sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which divided the South of Epirus from Theffilie: then should they enter into a plentifull Countrie; and which, by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South born der. Neuertheleffe the defire of winning this paffage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of Ap/us, running along through that Valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it al a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge:

a verie narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rock by mans hand. Wherefore Quintius affaied to climbe in the Mountaines : but finding himselfe difappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not the gard of them that was verie easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing, for the space of fortie dayes.

This long time of rest gauchope vnto Philip, that the warre might bee ended by Gggggg

composition, upon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Conful had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conful would have him to fet all Townes of Greece at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had do ne to many people in his late Warres. Philip was contented to give libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late : but vnto such, as had beene long subice vnto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinguilly his claime and Dominion over them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare, that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever. He could well be pleafed to make fuch amends, as might feeme convenient in the 10 judgment of some free State, that had not beene interested in those quarrels. But herewithall Quartius was not fatisfied. There needed, (hee faid) no judgment or compromise; for a fmuch as it was apparant, that Philip had alwayes beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his ownedefence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars; and when the Conful was required to name those Townes, that he would have to be fet at libertie; the first that hee named were the Theffalians. These had beene subjects (though conditionall) vnto the Micedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of Alexander the Great and of Philip his father. Wherefore, as soone as Flaminius had named the Thessalians; the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition Hee would have laid vpon him, 20 had he beene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of fuch discourse.

After this; the Conful strone in vaine, two or three dayes together, to have preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept. When he had wel wearied himselfe, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heard man, fent from Charopus a Prince of the Epirots that favoured the Romans, who having long kept beafts in those Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by paths; and therefore undertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemie. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was falt bound; and, being promifed great reward, in cafe he 30 madegood his word; had fuch Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trausiled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and refted in the day-time, for feare of being discouered. When they had recovered the hil-toppes, and were about the Macedonians, (though undiscouered by them because at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gaue notice of their fuccesse vnto the Coful. Some skirmithes, whilst these were on their journie. T. Quintius had held with the Macedonian; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smokearise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were fent: He preffed as neare as be could vnto the Enemies Campe; 40 and affailed them in their thrength. He preuailed as little as in former times, untill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged Philip on the backe, aftonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made al speed away to saue himself. Yet anon confidering, that the difficultie of the paffage must needes hinder the Romans from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of five miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians beganne to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of fuch aduantage, they should hardly make good their partie against 50 the Enemic, vpon equall ground. Neyther was Philip himfelfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hastie retrait he could visit, to forfake their Townes and Countrie; carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be per-

fwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly relifled him: which they might the better doe, for that hee could not stay to vie any great compullion. He also himselfe tooke it verie greiuously, that he was driven to make fuch wast of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrie, which had ever been well affected vnto him : fo that a little hinderance did ferue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe homeinto his Kingdome of Macedon.

The Etolians and Athanamians, when this fell out, were even in a redineffe to inuade Theffalie; whereinto the wates lay more open, out of their feuerall Coun-10 tries. When theref ... e they heard for certaintie, that Philip was beaten by the Romans: they forestowed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while : but they had gotten so much before his comming, that He, in gleaning after their haruell, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus were the poore Thelfalians, of whose libertie the Romans a few daies since had made shew to be verie defirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates, not knowing which way to turne themselues, or whom to avoid. T. Quintius wan Phaleria by assault : Metropolis and Piera y ecided vinto him. Rhage he belieged: and having made a faire breach vet was vnable to force it; fo floutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and 10 by a Macedonian Garrison therein. Philip also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, houered about Tempe with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be diffressed. So the Conful, having well neare spent his viduailes, & feeing no hope to prenaile at Rhage; brake vp his fiege, and departed out of The falie. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meet him at Inticyra, an Hauen towne of Phocis, on the Gulfe of Corinth : which Countrie being freind to the Macedonian, he prefently inuaded; not fo much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated betweene The saie and other Regions, wherein he had busines, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in Phocis he wan by affault: many were yeelded up vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in 30 effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time L. Quintius the Confuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this war, ic yned with King Attalus and the Rhodian Fleet. They wan two Cities in Euber ; and afterward laid liege vnto Cenchree, an Hauen and Arcenal of the Corinthians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat helpe forward the Acheans, in their defire to leave the part of Philip : fince it might come to paffe, that Corinth it felfe, ere long time were fpent; and that Cenchree, with other places appertaying to Corinth, now verie shortly, should be rendred vito their Na-

tion, by fauour of the Romans. But there were other Motiues, inducing the Acheans to prefer the freindship of the Romans, before the patronage of Philip; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilest being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of fuch counfale, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poisoning of Aratus their old Gouernour : His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirois, and other people their Confederates, and his owned ependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long fince to hold him as a necessiscie enill, euen whilest they were vnable to bee without his affiltance. But fince by the vertue of Philopamen, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, fo as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well sublist, as having him to freind: then did they onely thinke how evil he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessarie. It angred him to perceiue how they flood affected : and therefore he fent murderers, to take away the life of Philopamen. But fayling in this enterprise, and being detected: Philopam.

he did thereby onely fet fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. Philopamen wrought fo with the Acheans: that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themfelues from the Macedonian Cycliadas, a principal man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for flewing himselfe passionate in the cause of Philip : and Ariflenus chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyne them in societie with the

These newes were verie welcome to T. Quintius. Embassadours were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates King Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Acheans; making promise, that they should have Corinth restored 10 vnto them, if they would for take the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Achains was held at Sieyon, to deliberate and refolue in this weightie cafe. Therein the Ro. mans and their adherents defired the Acheans, to joyne with them in making warre vpon Philip. Contrariwife, the Embaffadours of Philip, whom he had also fent for this busines, admonishing the Achains of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of Philips Embassadour, did no way advance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the Acheans to vnderstand, That hee, who could be fatisfied with fo little at their hands, knew himfelfe vnable to gratifie them in anv reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remem- 20 bring the benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured earnestly for the prescruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the fenfe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and Antigonus before him) had partly fold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree paffed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this war. With Attalus & the Rhodians : they forthwith entered into focietie with the Romans (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approved it) they forbore to decree any focietie at the present; vntill the returne of those Embaffadours from Rome, which they determined to fend thither of purpofe. The Megalopolitans, Dymaans, & Argines, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not relist, nor yet with honestie thereto give affent. For this their good will, and greater which they shortly manifested, the argines had folittle thanke; that all the rest of the Acheans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, upon a folemne day at Arges, the affection of the Citizens difcovered it felfe fo plainly, in the behalfe of Philip; that they which were his Parti- 49 fans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might have any small affishance. Philoeles, a Licutenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth; which he had manfully defended against the Romans and Attalus. Him the Conspirators drew to Argos: whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readie to joyne with him; He casily compelled the Achean Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other Townes, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatic: whilest as yet with his honour he might seeke it, and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conful would shortly be chofen; who should take the worke out of Titus his hands, if it were not concluded the fooner. Titus had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, fince more could not be done, to prædispose things unto a conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay

CHAP.4.S.13. then called the Malian, or Lamian Bay ; now (as is supposed) the Golfe of Ziton, in the Agaan Sea, or Archipelago. Thither came Titus, with Aminander the Athamanian ; an Embassador of Attalus; the Admirall of Rhodes; and some Agents for the Atolians and Acheans. Philip had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and Cycliadus, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he faid) none but the immortall gods : yet mildoubting some treacherie in the Atolians. The demands of Titus in behalfe of the Romans were, That he should fet all cities of Greece at libertie; deliuer vp to the Romans and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's; likewise whatsocuer he held

of theirs in Illyria; and what locuer about Greece or Afia he had gotten from Piolemie then King of Egypt, after his fathers death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late warre between them. The Rhodians would have against he Countrie of Peraa, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that hee should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diners Townes about the Helleftont, and other Hauens of their freinds. The Acheans defired restitution of Argos and Corinth : about the one of which they might, not uniuftly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their confent. The Ætolians tooke vpon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leaving it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, what focuer he held that had at any time beene theirs. Neither were they here-withall content : but infolently declaymed against him, for that

which he had lately done in The sile; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten . To answer these malapert Atolians, Philip commanded his Gallie to row nearer the shore. But they began to plie him a fresh : telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of armes. He answered them, (as he was much given to gybing) with fundrie scoffes ; and especially with one, which made the Roman Conful vnderstand, what manner of companions these Etolians were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise, the rest of the Greekes; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which

permitted them to take (poile from (poile : yet could be get no better an answer, than Exercit. ) that they would sooner take Atolia out of Atolia. Titus wondered what might be the Posto. 1. 17. meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold up the quatrell by fending voluntaries to ferue on both fides, that should spoile both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece: He faid it was strange that the Arolians should be so carefull thereof, since divers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no Gracians: wherefore he would faine know, whether the Romans would give him leave to make flaves of those Atolians, which were no Greekes. Titus hereat smiled; and was no whit offended, to heare the Etolians well ratled vp; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that general demand of fetting all Greece at libertie; Philip ac-

knowledged, that it might well beseeme the greatnesse of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might beseeme his ownedignitie. But that the Æiolians, Rhodians, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should be hereunto compelled: it was he faid, a ftrange and ridiculous in solence. The Acheans he charged with much ingratitude : reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both Antigonus and him, with more than humane honors. Neuertheleffe he faid, that he would render Arges vnto them : but, as touching Co-

rinth, that he would turther deliberate with Titus himselfe. Thus he addressed himfelfe wholy to the Roman Generall : vnto whom if he could give fatisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late warre, (he said) was onely defensive; they having beene the offerers; or if he gave them any occasion,

it was onely inhelping Prufas, his fonne-in-law; neither did hee fee why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of Venus, hee had cut downe the Groue and pleafant walkes thereabouts : what could be doe more, than fend Gardiners thither with yong Plants; if one King of another would frand to aske such recompence. Thus he iested the matter out: but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the Romans. to give backe the Region of Peras to the Rhodians; as likewife to Attalus, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that daies conference, because it was late: Philip requiring a nights leifure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many ; and he ill prouided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduisea- 10 bout them. For your being foil provided of counfaste, faid TITV s, you may even thank your felfe; as having murdered all your freinds, that were wont to adule you faithfully. The next day Philip came not, vntill it was late at night : excusing his long stay by the waightineffe of the things propounded; whereon he could not fuddenly tell how to refolue. But it was beleived, that hee thereby fought to abridge the Atolians of leifure to raile at him. And this was the more likely; for that hee defired conference in private with the Roman Generall. The fumme of his discourse, as Titus afterward related it, was. That he would give to the Acheans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto Attalus and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewife to the Atolians that hee would grant fome part of their de. 20 mands; and to the Romans, what soeuer they did challenge. This when Titus his affoicates heard, they exclaimed against it: faying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to Philips care: who thereupon delired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, hee would fuffer himfelfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning : at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with fincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediatly conclude it. if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had alreadie tendered; or other- 10 wife, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embaffadours to Rome, where hee would referre himfelfe to the courtefic of the

This was even as Quintius would have it: who stood in doubt, least a new Conful might happen to defraud him of the honour, which hee expected by ending of the warre. So he casily preuailed with the rest, to assent hercunto : for a smuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for feruice in the warre; and fince, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further he willed them to fend their feuerall Embassadours to Rome: which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip, from obtayning any thing to their prejudice. Among the reft he perfuaded King Aminander, to make a journie to Rome in person : knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had alreadic (though as yet he knew not fo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the Greekes, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of fatisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romani, in vndertaking to fet Greece at libertie. But this (they fayd) could neuer be effected; vnleffe especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrie, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servi-

they were breifly cut off in the middest of their Præface, with this one demand: Whether their Mafier would yeeld up Corinth , Chalcis , and Demetrias : Hereto they made answer, That, concerning those places, the King had given them no direction or Commission what to say, or doc. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to Philips defire of peace; wherein they faid hee did no better than trifle. Yetmight his Embaffadours have truly faid, That neither the Atolians, dehaurs, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treatic required by name, that 10 Chelcii and Demetrias should be yeelded up. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes ? As for Corinth, whereto the Achaans had fome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other) Philip had alreadie condescended to give it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would have been alleadged, even against the Greekes in excuse of the King, by some of T. Quinting his freinds; that so he might have had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Successor had beene decreed vnto him. But fince He was appointed to continue Generall: neither his freinds at Rome, nor Hee himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into Greece, cared to give eare vinto 20 any talke of peace.

Philip, feing that his Acheans had for faken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling him-

selfe vnto Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many yeares past, since the Lacedemonians under Cleomenes, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had beene almost strong enough both for the Macedonians and Acheans together. But now the condition of things was altered. Nabis his force confifted in a manner wholly in his Mercinaries: for he was a Tyrant; though stiling himselfe King. Yet he forely vexed the Acheans: and therefore feemed vnto Philip one likely to frand him in great flead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be configned ouer into his hands; in hope, that fuch a benefit would ferue to tie him faft unto the Macedonian. Philocles the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with Nabis, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the Lacedamonian, by giving some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto Nabis his fonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made fome foruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vnleffe by decree of the citizens themselves He might be called into it. Hereabont Philodes dealt with the Argines: but found them so auerse; that, in open assemblic of the people, they detested the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed Philoeles, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was readie to receive. Philocles accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him peffeffion of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argines : who for verie loue had for faken the Acheans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the T yrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principal! men, understanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staied behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver.

50 pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were difmiffed without more adoe. But if any flood long ypon the matter: or plaied the theines, in purloyning, their owne goods; they were put to the whip and belides loffe of their wealth, bad their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely fuch, as might ferue to make him gracious with the rafeall multitude: abro-

Also a great imposition of monie was laid upon all those, that were thought able to

gating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By fuch art of oppressing the great ones, it hath beene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselues of the Vulgar for a time.

As foone as Nabis had gotten Argos, He fent the ne westo T. Quintius; and offered to joyne with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it : fo as hee tooke the paines to croffe ouer the Streights into Peloponne fus, there to meet with Nabis. They had foone agreed (though King Attalus, who was present with the Consul, made some cauill touching Argos) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Romans fixe hundred of his Mercinaries of Crete: as also hee agreed with the Acheans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, referuing the finall conclusion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre 10 of Philip should be ended, which after this continued not long.

#### d. XIIII.

The battaile at Cynoscephala, wherein P. HILIP was vanqui-Shedby T. QVINTIVS.

ITVS QVINTIVS, as soone as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Armic, without any other limitation of 20 time, than during the pleafure of the Senate; made all thinges readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did Philip: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leffe failed in his hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that Warre; meant afterwardes wholly to relie vpon

Plut in vitaT.

Titus had in his Armicabout fix and twentie thousand: and Philip a proportionable number. But neyther of them knew the others frength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely Titus heard that Philip was in Theffalie; and thereupon addreffed himfelfe to feeke him out. They had like to have met vnawares, neare vnto the Citie of Phera; where the vant-courriers on both fides discouered each other; 30 and fent word thereof vnto their feuerall Captaines. But neither of them were ouerhastic, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them fent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foor, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while : returning finally backe into their seuerall Campes, with little aduantage vnto cyther side. The Countrie about Phere was thicke fet with Trees: and otherwife full of Gardens and mud wals; which made it unproper for service of the Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the King diflodged, intending to remove back vnto Scotufa in the Frontier of Macedon; where he might be plentifully ferued with al necessaries. Titus coceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to wast the Coun- 40 tric. There lay betweene them agreat ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuerthelesse they encamped not farreafunder, both the first and the second night; though neyther of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third daie was verie tempestuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then fent they forth discoucrers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But Philip anon fent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the Atolians had not beene desperate, the Romans their fellowes had beene driven backe into their Campe. Yet, all relistance notwithstanding, the Macedonians prevailed : so that Titus himselfe was 50 fame to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the descat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes

came to him thick and tumultuoufly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could vie an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose; informuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hils, which for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word fignifying as much, Cynofeephale. As foone as he was on the hil-top; it did him good to fee that they of his owne light armature were bufie in fight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his aduantage: for almuch as the Romans were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vie: the roughneffe of the place among those Dorsheads, as they were called, feruing nothing aptly for his Phalanx. Neuertheleffe hee found conucnient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaugorder vnto his Captaines, to follow with the reft; embattaling them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to thrinke; as being fallen vpon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He fets forward to helpe them : and they no leffe haltily draw vntohim for fuccour; having the Romans not farre behind

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; Philip commanded those of his Phalang to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here Titus found an extreme difficult peece of worke. For this Phalanx, being a great (quare battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now ysed in our moderne Warres and being in like manner vied, as are ours; was not to bee relifted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phalanx it felfe held together vndiffolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in verie close order; fo that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherfore it is no maruel, if the Romans gaue back: eueric one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer vnto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. Titus to finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that fill the Phalane bare downeall which came in the way. But in the meane while hee observed. That they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able, through the much vneuennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: foas eyther they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elfe (which was worfe) vpon defire eyther of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne foolifhly along by the fide of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder He made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these il ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should bee done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as having no one man appointed to comand that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnv fefull. For let it be supposed, that Philip having fix and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is said to have beene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and soure thousand lightarmed: fo shall there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof hee himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a Phalarx; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom Quinting is readic now to charge. The Phalans, having vivally fixteene in File, mult, when it confifted of feuen thousand, have well neare foure hun-50 dred and fortie in ranke : but foure hundred would serve , to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or feuen and thirtie Files mightbee cut off. and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allow-

ing therefore, as Polybius doth, to euerie man of them three foot of ground: this Lib.17.

Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and fortie paces;

that is, verie neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaines free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessitie distoyne this close battaile of the Phalanx; was not cuerie where to be found. Here at Cynofcephale Philip had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men : the reft were faine to frand ftill and looke about them; being hindred from putting themselues in order, by the roughnesse of the Logges keads. But the Remans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming up vnto them; nor found any difficultie in maffring those enemies, whole reet were in a manner bound by the difcommoditie of the place. The verie first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themselues vnto slight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, feeing the victorie on that part affured, left the profequation of it vnto others : and being followed by twentie Enfignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fallout) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable peece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. He confidered that Fhilip, in purfuing the right wing of the Romans, was runne on fo farre; as that himfelfe with his fellowes, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was alreadie gotten aboue the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand; and making downe the Hill after the Kings Phalane, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmost rankes of the Philans, all of them indeed faue the first fine, were accustomed, 20 when the batailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen: and so were they doing at the present. This was an other great inconvenience in the Macedonian Phalanx, That it served neyther for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were fo, that Alexander, when he was to fight with Darius in Mefopotamia, arranged his Phalanx in fuch order, that all the foure fides of it were as fo many Fronts looking fundrie wayes, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round: vet it is to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loofe order, that fo with eafe they might turne their 20 weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be conidered, That Alexanders men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their own ground; not being able to follow ypon the Enemie, vnleffe their hindmost rankes could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip, there was no such prouision for relistance. Therefore his men, being otherwife vnable to helpe themselues . threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King him felfe had thought vitill now, that the fortune of the battaile was cueric where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyfe behind him, and turning a little afide with a troupe of Horfe, to fee how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to slight. 40 Nevther staid he afterwards in any place (except onely a small while about Tempe there to collect fuch as were dispetfed in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of Mucedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about feuen hundred: of the Maceilonians about eight thousand were flaine; and fine thousand taken Prisoners.

è x v. 50

δ. X V.

T. QVINTIVS falleth out with the Etolians; and grantes truce unto PRILIP, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romansquarrell with ANTIOCH VS.



CHAP.4.S. 15.

He Ætolians wonderfully vanted themselves ; and desired to have it noised through all Greece, That the victorie at Cynoseephale was gotten (in a manner) wholy by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootic; by lacking the Community the Romans were busied in the chace. Titus therefore being offended to reach the most of the bootie; by facking the Macedonian Campe, whilest

both at their vaineglorie, and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them as flightly, as they thought highly of themfelues. He also well perceived, That by vsing them with any extraordinarie fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece; who detested the Ætolians much more vehemently, than ever they had done the Macedonians, But this displeasure brake not forth yet awhile.

After the battaile Titus made hast vnto Lariffa, a Citic of Theffalie: which he prefently tooke. Before his comming, Philip had fent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages what soeuer in writing, betwixthim and others. of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aducrlitie, he forgot not to prouide for the safetic of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Lariffa might well perceive, that he gaue them as alreadic loft. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the same time, the Towne of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleete: and verie soone after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Etolians cuer time to Philip; gaue vp themselves vnto the Romans, hearing of the victorie at Cynoscephala. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Perca, a Region of the Continent ouer against their lland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatic of peace with Philip. They did herein more manly, than any other of the Greekes: for a fmuch as they awaited not the good leifure of the Romans; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the Acheans and o. ther their freinds, gaue battaile to Dinocrates the Kings Leintenant, wherein they had the victorie, and confequently recovered the whole Province. It angred Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to inuade his Kingdome; wasting and spoiling, as if all bad beene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all hast, of six thousand foot and fue hundred horfe: wherewith comming upon them, he draue them, with little or no loffe of his owne, and great flaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to The [[alonica.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the fame time, be thought it wisedome to yeeld vnto necessitie; and therefore sent in all hast Limnaus and Demost henes, with Cycliadas the banished Achaan, in whom hee reposed much considence, Embassadours vnto Titus. These had conserence along while in private, with Titus and some of his Roman Colonels: by whomethey, were gently entertained, and in verie freindly wife difmiffed. It feemes that they had Commiffion, toreferre all vnto Titus his owne diferetion; as Philip him felfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene daies: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General, In the meane season ma-

The next day King Philip came thither: whom Titus vsed freindly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had beene required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. Phaneas the Etolian, infulting oner him, faid it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length give vp to the Leolians a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him fpeake, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But Titus interpoling himselfe, said it should be otherwise; Thefe were Theffalian Townes, and should all be free:one of them onely excepted, which not long agoo had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the Atolians. Hereat Phanens cried out that it was too great an injurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had fometime

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed Titus to confider that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to have nothing faue the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had beene fuch a Condition in the former warre: but it ceafed to be of any validitie, as foone as the Atolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them to vinderstand, asking them whether they thought it resonable, that all the Townes in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be delinered into subjection of the Atolians. The rest of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angrie passages betweene the Roman and the Atolians: neither had they great reason, to feare any hard measure; since Titus was so earnest in behalfe of those Thessalians, to give them libertie, though they had stood out against him, even till verie feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoled not themselves; but gave their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moved Titus to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, belides that laudable cultome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of Antiochus his comming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing necre toward Europe, He had also perhaps yet a greater motine; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadours from the Macedonian, and fundrie States of Greece, came vnto Rome, new Confuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood verie earnestly against the peace; alleadging friuolous matter of their owne suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of Philip offering to stand to what socuer was demanded. and the letters of Titus preffing them to accept this offer, on the one fide; and the importunitie of the Conful on the other ; who faid, that all these goodly showes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as foone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senatours hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assemblie of the People; by whose sourceigne attthoritie it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vinto the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from Rome ouer into Greece : in which number were they; that had beene Confuls before Titus: and it was ordained by their aduice. That Titus should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would verie faine haueretained those three important Cities of Corinth, Chaleis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better setled. But finally Titus prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the Acheans; and all the other Greeke Townes which Philip held, as well in Alia as in Greece, restored vinto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto Philip, were. That before the celebration of the next\* Ishmian Games, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of al the Greeke Townes which he held, and configne them ouer to the Romans: That hee cirps, Legat, 9; should deliver up vnto them all Captines that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of war, reserving to himselfe onely fine of the lesser fort, and one of extraordinarie greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at euerie oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto \*Linie addes, That he was fo: \* \*Lin.L. si. bidden to make war out of Macedon, without permission of the Senate. But I finde northathe observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. 50 Foure hundered talents hee had alreadie deliuered vnto Titus, together with his yonger fonne Demetrius, to remaine as hoftage for his true dealing in this matter of

peace, at fuch time as he lately fent his Embassadours to Rome : when it was promiled, that the monie, and his fonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this monie were reckoned as Hhhhhh

part of the thousand talents, I cannot find : and it seemeth otherwise, for as much as yong Demetrius, who together with those foure hundred Talents was given for hoitage, remained fill in custodie of the Romans, as a part of the bargaine which Titus formerly had made. Lettersalfo were then fent by Titus vnto Prusias King of Bithynia: giuing him to vnderstand, what agreement was made with Philip in behalfe of the Greekes; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by Philip to gratifie this Bythinian his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie; and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materially fince the Romans were shortly busied with Antiochus, in such wife that they to had not leifure to examine the conformitie of Prufias to their wil.

Al Greece rejoyced at the good bargaine, which Titus had made with Philip. Onely the £tolians found themselves agreived that they were vtterly neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The Baotians continued to favour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselues. There were fome among them wel-affected to the Romans; who feeing how thinges were like to goe, made their complaint vnto Titus; faying, that they were no better than loft, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnleffe at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. Titus refused to have an hand in the execution, yet 20 neuerthelesse did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wife, that howsocuer they durft not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Herevpon Titus requires of the Buotians, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred feuldiors, which he had loft by them, to have paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In flead of making any fuch amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not 20 take as good fatisfaction. He fends Embassadours to the Acheans and Athenians, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had descrued. Herewithal he fals to wasting their Countrie; and beliegeth two fuch Townes of theirs, as did feeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the Achaens and Athenisms, (especially of the Acheans who offered, if hee needed them, to helpe him in this war; yet befought him rather to grant peace vnto the Baotians) preuailed fo farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of fuch as were knowne offendors.

In like fort, though not fo violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them rejoycing that they were free from the Macedonian; others greatly doubting, that the Roman would proue a worse neighbour. The Atolians would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That itwas the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne handes all those places, wherein Philip lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceiue, that this Macedonian Warre ferued as an introduction to the Warre to be made in Asia against King Antiochus; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and manie other victories. Wherefore to flay the progresse of badrumors, when the Ishmian games were held, which in timeof peacewere neuer without great folemnitie and concourse: Titus in that great affembly of all Greece, caufed proclamation to be made by found of Trumpetto this effect, Thatthe Senate

50 and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the Generall, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, did wil to be at libertic, free from Impolitions, free from Garrisons, and living at their owne Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians,

Eubarns, Achaans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Theffalians, and Perrhabians. The fuddennesse of this Proclamation astonished men. so as though they applauded it with agreat shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durit scarce credit their own cares. The Greeks were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thankes; which they rendred now to T. Quintins with fo great affection, as that they had welneare smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

CHAP.4. S.15. of the Historie of the World.

This good will of all the Greekes, was like to bee much more availeable vnto the Ramans in their warre against Antiochus, than could haue beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof; no fooner were these Ishmian games at an end, than Titus, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to Hegefranse and Liftus King Antiochus his Embaffadours: whom they willed to tignifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in A/a, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore what soeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, Ptolemie or Philip. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassiadours, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into Europe; adding, That some of them would visit him in person creit were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the Greeker; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gane vnto the Etolians, whom they thought it no wisedome to offend ouer-much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Acheans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the Theffalians; all faue the Towne of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had been eabandoned by T. Quintius to the Atolians in the last Treatie with Philip. The Atolians contended verice arnesty about Phar falus and Leuc, ss. But they were put off with a dilatorie answere, and rejected vnto the Senate: for how soeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despight of Titus. So the Acheans were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeede (though the Romans yet awhile kept the Acrocorinthus ) for that all which were partakers of the Achean Commonwealth, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they coulde defire. To Pleuratus the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from Philip: and vpon Aminander were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from Philip during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had bin their owne Carners. Attalus was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with Titus in Councell, would have given the Townes of Oreum and Eretria, in the Ile of Eubwa, to his sonne and successour King Eumenes. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the Eubarans, should bee suffered to enjoy their libertic. Orestis, a little Province of the Kingdome of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yeilded vnto the Romans long crethis, and fince continued true to them : for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free Estate by it selfe.

These businesses being dispatcht: it remained, that all care should be vied, not howto avoid the war with King Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most case and prosperitie. Wherefore Embassadours were sent both to Antiochus himfelfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædispose them vnto the affilting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the Romans now had, or shortly after found : as also how their Embassadours and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

Hhhhhhh 2

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

# The VV arres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS the great, and his adherents.

What Kinges, of the races of SELEVCUS and PTOLEMIE, raigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochusthe great.



LEVEVS NICATOR, the first of his race, King of Alia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee wastrecherously flaine by Ptolemie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos; hauing (as is faid) beene warned before by an Ora- 20 cle, to beware of Argos, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer have read that any mans life hath beene preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of fuch Deuilish Oracles. Rather I beleeue, That many fuch predictions of the Heathen Gods, have beene ante-dated by their Priests or by

others; which deuised them after the euent.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearely beloued of his Father: who furrendred vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonics, when hee vnderflood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce- 30 Taunus had great cause to seare, that the death of Seleneus would not be vnreuenged by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, eyther with gifts, or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Ceraunus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the bloud of Seleueur. It is faid of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonica in his Fathers life; yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not profecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should have vrged him. Afterwards he had warres with Antigonius Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia. Alfo Lutarius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gsules, were set voon him by 40 the same Nuemedes. With these he fought a great battaile; wherein though otherwife the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke in hand an enterprise against Ptolemie Philadelphus: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he foone gaue it ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berofus the Genebrard, lib. Chaldean dedicated his Historie of the Kings of Affyria; the same, which hath since beene excellently fallified by the Friar Annius. He left behind him one fonne, called Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married vnto the King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentic and ninth olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fif- 50 tieth yeare of the Kingdome of the Greekes; when he had raigned nineteene yeares.

Antiochus, furnamed Theos or the god, had this vaine and impious title given vnto him, by flatterie of the Milesians; whom hee delivered from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He leld long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie

CHAP.5. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Philadelphus King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter of Ptolemie.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie Berenice, Saint Hierome and other Interpreters have understod that Prophecie of DANIEL: The Kings daughter of the South, Shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which fol-

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (fetting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne fifter Arsinoe) a verie excellent Prince: howfocuer, the worthieft of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He fent vnto Eleazar then high Priest of the Jewes for the Bookes of Mofes and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bin verie great: for He had fet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in flauerie throughout all Agypt; and hee had fent vnto the \* Temple of God in Hieru/alem verie rich Presents. Wherefore Eleanar yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie; which Ptolemie caused to be translated into Greeke, by seuentie two of the most grave and learned persons, that could bee found among all the Tribes. In this number of the feuentic two Interpreters, or (as they are comonly called) the Seventie; Iefes the fonne of Sirach, is thought by Genebrard to have beene one: who that he lived in this Age, it feemes to me verie fufficiently proved by Janfenius, in his preface vnto Ecclefiasticus. The whole passage of this businesse between Philadelphus and the High Prieft, was written (as h Iofephus affirmes) by Ariflaus that hiofandiaco was employed therein. Fortic yeares Ptolemie Philadelphus was King reckoning the that Booke time wherein he inyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towardes his end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had beene in his former yeares in which time he boasted, that hee alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had beene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: o. therwife, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. He was the first of the Kings, derived from Alexanders Successions, that entred into League with the Romans: as also his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp. Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at fuch time as he married with

Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemie. After his second marriage, hee vied his first wife with no better regard, than if thee had beene his Concubine. Laodice hated him for this: yet aduentured not to feck revenge; vntill her own sonne Seleucus Callinicus, was of abilitie to be King. This was two or three yeares after the death of Ptolemie Philadelphus: at what time shee poysoned her husband Theos; and by permission of Seleucus her sonne, murdered Berenice, together with a sonne that shee had borne to Antiochus, Iustine reports, that Berenice faued herfelfe, together with the yong Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuarie at Daphne: and that not onely fome the Papills yong Prince for clinic, awfined in the Sanctain each Definer, and inclinication of the College of Afa prepared to fuecour her, but her brother Ptokimic Eurogetta, King of Egypt, came to refeue her with an Armie; though too late, for the was flaine being they have the fore.

With fuch cruelties Seleucus Callinicus, fucceeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeares beene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at Middendo bis wicked nature; which they discouered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was at Colen. And like, that his Estate would have beene much endangered, if Ptolemie Euergetes, who 11/11.17. came against him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against Ptolemie, in defence of their owne King: but rather they fided with the Egyptian; who tooke Laodice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well descrued. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled Energetes home into Agypt; went about a dan-Hhhhhhh 3

goes ynder the name of A. reft Lodonicus Vines, hold fufpition that it is the inuention of fome later Author, Surely if it were to be the time of Vikei; t may beq row much fpected: fince a new Edition forth, pargen

gerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subjects because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had beene much better, by well deferuing, to have changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared : in furnithing and manning whereof he was at fuch charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any other hope, it that should miscarrie. Herein hee embarqued himselfe; and, putting to Sea, met with fuch a tempest, as denoured all faue himselfe, and a verie few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamitie, having left him nothing else in a maner than his naked bodie, turned nevertheleffe to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his Subjects understood, in what fort the Gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, 10 prefuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their fernice with great alacritic. This reuined him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Agyptian, he made readie a mightie Armie for that purpole. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sca. He was vanquished by Ptolemie in a great bataile: whence he escaped hardly: no better attended, than after his late shipwrack. Hasting therefore backe to Antioch, and fearing that the Enemic would foone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother Antiochia Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompense of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Afia. Antiochus was then but fourteene yeares olde, yet ex- 20 tremely ambitious; and therefore glad of fuch an occasion to make himselfe great. He leuied a mightie Armie of the Gaules; wherewith he fet forwards to helpe his brother; or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof Ptolemie being aduertised and having no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed tooke Truce with Seleucus for tenne yeares. No fooner was Seleucus freed from this care of the Agyptian warre, but his brother Antiochus came voon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing him felfe to have the better Armic. So Seleneus was vanquiflied againerand faued himfelfe, with fo few about him, that hee was verily suppofed to have perillat in the battaile. Thus did Gods justice take revenge of those murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might have beene 30 thought) on the head of this bloudie King. Antiochus was glad to heare of his brothers death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts delire. But the Gaules, his Mercinaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against Eumenes King of Pergamus, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarians tooke counsaile against him; and deuised how to strippe him of all that hee had. They thought it verie likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should best bee pleasing to themselves, in the lower Asa. Wherefore they laid hands on Antiochus; and enforced him to ransome himselfe with monic, asif he had beene their lawfull Prifoner. Neither were they fo contented ; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the meane while Seleucus had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once moreto tric his fortune against his brother. Eumenes hearing of this, thought the season sit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. Antiothus fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great meruaile; fince he had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the Gaules his owne fouldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had to deale. After this, Eumenes wanne much in Asia; whilest Antiochus went against his brother. In the fecond battaile, fought between the brethren, Selencus had the vpper hand: and Antiochus Hierax or the Hawke, (which furname was given him, because he fought his prey vpon eueric one, without care whether hee were prouoked or not) foared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gaules. Having fetcht a great compasse through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia; where his father in law King Artamenes tooke him vp. Hee was entertained verie louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

This he soone perceived : and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolued to bestow himselfevpon Ptolemie: his owne conscience telling him, what cuill he had meant vnto Seleucus, his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expectar his hands. Infidelitie can finde no fure harbour. Ptolemie well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax . Wherefore he laid him vp in close prison: whence though by meanes of an harlot hee got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the same time died Seleucus. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, during his warres with his brother. Hee therefore made a journie against Arfaces founder of the Parthian kingdome: wherein his cuill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered fo closely to him, that he was take prisoner. Ar saces dealt freindly with him, and difmiffed him, having enery way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappie reigne of twentie yeeres. He had to wife Laodice, the lifter of Andromachas one of his most trustic Captaines; which was father vnto that Achaus, who making his advantage of this affinitie, became shortly after (as he stilled himself) a kings though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By Laodice hee had two fonnes; Seleucus the third, furnamed Ceraunus; and Antiochus the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made war vport Attalus the first, that was King of Pergamus. Being weake of bodie through fickneffe, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of war in good order: and finally he was flaine by treason of Nicanor, and Apaturius a Gaule. His death was reuenged by Achess, who flue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled verie wifely, and faithfully a while; Antiochia, the brother of Seleucia being then a Child.

#### ð. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus hisreigne. Of Prolemie Evence-TES, and PHILOPATOR, Kings of Egypt. War between ANTIOCHUS and PHILOPATOR. The rebellion of MOLO; and Expedition of ANTIOCHYSAS gainst him. Therecontinuance of ANTIOCHVS his Ægyptian warre : with the paffages betweene the two Kings : the victoric of PTOLE MIE; and Peace concluded. Of Achaevs, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. Antiochus his Expedition against the Parthians, Battrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kingsreig. ning in India, after the death of the Great ALEXANDER.



NTIOCHYS was scarcely fifteene yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted fix and thirtie yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was wholygouerned by one Hermias, an ambitious man; and one which maligned all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull fer-uants. This vilde qualitie in a Counsailor of such great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himfelfe; the fucceffe of things wil

fhortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of Antiochus his reigne, Ptolemie Euergetes King of Ægypt died; and left his heire Ptolemie Philopator, a yong boy likewife, as hath elfwhere been remembred. This was that Euergetes, who releined Aratus and the Acheans: who afterwards tooke part with Gleomenes; and louingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of Cyrene; by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of King Magas. He was the third of the Ptolemies; and the last good King of the race.

CHAP.5 . S.2.

The name of Euergetes, or the doer of good, was given him by the Agyptians; not fo much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in Syria; as for that he recoucred some of those Images or Idols, which Cambyfes, when hee conquered £gypt, had carried into Persia. He was readie to haue made war vpon the lewes, for that Onias their high Priest, out of meere conetonines of monie, refufed to pay vnto him his yeerely tribute of twentie talents: but he was pacified by the wisedome of tosephus a tew; vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes, that belonged vnto him, in those parts of Syria which he held. For Calefyria, with Palastina and all those parts of the Countrie that lay nearest vnto £gypt, were held by the £gyptian; either as having fallen to the share of Ptole- 10 mie the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at Ipfus; or as being won by this Euergetes, in the trouble some and vnhappie reigne of Seleucus Callinicus. The victories of this Euergetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the Ptolemies and the Seleucida; were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by S. Hierome. This Ptolemie Euergetes reigned fix and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth Olympiad. It may feeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto Iefus the fonne of Sirach his booke, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there faith, that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtich yeere, when Euergetes was King. It may there- 20 fore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtie yeeres, were the yeeres of Jefus his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Lewes did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of Euergetes: Hermias the Counsailor, and in a manner the Protectour of King Antiochus, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Egyptian; for the recourrie of Calefyria and the Countries adiopning. This counfaile was verie vnseasonably giuen; when Molo, the Kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and fought to make himfelfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrie. Neuertheleffe Hermias, being more froward than wife, maintained fifly, that 30 it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend forth against a rebellious Captain other Captaines that were faithful; whilest He in person made warre vpon one, that was like him felfe a King. No man durft gain fay the refolution of Hermias; who therfore fent Xenætas an Achaan, with fuch forces as he thought expedient, against the Robell; whilest in the meane season an Armic was preparing for the Kings Expedition into Calefyria. The King having marched from Apames to Landicea, and so over the Defarts into the Vallie of Marfyas, between the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus; found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Atolian, that ferued vnder Ptolemie. So hee confumed the time there awhile to none effect : and then came newes, that Xenatus, his Captaine, was destroicd with his 40 whole Armie; and Molo thereby become Lord of all the Countrie, as farre as vnto

Xemetas, while he was yet on his iournic, and drew neare to the Riuer of Tignis, received many advertisements, by such as fled over vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of Valo were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether falle; but Malo himselfe shood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessifier. Atmetas therefore making show, as if he had prepared to passe the River by Botes in face of his Enemie: lest in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Campe, and with all the floure of his Armie wan our Tignis, in a place ten miles lower than Molo his Campe. Asolo heard of this, and sent forth of his his campe in page impediment: but hearing that Xematas could not so be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journic towards Media; leating all his baggage behind him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as districting the faith of his owne sould be the supplementation of the supplementati

fouldiours : or whether thereby to deceine his Enemie ; the great follie of Xenatas made his stratageme prosperous. For Xenatas, having borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of Hermias by whomhe was advanced vnto this charge; did now prefume, that all should give way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of ving the fword. Wherefore he fuffered his men to feath, with the prouisions which they found readie in the forfaken Campe; or rather hee commanded them fo to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should eherish vp themselves against the journie, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting 10 the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other fide of Tieris, But Mole went no further that day, than hee could cafily returne the fame night. W herefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept : hee made such hast backe vnto them, that hee came you them early in the morning, whilest they were yet heavie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So xenotes and a verie few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe : the reft were flaughtered, without making relitance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tigris, was casily taken by Molo: the Captaines flying thence, to faue their owne lines. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto Seleucia, which he prefently tooke; and, masteing within a little while the Provice of Babylenia, and all the Countrie downe to the Red Sea, or Bay of Persia, He hasted vnto Susa; where at his first comming hee wan the Citie : but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to Seleucia, there to give order concerning this busines.

The report of these things comming to Antiochus, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Mar/yas; filled him with great forrow, and his Campe with grouble. He tooke counfaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduited by Epigenes the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this Enterprise of Calefyria; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counfaile was put in execution with all convenient haft. Yet was Epigenes dismiffed by the way, and foone after flaine, by the practife of Hermias; who could not endure to heare good counfaile given, contrarie to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journie against Molo, the name and prefence of the King was more available, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebell in strength. Molo distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good fucceffe, nor any other confideration, would ferue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore hee thought it safest for him, to affaile the Kings Campein the might time. But going in hand with this; Hee was difcoucred by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backeto his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when Antiochus appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in giving battaile to Molo, upon confidence which hee had that many would revolt vnto him. Neither was he deceiued in this his beleefe. For not a few men, or Enfignes: but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was opposite vnto the King, changed fide forthwith as foone as euer they had fight of the kings person; and were readie to doe him feruice against Molo. This was enough to have won the victorie: but Molo shortned the worke, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friende, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne fwords.

After this victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene Laudice, daughter of Offulnedates king of Pontus, which was married vnto Intellogue while before had brought forth a fonne. Fortune feemed bountifull vnto the king: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her freindly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He judged it convenient to viste his Frontiers; were it onely to terrific the Barbarians, that bordered ypon him. Hereunto his Counsilior Hermias gaue affent: not so much respecting the kings honours.

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About these times, Acheus (of whom we spake before) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to fet a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded Syria : but the same of Antiochus his returning thitherwards, madehim quit the enterprife 3 and fludic to fet fome handsome colour on his former prælumption. It is verie strange, that Antiochus neither went against Acheus; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purpofes: but wrote vnto him, fignifying that he knew al; and vpbrayding him with 20 fuch infidelitie, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traitor : who being alreadic detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by fubmission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement desire to recouer Calefyria or what elfe he could, of the Dominions of Ptolemie Philopator in those parts. He began with Seleucia, a verie strong Citie neare vnto the mouth of the Riuer Orontes; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus the great who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonia: but Seleucus getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and Ptolemie Eucrgetes having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, 40 have changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanitie of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. Theodotus the Atolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to Antiochus, and defended Calesyria in the behalfe of Ptolemie; was now growne forrie, that he had vsed so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie, he began to have regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselse vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthie of these two Kings; He offered to deliver vp vnto Antiochus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolemais. Whileft 50 he was deuising about this treason, and had alreadic sent messengers to King Antiochus: his practife was detected; and he befreged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolemics Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But Antiochus hasting to his refeue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleete of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Country, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a journic into Agypt it felfe. Agathocles and Sofibius bore all the fway in Egypt at that time : Prolemie himselfe being loth to have his pleafures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetic of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as fecretly as might be, for the warre : and neuertheleffe, at the fame time. to presse Antiechus with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this busines, Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicis, as likewise from the Atolians; according to the viuall courtesie of the Greekes, defiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in Memphis, by Agathocles and Sofibius : who entreated them to deale effectually with Antiochus. But whilest this Treatie lasted great preparations were made at Alexandria for the warre: wherein these two Counsailors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victorie would be their owne; if they could get, for monie, a fufficient number of the Greekes to take their parts. I Antiochus heard onely what was done at Memphis, and how defirous the Gouernours of Agypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beleefe, not onely for that hee knew the disposition of Ptolemie, but because the Rhodians, and other Embassadours, comming from Memphis, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deceived, by the cunning of Agathodes and his fellow. Antiochus therefore hauing wearied him felfe. at the long fiege of a Towne called Dura, which he could not win : and being defirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in Seleucia, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the Egyptian a Truce for foure moneths, with promife that he would be readie to hearken vato equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be fo courteous, as he would faine have feemed; but onely to lull his enemies alleepe, whileft he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring Acheus to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Agyptian would have vied, He vled himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeare better served, little force would be needfull: for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld onto him, fince Ptolemie prouided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse he gave audience to the Embaffadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Agypt: pleafing himfelfe well, to dispute about the instice of his quarrell; which hee purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were instorno. He said, that it was agreed between Seleucus his Ancestor and Ptolemie the sonne of Lagi, That all Syria, if they could win it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Selencus: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall confent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Ipfus. But Ptolemies men would acknowledge no fuch bargaine. They faid, that Ptolemie the sonne of Lagi, had won Caleforia, and the Prouinces adioyning for himfelfe: as alfo that he had fufficiently gratified Selenens, by lending him forces to recouer his Province of Babylon, and the Countries about the River of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. Ptolemie demanded restitution; Antiochus thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also Ptolemie would needes have Achieus comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But Antischus would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deale fo with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and feeke to joyne him in Confederacie with his owne fourreigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take the field againe : contrarie to his expectation he was informed, That Ptolemie, with a verie puillant Armie, was comming vp against him out of Leypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of Ptolemie, that had resisted him

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the veere before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence neuerthe leffe he draue them : and, proceeding onward in his journie, wan fo many places that he greatly increased his reputation; and therby drew the Arabians, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of Ptolemie for sooke his pay, and fled ouer to Antiochus. This notwithstanding, the Agyptian had the courage to meet his Enemie in the field. The battaile was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Matiques were the better fouldiors (forthat the frength of both Armies confifted in Mercinaries, cheifly of the Greekes, Thracians, and Gaules) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. Ptolemie, with Arfinoe his lifter 10 and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did Antiochus on the other fide: each of them rehearling the brane deedes of their Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, wherby to valew themselues. Antiochus had the more Elephants: as also his, being of Asia, had they beene fewer would have beaten those of Africke. Wherefore by the advantage of these beasts, He draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himselfe. But Ptolemie had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Groffe of his Enemies battaile, and wan the vi-Storie; whilest Antiochus was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. Antiochus had brought into the feild aboue seuentie thousand foot, and fix thousand Horse: whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foote, and not 20 foure hundred horse; yet the same of his ouerthrow, tooke from him all those places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch: He began to stand in searc, lest Ptolemie and Acheus, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors vnto the Egyptian to treat of peace : which was readily granted ; it being much against the nature of Ptolemie, to vex himselfe thus with the tedious busines of warre. So Ptolemie, having staied three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Acheus was not comprised in the League betweene these two Kings: or if hee had been eincluded therein; yet would not the Egyptian have taken the paines, of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe ftrong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with Antiochus. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto Antiochus on this fide of Taurus, Hee had also good successe against Attalus King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither washe, as Molo the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwife, and carried beyond himfelfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie : but Cozen german to the King, as hath 40 beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the same Mithridates King of Pontus, which was also called Lagdice, as was her fifter the Queene, Antiochus his wife. These things had added maiestievnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King Ptolemie of Agypt held him in the nature of a freind : and that King Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the King of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene his fonnes-in-law, had no reafon to take part against the more honourable. As for the Agyptian: Hee was not 50 onely flothfull; but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of £eypt, of whom Ptolemie, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to scrue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour

to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse element, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercinarie Greeke; which had hitherto kept them in streight subsetion. Thus brake out a warre, betweene that Kings and his subiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King Ptolemie thereby washed much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have beene spent; as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring Achew. As for Antechor: He had no Gooner made his peace with the Application.

his care to the preparation of warre againft Actum. To this purpole beentred into 10 League with Attulus; a that 60 he might dittract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all fides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were fuch, that within a while he had pent by Actum into the Citie of Surdes, where he held him about two yecres belieged. The Citie was were it frong, and well with audic 16 oas there appeared not, when the fecond yeere came, any greater likeliheod of taking it, than in the first yeeres feige. In the end, one Lagoras a Cretar found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it fells was yound a verie high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable: a salfo the Towne wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the Sura, was in like manner structed youn steepe Rockes, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkasses of Horsesand on the teasts, year and fometimes of men, yeld to be throwne. Now it was observed.

by Lagaras, That the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reafon of their food which was there neuer wanting, vêed to flie vp wito the top of the Rockes, and to pitch yount he was; where they refield without any diffurbance. Obferuing this often, he reafoned with himselfte, and concluded, that those partes of the Wall were left vinguarded, as being thought vinapproachable. Hererof hee informed the King: who approaced his indegenent, and gaue who him the leading of fuch men, as hee delired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The functile was agreeable to that which Lagaras had afore conceived; and, though with much labour, yet without refifance, he scaled those Rockes, and

whileft agenerall affalt was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vagarded, then withought vpon. In the fame place had the Perfant, wider Cyms, gotten into Sardes; when Crassus though himselfe secureon that tide. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie. Achsus held fill the Cassile: which not oncy seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie well stored with all necessires; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured; articless therefore was constrained to wast much time about it; hausing none other hope to prevaile, than by samishing the inclosed. Besides the visual tedous field expectation; his bussile.

heffe called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Baidrians, and Parthians with the Hyrer lims, had creded Kingdomerstaken out of his Dominions, you which they fill encroched. But het hought into rafe to let. Ashaw be reak looked againe. On the other side, there were some Agents of Palemie the Agyptian, and good friends ynto Ashawa; that made it their whole studie, how to deliver this belieged Prince. If they could resure his person, they cared for no more: but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countries under Taurus, he would some haue an Armie at command 5 and be strong enough to hold Antichus as hardly to worke, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the waies in the Countrie; and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among thos Rockes, whereon the Calle 50 of Sardes shood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive

by-paths and exceeding difficult paffages among those Rockes, whereon the Cattle of Sardes flood. Him they tempted withgreat rewards, which he flowed receive at the hands of Proteinie, as well as of Acham; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vndertookethe busines: and gaue such likelie reasons of bringing all to good esseet, that they wrote vnto Acham by one Ariams a trustlie messenger; whom Basis sound meanes to conneigh into the Castle. The faith of these Nego-

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tiators Acheus held most affured. They also wrote vnto him in privile characters, or

few I doe not except one, calling him-Selfe Endamon John Andrew, a Cretan : who in one of his late fhameleffelibels, wherein he traduceth on King, Re-ligion, and Countrie,with all the good & worthic men of whom he could Icarne the names:ha:h.by inferring my belied me; in calling mea Puriran Stone that have been dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an fo diligent a supporter of Treafons, and Architect of whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Creticisme no of name is bevond any the Cretion in ela

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Ciphers, wherewith none faue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the mellinger; he was a truftie fellow, and one whom Acheus found, by examination. heartily affected vnto the fide. But the Contents of the Epiftle, which were, That he thould be confident in the faith of Bolis , and of one Cambylus whom Bolis had wonne vnto the bulinesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne : and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus; under whom he had the commaund of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of Sardes. Neuerthelesse other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselse 10 to some adventure. When the messinger had therefore passed often to and fro; it was at length concluded, That Bolis himselfe should come speake with Acheus, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reft. faue onely by Bolis and Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all their Countrimen. \* fome few excepted, have beene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a confultation together, that was, as k Polybius observes it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the fatetie of him whose deliuerance they vndertooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most, with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally thare betweene them ten Talents, which they had alreadic received in hand : and 20 then, That they would reueale the matter to Antiochus; offering to deliuer Acheus vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monie, and with promife of confideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it should be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no lesse glad; than were the friends of Acheus well pleased with the comfortable premises of Bolis. At length when all things were in readincffe on both fides, and that Bolis with Arianus was to get vp into the Castle, and conneigh Acheus thence : Hee first went with Cambylus to speake with the King, who gaue him verie private audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the affurance of his liberall promifes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto Ptolemie whom he long had ferued. Hee accompanied Arianus vp into the Callle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by Achaus, touching all the weight of the bufineffe in hand. But he discoursed fo well, and with fuch gravitie; that there appeared no reason, of distrusting eyther honour to bee his faith or judgment. Hee was an old Souldior, had long beenea Captaine under Ptelmie, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his; who kept a Fort that flood in their way; and there-Lies: in regard by had alreadic fundric times, given fafe paffage and repaffage vnto Arianio. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred 40 vp fome diffidence. Achaus therefore dealt wifely, and faid, That hee would yet flay in the Cast ea little longer: but that he meant to send away with Bo's three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would be iffue forth himselfe. Hereby in multiplicitie he tooke order, not to commit himfelfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as Polybius well notes. He did not confider that he plaid the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to fay, T hat he had to doe with one, whose knauerie could not be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambylus had laid their plot thus, That if Acheus came forth alone, then should be easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should Arianus becap- 50 pointed to lead the wiv, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and Bolis following behind, fhould have an eye vpon Acheus, to prevent him not onely from eleaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe : to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to Antiochus the more welcome Pre-

CHAP.5. \$ 2. of the Historie of the World. fent. And in fuch order came they now forth: Arianus going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way served, and Bolis in the Rere. Acheus made none acquainted with his purpole, till the verie instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife Landine; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall freinds to beare him companie. They were all diffeuifed; and one of them alone tooke you him to have knowledge of the Greeke tongue; speaking and answering, as need should require, for all, as if the rest had beene Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily deuifing upon his bufineffe, and much perplexed. For (faith Polybins,) Though hee were of Crete, and prone to furmife any thing to the mischeife of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was Achaus, or whether Achaus himselfe were there. The way was verie vneafie, and in fome places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to staie in diners places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion, they were all of them verie officious toward Acheus; lending him their hands, and taking fuch care of him, as easily gave Bolis to understand, that he was the man; and so by their unscasonable dutie, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus laie in wait; Bolis whiftled, and presently clasped Achaus about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to Antiochus: who fat vp watching in his Pauilion, expeding the event. The fight of Acheus, brought in bound vnto him, did so assonish the King; that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration : as also the next morning betimes affembling his friends together, He condemned Acheus to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittic towardes this vnhappic man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee fo, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischeiuous knaues against one Traitour, doth not rarely succeed 30 well; according to that Spanish Prouerbe, Aun traydor dos alleuosos. The death of Acheus brought such aftonilhment upon those which held the Castle, that after awhile they gaue vp the place and themselues vnto the King, whereby hee got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia. Some veres passed after this, ere Antiochus was redie for his Expedition against the Parthians, and Hyreanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings; and commonly subject vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinces after the death of Alexander, the Government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to Eumenes : then to Antigonus; and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleutus : vnder whose ponants of the Syrian Kings. The luftfull infolencie of one of these Leiutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinious, that was vanquished and thought to bee flaine by the Gaules; did ftirre vp Arfaces, a Noble man of the Countrie, to feeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he flew the Kings Leiutenant; made himselfe King of the Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke Selencius Callinians prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wanne repu-

40 seritie they continued untill the Reigne of Seleucus Callinicus, being ruled by Leiutetation as a lawfull King: and by good government of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such love of his subjects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors; 50 like as that of the Ptolemies in Leypt , and that of the Cefars afterwardes in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucida beyond Euphrates, encreased the Parthians Dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet him in plaine feild; but keptthemselues in Woods, or places of strength, and de-

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fended the Streights and paffages of Mountaines. The relitances they made anailed them not. For Antiochus had with him fo great a multitude, and fo well forted. as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, ia Woods and Streights betweene their Mountaines; it being easie to spare out of to great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might cyther getaboue the Enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the backe. I has did hee often employ against them his light ar mature: wherewith hee caused them to diflodge, and give way vnto his Phalanx3 vpon which they durit not adventure themfelues in open ground. Arfaces, the fecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mightie an Inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and defarts, would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Eebatane in Meata, to give over the journie without proceeding much further. This not fo falling out; He caused the Wels and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemie must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which meanes, and the reliftance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew him lefte out of the way: fuffering the Enemie to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Gountrie; wherein, without some victoric obtained, hee could make no long abode. sintinchus hereby found, That Arfaces was nothing strongly prouided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of Parthia: and 20 then forward into Hyreania; where he wanne Tambrace the chiefe Citie of that Pronince. This indignitie and many other loffes; caufed Ar/aces at length, when hee had gathered an Armie that feemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his delires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore Arfaces craued peace, and at length obtained it: Antischus thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom Hee could not make a subject.

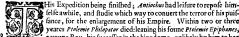
The next Expedition of Antiochus, was against Euthydemus King of the Bactrians: one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors; but having gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With Euthy-demus he fought a battaile by the River Arius, where he had the victorie. But the victoric was not fo greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which hee gaucof his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was flaine under him: and hee himfelfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby hee loft fome of his teeth. As for Euthydemus; He withdrew himselfe back into the further parts of his Kingdome; and afterwards protracted the Warre, feeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadours passed betweene the Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a Countrie of his was vniustly vsurped from him; Euthydemus answering. That He had wonne it from the children of the V surpers: and further, 40 That the Bactrians, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, faue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should joyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified Antiochus; and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable Conditions. Demetrius, the sonne of Euthydemus, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father as Embaffadour in this Treatic of peace; was not a little auaileable vnto a good conclusion. For Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted Euthydemus to retaine the kingdome; cauling him neverthelesse to deliver vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselse by oath, 50 to such Cournants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus leaving the Bactrian in quiet, made a journie ouer Caucasus, and came to the borders of India: where he renewed with Sophagasenus, King of the Indians, the Societie that had beene betweene their Ancestors. The Indians had re-

mained subjectivato the Macedonians, for a little while, after Alexanders death. Eumenes in his Warreagainst Antigonus, rayled part of his forces out of their Countrie. But when Antigonus after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-bufied in a great civill Warre: then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, ftirre vp his Countrimen to Rebellion; making himfelfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title hee foone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maiestie of a King. Finally hee got vnto himselte, (hauing an Armie of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had beene Alexanders. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe, to ere Seleueus Nicator could find leifure to call him to account. Neyther did He faint or humble himfelfe, at the comming of Seleucus: but met him in field, as readic to defend his owne; fo strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdomes. was continued by some Offices of lone betweene their children, and now renewed by Antiochus: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the Indian King, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promifed, to have some treasure fent after him; which hee left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neyther had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any bufi-20 neffe worthie of remembrance with the Westerne Countries. The postcritie of Sandrocottus, is thought to have retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of Augustus Cafar: to whom Porus, then reigning in India, fent Embassadours with Presents. and an Epiftle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, Hee faid, That Hee had command ouer fix hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in fundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in divers Ages, even vnto the time of Constantine the great: being all peraduenture of the same tace. But Antiethus, who in this T reatie with Sophaga fenus carried himselfe as the worthier person. receiuing Presents; and after marched home through Drangiana and Garmania, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Afia, but on the hi-10 ther fide of Taurus, humbled them felues vnto him, and called him The Great: faw an end of his owne Greatneffe within few yeares enfuing, by prefuming to fland vpon points with the Romans; whole Greatneffe was the fame in deed, that his was onely in feeming.

#### d. III.

The lewd reigne of PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR in Agypt: with the tragicall end of his fauourites, when he was dead. ANTIOCHVS prepares to warre on the young child PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES, the sonne of PHILOPATOR. Hisirresolution in preparing for divers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont, Hees feekes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly flow to him; intending neuerthelesse to have warre with him. His doings about the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.



felfeawhile, and studie which way to convert the terror of his puiffance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or tarce yeares Ptolemie Philopator died:leaving his fonne Ptolemie Epiphanes, a young Boy, his fuccessor in the kingdome; whiskey by him to bee fance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three well defended, against a neighbour so mightic and ambitious. This Pto emie furnamed Philopator, that is to fay, alouer of his Father, is thought to have had that furname given him in meere derifion; as having made away both his Father and Mo. Infinitage ther. His yong yeares, being newly past his childhood when he beganne to reigne; Iiiiii 3

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may feeme to discharge him of so horrible acrime, as his Fathers death : yet the beautlinesse of all his following life, makes him not valike to have done any mischeife, whereof he could be accused. Having wonne the battaile at Raphia, He gaue himselfouer to sensualitie; & was wholy gouerned by a Strumper called Agathoclea, At her inftigation Hee murdered his owne wife and fifter; which had aduentured herselse with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honor. The Leiutenant-ships of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices what focuer; were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this Agathocles, and her brother Agathocles, and of Oenanthe a filthic Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to 10 the great greife of all the Countrie, till Philopator died : who having reigned feuenteene yeares, left none other sonne than Ptolemie Epiphanesa childe of fine yeares old, begotten on Arimoe that washis fifter and wife. After the Kings death ; Agathocles beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young Epiphanes, and Gouernour of the Land. He affembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Agypt with Ptolemie the first, and would not be accounted Agyptians; as neyther would the Kings themselues) and bringing forth vnto them his lister Agathoclea, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his fifter, but vnto the 20 faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdome did now relie. He befought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one Tlepolemus, an ambitious man, who traiteroully went about to fet the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall hee produced before them a witnesse, that should justifie his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delinered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterseiting of teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that hee fpake; but flood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake vp the 30 Affembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. Agatheeles therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mightie, but neyther wife nor wel qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly beene his manner, by vfing his authoritie, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. Hee haled out of a Temple the mother in-law of Thepolemus; & cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to fuffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the prefentinjurie done to Tlepolemus, they were fomewhat also mooued with feare of 40 harme; which, in way of requitall, Tlepolemus was likely to doe vnto the Citic. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people: fo by the remedie which Agathocles vsed, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uprore. Hee secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and delinered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore fouldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whileft the whippes were brought forth, and all things even in a readinesse for that purpose: there was brought vnto the Minister of Agathocles, a fad report of Tlepolemus his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving Moersgenes the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the dores open. Hee perceiung this, naked as

he was, conneighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the Turkes lanizars. Being affured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and beganne to force the Palace : crying out, That they would fee the King, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no leffe adoc than the Souldiors, though to leffe effect. So the old Bawd Qenanthe fled into a Temple : her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by apointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered up to the furie of the people. Agathodes himfelfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His fifter was dragged naked up and downe the fireetes; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of juffice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in peeces.

These troubles in Farpt, serued well to stirre vp King Antiochis; who had verie good leifure though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon yong Ptolemie. Philip of Macedon had the fame defire, to get what part he could of the childes an effate. But it happened well, that Ptolemie Philopator in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therfore the Agyptians addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two Kings: who though they fecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant, to divide betweene them, all that belonged vnto this Orphan; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So \* M. Lepidus was fent from Rome, to \*Inflin 1/300 protect from all violence the King of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian; Hee was verie foone found bufied, with warre at his owne doores. Also Scopas the Ætolian, being a Pensioner to the Ægyptian, was sent into Greece to rayle an Armie of Mercinaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I doe not find: and 20 therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was fent thither onely one of the

three Embaffadours, oin the beginning of the Warre with Philip, as hath beene o Linder. shewed before, As for Scopas; He shortly after went vp into Syria with his Armie : where winning many places, among the reft of his Acts. He subdued the Ienes; who feeme to have yeelded themselves a little before vnto Antiochus, at such time as they faw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of recei using helpe from Egypt. But Lindshame, it was not long, ere all these Victories of Scopus came to nothing. For the verienext yeare following, which was (according to Eulebius) the same yeare that Philip was beaten at Cynofcephala; Antiochus vanquilhed Scopasin battaile, and recoucred all that had beene loft. Among the reft, the Jewes with great willing neffe returned to under his obedience; and were therefore by him verie sently entreated.

The Land of Egypt this great King did forbeare to insude , and gaue it out, that he meant to bellow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon Ptolemie : either hoping, as may feeme, that the Countrie would willingly fobmit it felfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of Asia, whilest Philip was held our laboured by the Romans. It appeares that he was veric much diffracted; hunting (as we fav) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene Attales, Philip, and the Greekes, promifed to affoord him great advantage, if he flould bring his Armie to the Hellefont. On the other fide, the flate of Laype being fuch as hath beene de 50 clared, feemed eafie to be swallowed vparonce . One while therefore hee tooke what hee could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Ienes among the reft, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Agyptian) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting Aegypt alone, He was about to make invalion upon Attalus his Kingdome; yet fuffered himfelfe cafily to be perfyaded by the Roman Ethbaf-

fadors, and delifted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the Romans; He fends Embaffadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpassed, That these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King Antiochus. But this answer of the Romans was not lincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with Philip: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour; they were content to give good words for the present. In the meane time Antiochus fights with Scopas in Syria: and shortly prepares to win some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto Ptolemie; vet withall hee fends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irrefolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to Ptolemie, and another to Eumenes the fonne of Attalus, newly King of Pergamus : feeking each of their friendfhips, at one and the same time, when hee fought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was heacting and deliberating at once: being carried with an inexplicable defire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and over-swelling fortunes. Howfocuer it was, He fent an Armie to Sardes by Land, under two of his owne fonnes: 20 willing them there to flay for him; whileft he himfelfe with a Flecte of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veffels, intended to paffe along by the Coafts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in fuch places as held for the Aegyptian. It was a notable Act of the Rhodians, that, whilest the war of Philip lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great Antiochus. I hey lent vnto him a proud Embassage: wherby they gave him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not joyne with Philip their enemie, and helpe him against the Romans. It was infolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King. yet he tempered himselfe, and 30 without any flew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embaffadours partly vnto their whole Citic, by Embaffadours which he thither fent. He she wed his delire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, left his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his Embassadours.

The Rhodians appeare to have beene a cunning people, and fuch as could forefee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what 40 had paffed betweene his Embaffadours and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian war was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephala, They knew that Antiochus his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to fit ftill; vnleffe the Townes on the South Coast of Alia, belonging to Ptolemie their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well: for that they had ever beene greatly beholding, to all the race of the Piolemies. They therefore, in this time of necessitie, gaue what aid they could voto al the subjects of the Agyptian in those parts. In like manner did King Eumenes, the fonne of Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betweene An- 50 tiochus and the Romans. For when King Antiochus made a freindly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in mariage: Hee excused himselfe, and would not haue her. Attalus and Philetarus, his brethren, wondered at this, But he told them, that the Romans would furely make warvpon Antiochus ; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he faid, That by abitayning from this affinitie it should be in his power to loyne with the Romans, and threngthen himselfe greatly with their freindthip. Contrariwife, if he leaned to Antrochus : as hee muit be partaker in his ouerthrow; to was he fure to be oppreffed by him, as by an ouer mightic neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

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Antica bus himselfe wintered about Ephesus: where hee tooke such order as hee thought convenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lamp (acus to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and obttinately strone to mantaine it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he failed vnto the 10 Helleftont: where having won fome Townes that Philip had gotten not long before this, he paffed ouer into Europe tide; and in thort space mattered the Cherlonefus. Thence went hee to Lyjimachia: which the Thracians had gotten and deltroied, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman warre. The Atolian: opicated as a crime vnto Philip, in the Conference before T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lylmuchia, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hereunto Philip madeanlyver, that his Garrison did not oppresse the Towne, but saue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and fackt it, as foone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miferable cafe, in which Antiochus found Lyfimachia at his comming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people, cariedaway into flauerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified : as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countrie thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promites, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Cittie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwel, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians: he tooke a journie in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armiesleaning the other halfe, to repaire the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient fituation, and former glorie of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it 30 highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father Seleucus Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his Kingdo me of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he thall dearely pay : and as after that victoric against Lysimachus, the death of King Seleucus followed shortly; so shall a deadlie wound of the Kingdome founded by Seleucus enfue verie speedily, after the reconquest of the fame Countrie, which was the last of Selencus his purchases.

### ð. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with ANTIOCHVS, during their warre with PHILIP: after which they quartell with him. The doings of HANNIBAL at Carthage: whence he is chaced by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King ANTLOCHUS. The Leolians marmure against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achains, with NABIS the Tyrant of Lacedemon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. QVINTIVS his Triumph. Peace denied to ANTIO-CHV's by the Romans.



Or the Romans, though they were viable to (mother their defire of war with Antiochus, whereof notice was alreadic taken both by their
friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant thortly to make good, of this intended warre, folong as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about Lysimachia. It

was not long, fince King Attalus, a friend and helper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antiochus, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than verie friendly. Antiochus, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inualion from the Kingdome of Pergamus: also verie shortly after he fent Embassadours to them. to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them . This was whileft as yet they were bufied with Philip; and therfore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Cli- 10 ents vnto the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worse, but more plaine, meaning, For T. Quintius, with his ten Counsailors sent from Rome, requited (as hath beene \* shewed before) with a commination of war. this kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-professed amitie, and desire to continue in the fame.

These ten Counsailors were able to informe T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorate before; fince, in regard of Antiochia, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree , That two of them 20 should visit King Antiochies; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vimindfull of the busines: wherein lest T. Quintins, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; L. Cornelius was lent from Rome of purpole, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and Ptolemie. What other private instructions Cornelius had; wee may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embaffage. For comming to Selymbria: and there viderstanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having beene sent by Titus, were at Lysima. chta, He hastned thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten Counfailours) from Bargille, to be present at the Conference. Hegelianax and Lylias were 20 alfo there; the same, who had lately brought from Titus those peremptoric Conditions, which the Embaffadours present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few daies Antiochus returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the busines in hand; this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome: which was, That Antochus had reason to deliver backe vnto Ptolemie those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that verie earnefily, That he mun also give vp the Townes of late belonging vnto Philip; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abfurd, than fuch folly in the 40 Romans 3 as to let Antiochus enioy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his journie there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the Romans. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of Asia: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; even as He, without fuch curioficie, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into Europe: they saw well enough what bulines had drawne him thither; namely, the warreagainst the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recourie of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace and Cherfonefus. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrie, He derived it from Selenens: who made conquest thereof, by his wictorie against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie

betweene him and the other Kings, had beene till of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had beene feized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at fuch time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of busines, from looking vnto al that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to fland in feare of him, as if hee intended ought against them from Lyfimachia; fince it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vpon one of his fonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be greized with his proceedings in Min; either against the free Cities, or against the King of Agypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to joyne ere long with Piolemie, not onely in freindship, but in a bond of neare affinitie. Cornelius hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embaffadour's of Smyrna and of Lampfaces, whom he had there with him, could fay for themselves. The Embassadors of Lampsacus being called in , began a tale; wherein they feemed to accuse the King before the Romans, as it were before competent Judges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; for a fmuch as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the

CHAP.5. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them. Thus the Treatie held fome few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laide their complaints in fuch fort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart wel fatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the prefent peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous Gallo-Greekes, pretend onely the goodnes of their fwordes; nor yet ouer-modefly, to retaine among the Greekes an opinion of their inflice, forbeare the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That Ptolemie was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were defirous to haflen into Agypt: Antiochus, to take possession of the Kingdome ; and L. Cornelius, to preuent him thereof, and let the Countrie in good order. Cornelius was fent from Rome Embassadour, both to Antiochus and to Ptolemie : which gaue him occalion to take leave, and prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embaffadors, had good leaue to depart all together; and the King forthwith made readic, to be in Agypt with the first. To his sonne Seleucus he committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-fee the building of Lyfmachia: but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and failed vnto Ephefus. Thence he fent Embatfadours to T. Quinting: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such fort, as might fland with honeflie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that Ptolemie was aline. This made him beare another way from Agypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a greiuous shipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have fafely re-

cure, as might appeare, of the Roman war. But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treatie at Lysimachia, (at leastwife not long before or after it) one of their Embassadours that had beene fent vnto the Macedonian gaue him counfaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to referented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the Romans, but to defire focietie with them, whereby they should bee bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he aduited him to doe quickly before the Warre brake out with Antiochus; lest otherwise he might seeme, to have awaited fome fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be fatisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greekes were follicited; and particularly the Atolians, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the People of Rome. It was needlesse to fay plain-

conered his Port of Selencia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintered : fe-

Jy whereto this entreatic tended: the froward an fivere made by the \*\*\*Etolian\*\*, deciares them to have well vnderflood the purpole. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the \*\*Roman\*\*after the Victorie, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promisfed vnto them: \*\*vpbrayding withall the \*\*Roman\*\*s, as men to them beholding, not onely for their Victorie ouer \*\*Philip\*\*; but euen for helping them to fet foot in \*\*Oreces\*, which else they neuer could have done. Hereto the \*\*Roman\*\* gaue gentle answerse; telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vter their griefes and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against Antiothus. The fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave mater vnto the enemies of Hanmibal, wherewith both to pick a thanke of the Roman Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they fo greatly hated. He had of late exercifed his vertue against them in the Civill administration; and given them an operthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the fway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and having subject vnto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the reft. Neyther did they vie this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wife together, that who so offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to 20 be foone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie. Hannibal was chosen Prator. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superjour vnto them during that yeare; yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard vnto fuch an annual Magistrate, as at the yeares end must be accomptable to them. if ought were laid vnto his charge. Hannibal therefore fending for one of the Ouzstors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him : the proud Ouxfor fet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerfe Faction to Hannibal; and men of his place, were to bee chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled alreadic with the spirit of his future Greatnelle. But he had not to doe with fuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occu- 30 pied the place before. Hannibal fent for him by a Puriluant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique affemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vidutiful stubbornesse of this Queitor had beene; but how vnfufferable the infolencie of all the Judges at the prefent was: whose vnbridled power, made them to regard neyther Lawes nor Magifirates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from yeare to yeare, & no one man be continued in that Office two yeares together. If this Law had beene paffed before he passed ouer Iberus: it would not perhaps have beene in the power of II.nno, 40 to have brought him vnto necessitic of reforming another greinance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to legic by Taxation laied upon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting monie in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needfull charges. Hannibal confidering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes what focuer; and in what fort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauft the Treasurie; but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vie, were thereby faine to load the people with needleffe burdens. Hereof 50 he made fuch plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to reftore, with fhame, what they had gotten by knauerie; and fo the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts; as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

the vertue of \*Hamibal\*\*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens fo they of the \*Roman Faction, which had, fince the making of the peace vntil now, ittle regarded him, beganne to rage extremely, as being by him thip of their gotten goods, and il-employed authoritie, both at once, cuen when they thought them felues to haue beene in full posselfion of the vanquished \*Carthage\*\*. Where-fore they fent letters to their friendsat \*Rome\*\* wherein they complained, as if the \*Barchine\*\* Faction grew strong againe, and \*Hamibal\*\* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, to hold \*Carthage\*\* in peace with \*Rome\*\* it hele enemies to the \*Barchine\*\* onely wany to hold \*Carthage\*\* in peace with \*Rome\*\* it hele enemies to the \*Barchine\*\* to might well crie out, That hauing done their bestalreadie to keepe all in quiet, they

19 might well crie our. That hauing done their befraireadte to keepeal in quiet, they faw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions: they faid, That Hannibal was like vnto a wild beat, which would never be tamed: That Feeret meffiges pait betweene him, and King. Antiechus: and that the was wont to complaine of sidleneffer, as if it were harmefull to Carthage, with what elfe to like effect they could imagine. Thefe accurations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addreffing their letters craftify, eueri one to the belt of his owne friends at Rome, and fuch as were Senators; they wrought fo well, that neyther publike notice of their Confpirace was taken at Carthage, nor the authorite of the Roman Senate, waithing to the furtherance of their

thage, nor the authorite of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their 2 malicious purpose. Onely P. Scipio is faid to haue admonthed the Fashers, that they should not thus dishonourably fabsferibe, and become Seconds to the accurers of Hamnibal: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing talke witnesse against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time prevailed, nor vised their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Roman were not all for great-minded as Scipio: they wished for forme such advantage against Hamnibal; and were glad to have sound in. Three Embassadours they sent ouer to Carlogge, C. Semilius, Q. Treentins, and CM. Claushus Markeiling, whose verienames import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hamnibal. These has using past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their commings of and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gauco us, T hat they were 3 and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gauco us, T hat they were

fent to end some controuersies, betweene the Carthaginians and Masanista. But Hannibal had kept fuch good espiall vpon the Romans, that hee knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That hee escaped them by flight : but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertment to rehearle the particularities. Having openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Affembly, He went forth of the Towne when it beganne to wexe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as hee might well trust. Hee had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place; whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-fide. There had hee a Ship furnished with all thinges needfull; as having long expected the necessitie of some such journie. So Hee bad Africk farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Paffing ouer to the Ile of Cercina; he found there in the Hauen some Marchants ships of Carthage. They faluted him respectively and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whither he was bound. He faid, Hee went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he intended there in the lland to make a facrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted couert,

He made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be vêd in flead of Tents, 
50 They did fo; and feathed with him till it was late at night; at which time hee left 
them there alleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his courfe to Type. All that night, 
and the day following, Hee was fur enor to be epurfued. For the Merchants did 
neither make haft to fend any newes of him to Certhega, as thinking him to be gone 
Embalfadour: neyther could they, withour fome loffe of time, I fuch of them as

made most speed homeward, get away from Cercina; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the miffe of fo great a person was diversly construct. Some gheffed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where hee had bin feene : and then the Roman Embaffadours, having none other errand thither accufed him (with an cuill grace) as a troubler of the Peace, whereby they onely difconered the mischiefe by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; milling the while their purpose, and cauling men to vnderstand, that Hee fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal, comming to Tyre the Mother-Citic of Carthage, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whole great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to Antioch; and, finding the King departed, visited his some in Daphne: who friendly welcommed him, and fent him vnto his Father at Ephelus, that exceedingly re-

joyced at his comming.

Ó 62

As Antiochus had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten Hannibal: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore forrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discoverie of their impotent malice, in chacing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not proue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make four fouldiors of base Asiatiques; as it had beene by his trayning and discipline, to make verie seruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinarie, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall confiderable, that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thoufand other fuch vexations, would be farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of Hannibal; now a defolate and banished man, than had been the villanie of Hanno and his Complices, hindering him in those Actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely helpe to ennoble the Roman Victorie: or if it further ferued to hearten Antiochus, and make him leffe carefull to anoid 30 the warre; then should it further serue, to justifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it feemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For Antiochus, as is faid before, hauing newly sent Embassadours to T. Quintius, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that Hee had any meaning to take armes; vnleffe by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the Atolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, delirous of innovation, and therefore practifing with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the tenne Counsailours, 40 That the Senate would grant them whatfocuer with reason they should aske. But this promife was too large, and vnaduifed. For when their Embaffadours came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to T.Quinttms, who fauoured them leaft. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for verie shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of warre with Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the Countrie. For the Atolians were wont to vpbraid the rest of the Greekes, with the vaine libertie which the Romans had proclaimed: faying, That these their Deliuerers had laid heauier setters vpon them, than formerly 50 they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian; likewise, That it was a gracious act of Titus, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying loger in Greece, if the Romans had no other mening than what they pretended For Philip had made no de-

laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of Greece were at libertie; and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the Romans, and within it felfe. As for Antiochus: He made it his daily fuit, That the Peace betweene him and Rome, fuch as it was, might be confirmed, and firengthned by a League of more affurance. Neuertheleffe T. Quintius would needs feare that Antiochus meant forth with to feize vpon Greece, as foone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his own hands Chaleis, Demetrias, and the A. exocorinthus: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuation like to be made by Antiochus. Suteable vnto the doings of Quentius were the reports of the tenne Embassadours, that had beene sent ouer to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citic. Antiochus, they faid, would questionleffe fail vpon Greece: wherein he should find not onely the Etolians, but Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedemon, readie to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe fomewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against Nabis, who could worst make resistance; whilest Antiochus was farre away in Syria, and not intentine to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citiel, among the vulgar but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeare, against which time it was expected that Antiochus should bee readie to take his great enterprise in hand; P. Cornelius Scipio the African defired, and obtained, a fecond Confulthip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his Hannibal. For the prefent, the bufineffe with Nabis was referred vnto Titus; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereofalso hee knew that many of the Greekes would not be forrie; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeares before this, as is alreadic shewed, whilest he had warre with Philip: and had further beene contented for the Romans fake to bee at peace with the Acheans, neyther fince that time had he done any thing, whereby hee should draw 30 vpon himselsethis Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Achaans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions had formerly done to them great mischiefe. Titus therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which hee caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the warre with Philip, not onely the Greekes, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearfed) that thould flirre them vp, and cause them to be carnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning Nabis, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at libertie: which noble Action was in some fort maimed, or incompleat, whilest the noble Citie of Arges was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greeks, duly to confider, whether they thought the deliuerance of Argosa matter worthie to be vindertaken; or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leave itasit was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this workin hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselues. The Athenian Embaffador made answere hereunto verie eloquently, and as pleating as he could deuife. He gaue thankes to the Romans for what was past; excelled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their ropolition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bourse, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had alreadic o late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was r. neare, such notable vertue and high deferts ill spoken of by some : which toose vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme thefe deir Benefactors meant to dochereafter: when as Thankfulnes rather would saue required an acknowledge

ment, of the benefits and pleasures alreadic received. Everie one found the meaning of this last clause; which was directly against the Atolians. Wherefore Alexander the Atolian role up, and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient gloric, in those times when their Citie had beene the Leader of all Grecce, for detence and recourrie of the libertie generall; from which honour they were now fo farre fallen, that they became Paralites vnto those whom they thought mo it mightie; and by their bale affentation, would lead all the reft into seruitude. Then spake He against the Acheans, Clients that had beene a long time vnto the Macedonian; and fouldiors of Philip, vntill they ranne away from his adversitie. These Heesaid had gotten Corinth; and must now have warre be made 10 for their fakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Areas ; whereas the Ætolians, that had first made warre with Philip, and alwayes beene friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Nevther did hee thus containe himfelfe, but objected vnto the Romans fraudulent dealing : forafmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcie, and the Acrocorinth; having beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could never be at libertie, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with Nabis, than bulinesses wherewith to find themfelues occupied, that fo they might have fome feeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrie? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie 20 their Legions home out of Greece : which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for Nabis; the Atolians themselves did promise, and would undertake. That they would exther cause him to yelld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at vnitie. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertic wrought so much with these Etolians; as did their owne rauenous defire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themsclues, that worse would vie it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip had lost. Neyther could they well diffemble this; making it no small part of their greinance, 30 That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene couenanted. That the Romans should enjoy the spoile of all, but leave the Townes and Lands in possesfion of the Atolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefes by them done in former times, made the whole Affembly especially the Acheans, crie out vpon them: entreating the Romans to take fuch order before they went, that not onely Nabis might be compelled to doe right; but the Ltolian thecues be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleafure of Titus: who faw, that by discountenancing the Etolians, He was become the more gracious with all the reft. But whether it pleafed him fo well, that Antiochus his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some 40 good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight anfivere: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsailors which had beene fent vnto him from Rome to be his affiftants in thefe matters of weight, were now enturned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedamonian warre; it was verie foone ended. For Titus vied the talpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against Nahu, both by Laid and Sea, as if he should have had to doe with Philip. Besides the Roman forces, King Eumenes with a Nauic, and the Rhodian Fleet, were inuited to the feruice: as also Phing of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether 50 it were to get fauour fthe Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in feeking reuenge vpon A4,, that had done him injurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Adams, who fet outten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the Atolians: ather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispofitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; wherof they excused themfelues as well as they thought best. Thus are the Acheans now become the prime freinds of the Romans in Greece; having removed the Ltolians from that degree of fauour : like as they themselues hereafter (though not in all hast) shal bee supplanted by the same Lacedamonians, against whom they are now marching.

CHAP.5. \$ 4.

Some of the Argines more bold than wife, began a conspiracie against the Lacedemonians that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the Roman. But ere Titus drew neare, they were all detected and flaine: excepting a verie few; that escaped out of the Towne. The same of this Commotion, caused the Armie to march apace toward Argos; with hope to bethere, before things were at quiet. But there was no stirre within the Walles: the execution done vpon the first mouers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to alfaile Nabis in the head of his strength at Lacedemon, than to consume time about other places; sespecially at Argos: for the freedome whereof since the war was made pittie it were, that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heavily.

Nibis had in readines an Armie of fifteene thou and, wherewith to defend himfelfe against these Inuaders. Five thousand of them were Mercinaries: the rest, of his owne Countrie; but fuch as were of all others the worft, as manumifed flaues, malefactors, and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthic Citizens he flood in doubt: and fince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Affemblie : and compaffing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselues ; they might, he faid, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before hand and put in ward, al those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not onely the Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which elle they might have incurred. Heercupon he cites and apprehends about fourc-

score of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he fure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loofe. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abrode : what could it else doethan terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose, his crueltie extended it selfe vnto fome poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the fireets, and flaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens; Heeturned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that to came on apace. He welcommed them with a fallie : wherein, as commonly happens, the fouldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repel-

led with loffe. Titus abode not many daies before Sparta: but ouer-ranne the Countrie; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the fame time, with King Eumenes and the Rhodians, laid fiege vnto Gyttheum, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that Nabis had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouernours within the Towne, equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or defire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, flue the Traitor; after 50 Whole death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when T. Quintiue

with part of his Armie came thither to Gyttheum: this Captaine of the Towne had nor the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to give vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safetie to Sparta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the sonne a-law of Nabis, and brother vnto his wife, was come from Arges, whereof he had the Gouernment

Kkkkkk 2

with a thousand souldiors Mercinaries, and two thousand Argines: it being (as may feeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue Gyttheum: which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was loft : then began they to thinke vpon finishing the war, by some reasonable Composition. Pythagoras therefore was fent Embassador to Titue: requesting onely, that he would appoint a time and place for Nabis to meet and speake with him . This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake verie reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the fumme was, That what socuer they now did, or could, object vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That nei-10 ther for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them allead. ged, they ought to make warre vpon him; fince argos, and all other their allegations whatfoeuer, had not hindred them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith fatisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, for a funch as they knew this Nabis to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that fome other cause of this Inuation should be alledged. Wherefore hee said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Meffene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans: That he had bargained to joyne with Philip, when he was their enemie, not onely in League, but also in affinitie : and That his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Piracie, fince in the Articles by Titwo propounded vnto Nabis there was no reflicution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken from the Greekes his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may feeme to have beene objected onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise verie friuolous. As for Meffene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with Philip: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant; and therefore notto haue beene mentioned. All this it seemes that Aristanus, the Prætor of the 30 Acheans, verie well perceived: who therfore doubting left the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne instice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to an other end. He entreated Nabis to confider well of his owne chate; and to fettle his fortunes, whileft he might doe it without hazard; alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, & therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to furrender their Estates, and lived in great securitie, honour, and happines, as private men. Thus they discoursed untill night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Arges; and requested them, to deliner vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counfaile with his friends. The iffue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citic of Sparta: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon fuch Conditions as Titus should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of argos, and all the places thereon depending: Titus propounded many other Conditions to Nabis, and some of them verice greiuous. He would not fuffer the Lacedamonian to have ought to doe in the Ile of Crete; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iland or elf-where; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne lands; not to keepe any other 10 shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with impolition of an hundred talents in filuer to be paid out of hand, and fiftic talents yeerely, for eight yeares next enfuing. For observance of these Couenants he demanded fine hoftages, fuch as he himfelfe should name; and one of them to be

the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had beene the meaning of Titus, to withdraw the war from Nabis, because it was not grounded upon instice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him; which hee himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp . But if it were thought reasonable, to difpensea little with the Roman faith , in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best freinds in Greece, by the extirpation of this T vrannie: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have beene profecuted vnto the verie vtmoft. As for this middle course which the Romans held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themfelues by the spoile o of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the Acheans, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of Titus: so did it minister vnto the Atolians, and to fuch as curioufly pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since Philip, a King. and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterlie Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in Greece, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors :it was thought veric strange, that Lacedamon, once the most famous Citie among all the Greekes, was by the fame Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday : and He therein rooted by their authoritie, as their freind and Confederate. Nabis on the other fide thought himfelfe vn-20 mercifully dealt withall, by the felfe-fame Romans , whose amitie he had preferred

in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the Macedonian King, that had committed the Citie of Argos into his hands. But falfly had he dealt with the Macedonian: and falfly was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himfelfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him: saue onely that for the banished Lacedemonians, (of whom a great number were in the Roman Campe; having among them Agesipolis the natural King of Sparta, that being a yong child was driven out by Lyourgus, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wines, as would be so contented, to line abroad

with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent vnto these demands; and fultained an affault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would foone be wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had beene propounded, He deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmedafterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hee thought the Romans more wicked than himfelfe; and was readie upon the first aduantage, to doe them all mischiese that he could.

The Argines had heard newes that Lacedamon was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to fet upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remoue of the three thousand carried thence by Pythagoras, to helpe the Tyrant at Sparta. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them joyntly should fet their hands to the getting of it; which no fooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came T. Quintius to Arges, where he was joyfully welcommed. He was descruedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Cittizens had laied hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himfelfe thereto, hee caused the libertie of the Argines to be proclaimed at the Nemass games; as ratifying it by his authoritie. The Citic was annexed againe to the Councell of Achaia; whereby the Achaans were not more strengthened, than the Argines

themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, Titus found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in Greece. Antiochus was about to fend another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance who-

ly disposed vnto quiet; Scipio the African, that was chosen Consulat Rome, could not have his defire, of being fent Commander into Greece. The vnfincere meaning of Anioshus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Atolians, were held as considerations worthie of regard: yet not fufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honeit way, of confuting the Atolians, and of throughly perfwading all the Greekes (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselues the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrie, was their foieintent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it felf.til occasion should be ripe, and cal them ouer again. Wherfore after Titus had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, eyther found, or at 10 anie neare distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth : where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Laftly hee gauc vp Acrocorinthus to the Acheans; withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, and promising to doe the like (which verie soone he did) at Chaleis and Demetrias; that so it might bee knowne, what liers the Atolians were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those pla- 20 ces. With joyfull acclamations did the Greekes tellifie their good liking of that which Titus had faid and done : as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had bin fold into their Countrie by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happie end; and by leaving the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by jealousie and suspition of any cuill meaning. At his comming to the Citic, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieft of all that Rome had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the Thew of his pompe continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthic of fuch a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had 30 before made Warre. All forts of Armes, with Statues and curious peeces of Braffe or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The fecond day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Maffe vnwrought; fome, in diuerfe forts of Coine; and fome, in Veffels of fundrie kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shieldes, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day Titus himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuerse Cities. There were also led the beafts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, Demetrias the forme of King Philip, and Armenesthe forme of Nabis, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and 49 good liking, to the Shew) the Roman Captines, by his procurement redeemed from

Not long after his Triumph; He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaffages, that were come out of Greece and Assa. They had all verie fauourable answerse, secepting those of King Antiachus: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to T. Quimius, and the tenne that had beene his Counsailors; because their buffnesse was did to be fomewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaffadours wondred. They faid vnto Titus and his Associates, That they could not differne wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betweene the Vistor and the vanquished; betweene those, that had jued alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrell. V not he Vistor, they faid, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure

the impolition of some Couenants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vivall to demand and make restitution, of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee proposed: fince it was reasonable. that each part should hold their owne, and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and friend ship that had beene so long in conclusion, betwixt and tiochus and the Romans. Which being fo : they held it strange that the Romans 10 should thus infift on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to preferibe vnto the King, what Cities of Asia he should fet at libertie; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto Ouintius answered, That since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vato them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the Romans, to take partin Asia with any that would feeke their friendship; Or, if King Antiochus misliked this, and would have them for beare to meddle in Asia, that then Hee should abandon what focuer he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing; but no 20 reasonable nor pertinent answere, to that which the Kings Embassadours had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that Antiochus had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of Smyrna, Lampfacus, or any other Afiatiques, whome they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that fought their loue, and had neuer done them injurie. But they knew very well, that Antiochus could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer up vnto them the Citie of Lysimachia, whereon of late he had bin at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all beene differfed or captine to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadours with great indignation alleadged : faying , that Antiochus desired friendship of the Romans; but so , as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to fet at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppresse and hold in subjeaion: especially fince those Townes were of Greekish bloud and language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which Rome had affoorded unto all Greece befides. By this colour they might soone have left Antiochus King of nor many fubicets on the hither fide of Euphrates. Neyther did they forbeare to fay, That, vnleffe he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in Afia, but therein to make new Alliances:

namely (as might be underflood) with fuch as were his fubicits. Wherefore they viged his Embaffadous to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of the fe two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleafing an fwere, which the Embaffadours could not hereto make; little wanted of gitting prefently defiance to the King. But they fulfered themfelues to be entreated, and were contented once againe to fend ouer P.Villins, and others that had beene alreadie with the King at D.Jimsebinshy whom they might receive a finall answer, whether these demands made by Quintins and his Associated would be accepted, yea, or no. By this reference of time, and the fruitlesse free sensing. Antisebins got the leisure of two yeares, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans, all that while, no 10 disposition to let him line in peace.

). V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spamiards. Of M. PORCIUS CATO. Iniuries done by MASA-NISS A to the Carthaginians: that fue to the Romans for instice in vaine.

**670** 

Ch.2.5.8. of

He Insubrians, Boijans, and other of the Cifalpine, Gaules, together 10 with the Ligarian; made onco., you have not as Liamnon and the younthe Roman in Italie, even from fuch time as Liamnon and the younthe Roman in Italie, a use from fuch time as they themselves were verterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were a were verterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were have been found to the Leader van to t with the Ligarians; made often, and (in a manner) continual warre

most at the height of their Empire. These Nations, having served under Mago for wages, and afterwards having gotten Amilear a Carthaginian, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene alreadie thewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be fuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that feldome afterwards eyther the Gaules or Ligurians did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in 20 Gallia Cifalpina now called Lumbardie; it hath beene long fince rehearfed, betweene the first and second Punick Warres. As also it hath since appeared , how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of Hannibal his passage there-through. Neyther is it likely that the reconquest would have beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase:if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not beene distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a flout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practifed in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith readie to fight againe. 30 Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, woodie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had, but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature : fo as without much labour, they could neyther bee taken nor befieged. They were also verie poore; and had litle or nothing that might give contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they ferued excellently well, to traine up the Roman Souldiors to hardnesse and militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territoric of their borderers, that were sub- 40 icct vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemes to have been e grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgment and to acknowledge no fuch vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vling their aduantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they bee demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vie commonly this answere, It hath still beene the custome for vs and them, to fight one

Divers overthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligarians gave vnto the 50 Romans: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselues in distresse; and brake it agains as often, when they thought it profitable fo to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their own Countrie they did little harm:

not fending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, faue on their owne ground.

CHAP.5. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

The Countrie of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italie that became fubicit vinto the Romans: fo was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Oxe-hide: and the Romans found in it the propertie of that Oxe-hide, which Calanus the Indian thewed vnto the Great Alexander, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any fide of it, the further parts would rife from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those parts, from which the Roman Armies lay furtheft, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a verie hardie Nation, and eafily flirred up to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good in telligence among themselues: and being divided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they feldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had vnited themselves together, for chacing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often overthrowes: as delire of libertie, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking trmes.

The Carthaginians had been accustomed, to make enacuation of this Chollerick Spanish humour; by employing, as Mercinaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be virguiet at home. They had also taken souldiers from one part of the Countrie, and yied them in an other; finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they rayled upon the whole Countrie; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the Romans, in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, vsing the service of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to have much businesse with them. Spaine was too farre distant, and withall too 30 great, for them to fend over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in Italie, Wherefore it remained, that they

should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrie, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and fuch heedfull Captaines, as might be still readie to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Countrie; though feldome in peace.

Verie foone after the departure of Scipio, there was raifed warre in Spaine against the Romans, even your the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish warres following. It was thought unreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Certhaginians; basely forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left behind him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted fine yeares. This Victoric of the Romans, though it happily ended the warre : yet left it still remaining the cause of the warre, which after fine yeares brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconful, whom they flew; and had agreat Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to fend thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat; yet not fo much, but that M. Porcius Cato, who was Conful the yeare following, and

fent into that Province; found at his comming little leffe to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniar ds were not of one minde: fome were faithfull to Rome; and fome were idle beholders of the paines

For this Mr. Cato was not onely verie notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed The Occupation of the Romans but so well furnished with all other vseful qualities, that verie litle was wating in him, which might feem requilite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was veric skilful in the Roman Lawes. a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any busines either private or 30 publike. Many Books he wrot: wherof the principal were, of the Roman antiquities, and of hulbandrie. In matter of hulbandrie he was notable, and thereby molt increafed his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: fo as hee lived in perfect health to verie old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better fort of the Romans, was his great finceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein he had merited fingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble Scipio the African, and some other worthic men; that were no leffe honest than himselfe, though farre lefferigid, and more gallant in behauiour. Otherwise, Hee was averie good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he never were out of his Element. He loued bufineffe fo well, or rather hated vice fo earneftly; that even ynto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and fix yeares, He pleaded in his own defence; and foure yeares after, he accused Sergius Galba vnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitie of Cato his family; which ended in his great grandchild M. Cato the Vican : one, that being of like vertue and feruencie, had all his good purpofes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of fuch Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish Warres, after Cato his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not veric dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie foldome free from infurredion, in one part or other. The Roman Prators therefore, of which two other years were fent ouer Commandersign Spaine (that was duided into

newerne years were fent ouer Commanders into spame (that was deuded into rece Gouernments) did rarely faile of fuch worke, as might affloord the honour of Lomph. One flew thirteene thousand \$pamards in a battaile; another tooke fittee 1 ownes, and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to fue for peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did fome laudable fertice; yet fo, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in itead of rice old that were flaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have alreadie pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to fay, T hat the buline file in \$pamerequired not the employment of a \*Roman\* Conful, from fuch time as Cate thence departed, whill the \*Namantian\* Warre barke ourse, which was verie longafter.

In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace: but so had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine House promised al felicitie which Rome could grant, vnto themselves and their obedient Citie : Masanisa fell to disputing with the fword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He beganne with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the leffer Syrtis: wherein among other Cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This Countrie the Numidian challenged; and by winning fome part of it, feemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great aduantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Mafters the Romans. They 20 had none other way of redreffe, than by fending to Rome their Complaint of his doings. And furely they wanted not good matter to alleadge, if the Judges had beene unpartiall. For belides that Scipio, in limiting out vnto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrie: Masaniffa himselfe, now verie lately, pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, defired leave of the Carthaginians, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to Cyrene thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrie was theirs. This notwithstanding, Masanista had wherewith to justific his proceedings; especially vnto the Roman Senate. Hee gaue the Fathers to vnderstand by his Embassadours, what faithleffe people the Carthaginians were, and how il affected to the State of Rome. 30 There had latly beene fent vnto them from Hannibal one, that should perfwade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined, vpon forme fuspi-

tion of his errand; yet nevther arrefting him nor his thippe, had thereby affoorded him meanes to cscape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to kecke them downe. As for the Countrie of Emporia: it had alwaies, hee faid, been theirs, that were able to hold it by ftrong hand; and so belonged sometimes vato the Aumidian Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were knowne : the Citizens of Carthage had no verie warrantable title, vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citic flood; or fearfely to fo much. For they were no better than ftrangers in Africk, that had gotten leave there to build vpon fo much ground, as they could encompaffe with an Oxe-hide cut into fmal thongs. Whatfocuer they held without fuch a compaffe, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfullenchrochments. This confidered, Mafaniffa requeffed of the Senate, That they would not adjudge vnto Rich vsurpers; the Countrie formetimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the fudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly, they fent ouer three Embassadours, of whom P. Scipio the

fficen was sine and the chiefe, to decide the conficuents is the creatly giving them by infunctions, to leave all as they found it; 'withdout 'insking' any end one way or other. The Embaffsdors followed their directions; and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that Majamija with a ftrong Armie flowfuld quickly prevaile, again those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaime again the wrong. By fuch arts were the Carlosginians held, not onely from fliring in favour of King Antichus.

two

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Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction; that came vpon them, when the Romans had leifure to expresse the vtmo ft of their hatred.

#### δ. V I.

The Etolians labour to prouble ANTIOCHUS, PHILIP, and NABIS, to warre upon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. NABIS befregeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achaa. The exact skill of PHILOPOE. 10 MEN, in aduantage of ground : whereby hee veterly vanquisheth NABIS. AN-TIOCHVS being densed peace by the Romans, ioynes with the Etolians. The Etolians surprize DEMETRI AS; and by killing NABIS their confederate seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens : who at PHILOPOEMEN his per [wasions annex themselves to the Achaans.



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LL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed : it grieued much the Etolians to thinke, that they who had promifed vnto themselues the whole spoile of Philip, and the highest reputation among the Greekes; were not onely disapointed of their couctous 20 hopes, but quite for saken by their ancient dependants; and of all

other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the Macedonian. This might have well sufficed them, if their defires had not beene immoderate: and their indignation, more vehement, than their defire. But they were not fo pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unfufferable wrong. Wherefore they deuifed, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves, and give the Romans a for- 30 rowfull knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmitte and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade Antiochus to make warre vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused peace; but that they would deale with the Kingof Macedon their ancient Enemie, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, to joyne al together in a new Confederacie; whose joynt forces could not in al likelihood but farre furmount those of the Romans, Acheans, Rhodians, and King Eumenes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the £tolians tooke in hand; and well befeeming them, for they were great darers. They fent Embalfadors to all these Kings, with perswalions as they thought most forcible. But Phi- 40 lip was irrefolute; and Antiochus willing to trie first all other courses. Wabis the Lacedamonian, who neyther (as Philip) had loft much, nor (as Antiochus) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward; and not staying so much as to feeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay fiege to Gyttheum, that had beene lately taken from him by the Romans. The Acheans, to whole care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the affaires of Peloponne (us, were not flow to admonish Nabis of his dutie: neyther would they have staied long from repressing his violence by open warshad not some of them thought it wisedome to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintius, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in 50 fending Embaffadours, and were aduited by Quinting to let all alone, and to wait for the comming of the Roman forces that would shortly bee among st them : Nabis was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territoric. Philopamen was then Prætor of the Achaans, who had long beene absent in Creie;

making war there for his mindes lake and recreation. Vnto him the Acheans referred themselves, giving him leave to order the war at his pleasure; either staying untill the Romans came; or doing other wife, as he should thinke belt. He made all hait to releiue Gyttheum, by Sea; fearing lenthe Towne, and the Achean Garrison within it, should be lost, if hee vied any delay. But Philopamen was so bad a Seaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe beene counted a gallant veffell, in the Nauie of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was the rest of his Fleete lo good, as might encounser with that of the Lacedamonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed him felfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talions. For his Admirail Gallie was flemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, (prang fo many leakes, and tooke in water fo fair, that the was faine to yeeld without further reliffance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall; all were prefently discouraged, and faued themselves with what fpeed they could. But Philopamen was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-ferusee, which was none of his Occupation; Hee faid that hee would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the fiege of Gyttheum, to ftop the Acheurs if they should inuade his Countrie, But you these which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopamen came inexpected; fired their Campe; and put all, faue a verie few of them, to the fword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards Lace Jemon : within ten mile whereof he was, when the T yrant met him; that had alreadic taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nabis would have beene readie for them to foone. Or if hee thou dome from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces; yet was it thought that he most ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost fecurely, in a long Troupe reaching fome fine miles: having their Horse and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to beare off any fudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly vinderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take appeared in the front of them with al his Armie; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome of Philopamen, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his freinds, to marke the fituation of the Countrie about him, and to discourse, what might be fal an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That having with him there such a number of fouldiours, ordered and forted in fuch manner, and marching towards fuch a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would be put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a fland? what peece of ground it were meete for him to feize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe it? in what fort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and under what Gard? in what fort encampe himfelfe? and which way march the day following? By fuch continually meditation Hee was growne fo perfect, that hee neuer met with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himfelfe and his followers. At this time-he made a fland; and having drawne up his Rearc, He encamped neare unto the place where be was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompating them round with his fouldiours. The

ground was rough, the waies bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as Nabis could not at the prefent greatly moleft him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the Achieuns lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philogemen understood this; and layd an ambushin place convenient; whereinto the Mercinaries of 2\(\chi abis\) fell, and were flaughtered in great numbers. Prefently after this he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the Acheans had a purpose to get betweene him and Lace Lemon, whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recourse of their

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freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would have beene forced. Some Companies he made to flay behind, and flew themselves you the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But Philopamen was not fo to be beguiled. He casily won the Campe; and gaue chace to Nabu: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turneabout and make head. The Enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods. where they lay in couert all that day : Philopamen conceived a right, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whilest it was day; Hee led to forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinarie passages vnto Lacedamon. So Nabis his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in Philopamens Campe great flore of lights; thought that all had beene at reft: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirtie daies together after this, did Philopamen walt the Countrie round about, whilest Nabis durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without

The Roman Embassadours were then in Greece, and T. Quintius among them; labouring to make their partie firong against Antiochia & Nahis, whom they knew 10 to be follicited by the £tolians. Verie faire countenance they also made vnto Philip; and with comfortable promifes drew him to make thew, what focuer hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to reflore vnto him his some: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should receive other favours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against Intiochus in Greece; whitest their Embassadors that were with him in A/ia, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long abfence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene Plalemie and his daughter: together with the death of yong Antiochus the Kings son, 30 which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or feemed to hinder the King, from giving audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have beene, and partly was, beneficial vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephefus; either by cunning, or (as Liuie rather thinks) by chance. Finding Hamibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto Antiochus, vpon a causelesse suspition wherein hee held the Romans: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many have affirmed that P. Scipio was one of these Embassadours; and that he, among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had lined, Han- 40. nibal indged the most worthie? So Hannibal gaue to Alexander of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the fecond: and the third he challenged vnto him felfe. But Scipio who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be fo forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldest thou have said then Hannibal, if thou hadst vanquished mee ? To whom the Carthagiman replied, Then would not I have given the first place to Alexander, but have claymed it as due vnto my felfe. Now whether this were fo, or otherwise: the often and freindly conference of Hannibal with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of Antiochus: who therefore did for beare awhile to vie his counfell. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the King : and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was ; He 50 easily recoursed his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to fweareat the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee never should be freind vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine fur-

miles: but to know thus much, That as long as hee thought vpon war with Rome, fo long would Hannibal doe him all good feruice: whereas contrariwife if he intended to make peace, then should it behoue him to vsethe counsaile of some other

The Ætolians, and their freinds, were no leffe bufie all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans : than were the Romans, in mustering vp their freinds in Greece. They had so often dealt with Antiochus, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victoric against Philip; that finally they preuailed with him: especially when the Roman Embaffadors had left him, without hope of peace, vnleffe he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian. But in vaine . Hee understood the Romans, and himfelfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improoue their owne forces to the vtmost : as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon Antiochus and themselues, without helpe from anie; sauc only from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King Antiochus that animated them to refolution: the Athenian Embaffadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neare at hand. For want of a readie answer hereto they were contented to approve the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the busines worthic of his presence. For since Antiochus had now declared hims life against the Romans : it would be no fmall peece of fernice, to with draw from his freindship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their Panatolium, or Great Affemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ferue to appeale them. Hee willed them to confider the weight of the enterprise which they tooke in hand, whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the Romans, and King Antiochus, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Masteric: the Atolians, as Malters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becomming \* the Sticklers . As \* Lindest, et

20 for those greinances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent milu Atolis, courses. He willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better forte, tought. they might doe to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they defired: than thus to fet the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what hee faid or could say, it skilled not much. They had alreadic done ill, to make the Embaffador of the King, whose helpe they had fought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Roman: Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtaine what they defired seither as their right, or elfe by way of fauour. For with fuch Termes had they beene feafted once alreadic: and were by the Senatereiected vnto Titus: who, having it in his owne power, gaue them no fatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely loffe of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King Antiochus the great should be entreated to come ouer in-

they forgot no point of brauerie, whereby to vant themselves to the Kings Embas-50 fadours, and against the Romans. Titus defired of their Prætor, to let him fee a Copic of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in Italie vpon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have LIIIII 3

to Greece, as well to fet the Countrie at libertie, as also to decide the controversies

depending betweene the Romans and Atolians. Such a Decree they would not

baue made, had they not viderflood the Kings minde before. Having made it;

done better as the Ætolians are like to understand herafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the war they referred vnto the more private Councel of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the authoritic of a generall Affemblie. The Apocleti (so were the Priuie Councel! of Ætolia called) went as hotly to worke, as any of the yongest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of Chaleis, Demetrias, and Sparta: to each of which they fent men for the purpose. Demetrias they tooke vpon the sudden : entring, some of them as freinds to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against T. Quintius, had beene driuen to flie thence, but was, by intercession of those that lo- 10 ued him, againe recalled. His Ætolian companions that were not many, seized vpon a Gate: whereat they let in a Troup which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman faction. At Chalcis they sped not fo well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home : but they came so strong, that their purpose was discouered, and the Towne prepared to desendit selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer: saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the Romans : who more infolently dominered ouer it, than euer the Macedonians had done. By such R hethoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Townef-men replied, That they neither 20 found any abridgment of their libertie, nor needed any Garriton to keepe them from the Romans; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received iniurie. So this busines was dasht. The attempt vpon Sparta was more strange and defperate. Nabis their good freind, was Lord of the Towne: styling himselfe King; but, more truly, by all men called T yrant. He had wel-near eloit all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which Philopamen had lately given him : fince, he durft not ftirre abroad; and daily expected the mischeife, that on all sides threatned him. Wherfore he sent mellingers, one after other, to the Ætolians: requesting them, That as He had not beene flow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so They would be pleased to 20 fend him what helpe they might, fince his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath beene often faid, That the rauenous Atolians were onely trueto themselves,&regarded neither faith nor freindship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne endes. And so dealt they now. For since Nabis his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his T yrannic, were in a manner confumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure Lacedamon unto themselues. To this purpose, they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by Damoeritus the Prætor brought into the Councell of the Apedeti, where they were comman- 40 ded to be no wifer than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make war with the Acheans, or to doe ought elfe, faue onely what Alexamenus should command them: which were it neuer fo desperate, and in seeming against all reafon ; yet must they understand, that unlesse they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with brave wordes: telling him, that Antiochus was alreadie in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mightie Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of work, than of late with Philip: fince the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would fuffice to tread them downe. As for the Etolians, He faid, that if need should so require, they would prefently fend away to Lucdonon all the forces that they could go raife. But they they would prefently fend away to Lucdonon all the forces that they could raife: But that they were verie defirous at the present, to make as goodlie a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore

CHAP.5. 6. of the Historie of the World. with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed Nabus to take heart; bring forth his men, that had beene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. 2/4bis was glad of this; and daily exercifed his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his Alexamenus, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his falhion to step aside alone to his Atolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned agains to Nabis. But when he saw time for the great worke that he had in hand : Hee then went aside to his thirtie Horseno men, and bad them remember the taske enjoyned them at their fetting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neare them: and Alexamenus making towards him, charged him on the fudden; and ftruck him down. The thirtie Ætolians neuer flood to deliberate vpon the matter ; but all flew in; and, before any faccour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nibis. Prefently vpon the fact committed, the T yrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in flead of feeking revenge they flood foolifhly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus with his £tolians hasted into the Citic, and seized on the Palace: where hee fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were alreadie done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens; who seeing themselues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had flaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall flocke, that had beene brought vp with Nabis his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiefe. So they fell vpon the Atolians that were idely stragling about; and put them all to the sword. Alexamemus with not many of his Companie, were flaine in keeping the Citadell: and to those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates; who fold them all as bond flaues, In this doubtfull Effate of thinges at Lacedamon, Philopoemen came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as Alexamenus (hould have done after hee had flaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetic, to incorporate themfelues with the Acheans, Thus by the enterprise, no leffe dishonourable than difficult, of the Ætolians, and the small but effectuall, travaile of Philopoemen; the Acheans made a notable purchase: and Lacedemon, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselues Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had fearce any reputation, when Sparts ruled ouer all Greece.

à. VII.



NTIOCHUS was troubled much in Asia with Smyrna and Lamplaem, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither fafe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to 20 winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee defirous with all speed convenient to shew himselfe in Greece;

where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a verie fmall number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That Nabis was alreadie up in Armes: That Philip was like a Bandog in a chaine, defiring nothing more than to breake loofe; and that the Atolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were readieto conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon infolent Barburians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made fuch a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King 30 was thinking to fend Hannibal into Africk, there to moleft the Romans, and fo give him the better leifure of vling his owne opportunities in Greece: Thous the Atolian came over to him, and bad him lay all other care afide; for that his Countrimen had alreadie taken Demetrias; a Towne of maine importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut offall deliberation. As for Hannibal: Thous was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at fuch a time, when the verie reputation of his numbers, brought into Greace, might ferue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vfing violence; and fecondly. That in any fuch great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vniit 40 man to be employed in the Kings feruice, than was that famous Hamibal the Carthaginian. For he faid, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perifhing under fuch a notable Commaunder if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner qualitie : whereas neverthelesse if Hamibal prenailed: Hamibal alone should have all the honour, and not Antisches. In this regard he was of opinion, That fuch a renowned Warriour should becalwayes neare vnto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good fucceffe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the four aigne Command; even of the King himfelfe. Antiethus gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being icalous of the vertue, that this ned brighter than the Maicflie of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid affide the determination; which tended more to the advancement of his defires, than did any thing elfe by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made readie for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friuo-

lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-fide to Ilium; there to do facrifice to Minerus of Troy. Thence paffing ouer the Egean Sea, Hee came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the Magnetian, the same whome the Etolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne Demetrias; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Hee therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a figne of good lucke, to bee fo entertained at the beginning. Butit may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that

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10 of Xerxes: they faw three hundred thips, of which no more than fortic were feruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thousand Foot, fine hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The Atolians no fooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore wel onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to Lamia, the Etolians gaue him as joyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee defired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he faid, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that hee staid not to

20 make all things readie; but hasted vnto their aid, euen whilest the season was vnst for nauigation. Yet it should not bee long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be fatisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armics, and all the Sca-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which hee had vindertaken: euen to drive the Romans and their authoritic out of Greece; leaving the Countrie free indeed, and the Ætolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be veriegreat: so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not bee any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, ha-

uing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aid, vnprouided of manie necessaries; that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof hee stood in need. So he left them to their confultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little difpute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the Romas and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of Antiochus) That they would yelld vnto the Kings defire, and affilt him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vaineathing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did Antiochus, in a builnesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of Thoas, and some other

of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell : the Atolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of fuch gaine that might have deceived them; were like to haucabandoned this King their friend, vnto the differetion of the Romans. And what remedie had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himselfe to Theas, and complained of the wrong: but he must have bin contented with this answere, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom Thosa would therefore have pronounced to bee verie wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the Etolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute

to where they should beginne the Warre. Chaleis was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture need to vie much force. The King had brought with him into Liolis but a thoufand Foot; leaving the rest behind him at Demetrias. With these hee hasted away directly toward Chalcis; being ouertaken by no great number of the Atolians,

The chiefe Citie of Enbura being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly veelded to Antiochus. Foure or fine hundred Roman Souldiers, that came ouer late to have defended Chaleis, repoled themselves at Delium, a little Towne of Barotia, lying ouer against the Hand; where was a Temple and Groue, consecrated vnto Apollo, that had the priviledge of an inusolable Sanctuarie. In this place were fome 10 of them walking, and beholding the things there to bee seene, whilest others were busied as they found cause: without seare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But Memppus, one of Antiochus his Captaines, that had wearied himfelfe in manie vaine. Treaties of peace; tooke advantage of their carelessenesse, and seed them with all extremitie of warre. Verie few of them escaped: fiftie were tak in; and the rest flaine. Hereat Quintus was grieved; yet so, as it pleafed him well to confider, that his Romans had now more just cause than before, to make warre voon the King.

Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadours into all quarters of Greece; in hope, that his reputation thould perfuade very many to take his part. 40 The wifer fort returned such answere, as the Chalcidians had done. Some referued themselves vntill bee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not. Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the Romans must pardon their just feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning; faue the Eleans, that alwayes fauoured the Atolians, and now feared the Acheans, Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the Acheansto his partie. Neuertheleffe hee affayed them, youn avaine hope that the enuic, which Tetus was faid to beare vnto Philopamen vertue, had bred a fecret diflike betweene that Nation and the Romans. Wherefore both Hee and the Atolians fent Embassadours to the Councell at Agium; that spared not braue words, if the A-50 cheans would have so been taken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming: reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Elimeans and Cadusans; names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the Sydomans, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were; fuch indeed as could not be refitted. Now concerning monie, and all warlike furniture: it was, he faid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Asia had alwaies thereof great plentie. So as they were much deceiued: who confidering the late war made against Philip, did thinke that this with Antiochus would proue the l.ke : the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the libertie of Greece was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the Acheans, than that they would hold themselucs as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whileft He tooke order with the Romans. To the 19 same effect spake the Actolian Embassadour : and further added, That in the battel

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at Cynofcephala, neither Titus had done the part of a General, nor the Romans or good fouldiours : but that both He and his Armie had beenethere defiroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the Actolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue beene delired. He told the Acheans, That neither the Kings Embailadour, nor the Aetolian, did so greatly labour to perswade those vinto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vant themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discerne, what good correspondence in vanitieit was, that had thus lineked the King and the Aetolians together. For euen such bragges as here they made, be-

20 fore the Acheans who knew them to be liers, had the Aetolians also made vnto king Antiochus: proclayming the victoric ouer Philip to be meerely their Act: and the whole Countrie of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told euen now; of Dahans, and Aradians, and Elimains, and a many others: that were all but a companie of Syrians, fuch as were wont to be fold about for bondflaues, and good for little elfe. These diverse names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diversitie of Venison, wherewith a freind of his at Chales (no such vanter as were these Embasfadours) had sometime seasted him. For all that varietie, whereat hee wondred, was none other, as his Host then merily told him ; than so many peeces of one

30 tame swine, drest after severall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanitie of idle pompe : it were good to make judgment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him; for which little Armiche was faine, in a manner, to beg victuailes of the setolians; and take vp monie at vsurie, to defi ay his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie; from Demetrics to Lamia; thence backe to Chalcis; and being there shut out, to Demetrics againe. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith fince both Antiochus and the Actolians had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps alreadie they did, repent, whilest

wafer men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much perswasion is needlesse. The Achaens did not love so well the Aetolians, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abiects. Wherefore they stood not to harken after newes, what Antiochus did, how he sped in Eubara, or what other Cities were like to take his part : but readily proclaymed war against him, and against the £tolians.

How the hatred betweene thefe two Nations grew inneterate: fufficiently appeares in the storie foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; the other, King Antiochus. Herein did each of them vnwifely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the Liclians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and left the Countrie at reft; there was no-

thing more greatly to have beene defired, than that they might never finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the Greekes to have fought not how Smyrna and Lampfacus might recover their libertie (which had neuer beene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrie, as two

Seas by an Ifthmus or necke of land, might be kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their feeking to make tree those base Asiatiques, which originally were Greekish; than the generaliapplause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were Lz-Jimsehis, and the Townes in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus, pretended as a verie great cause of feare, that should move them to take armes even in their owne defence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, & requested that things might continue as they were, promiting to yntly to affift the Romans, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, when socuer King Antiochus should make the least offer to ftirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Ro- 10 man Patronage ouer the Countrie, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule,

The Achesis were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the Romans, their freinds and benefactours. All the reft gaue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides : or if fome few, as did the Theffalians, were firme against Antiochus; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The Bustians willingly received him, as soone as he entered vpon their borders, not so much for searc of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Romans, by whom they had beene somewhat hardly vied. Aminander the Athamanian, 20 belides his old freindship with the Aetolians, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Areadian, that was an idle-headed man, and vanted himselfe to be descended from Alexander the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his filter to the poore Court of Athamania: where having made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by Antiochus and the Actolians, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of Alexander his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conqueit of Macedon to his behoofe : fince no man had thereto fo good title 30 as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto ; it behoued him to draw Aminander to their partie, that fo they might the fooner have done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleased herewith; and by perswalions of himselfe, or of his sister, esse cted as much as they delired. But the first peece of service done by this imaginarie King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the Macedenians that should be his subjects; or whether from some vanitie in King Antiochas that employed him) wrought more harme to his freinds, than he and Aminander were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading : with which he marched vnto Cynofcephale, there to gather vp the bones of the flaughtered Muce lomant; whom their King had fuffered all this while to lie vuburi-ed. The Mecdons troubled not themselues to thinke on this charitable act, asifit were to them any benefit at all: but King Philip tooke it in high indignation; as intended meerely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto rhe Romans; and gaue them to understand, that hee was readic with all his power to aid them wherein focuer they should be pleased to vie him.

The Actolians, Magnetians, Eulowans, Bootians, and Athamanians, having now all loyned with him; Antiochus tooke counfaile of them about the profecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade Theffalie, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring : because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alleadge; as in a matter of great importance. Hannibal was at this meeting: who had long beene castaside, as a vessell of no vie; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now vt-

ter, was even the fame which he would have spoken, had his counfaile at any time before beene asked fince their comming into Greece. For the Magnetians, Barotians, and other their good freinds, which now fo willingly tooke their parts : what were they elfe than fo many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare voto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they faw it expedient, be as readie to fall to the contrarie fide, alleadging the same teare for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behouefull, to win King Philip of Macedon vnto their partie : who (belides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and for fake them at his plea-10 fure) was a mightic Prince, and one that had meanes to fultaine the Roman warre

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with his proper forces. Now that Philip might be callly perfuaded to joyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a verie firing Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proning by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, faid Hee , Thefe Letolians here prefent and namely this T HOAS, being lately Embassador from them into Asia, among other Motines which be then veed to excite the King unto this Expedition, infilted mainly on the same point, He told us that PHILIP was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordy infoience of the Romans: likening that King to some wild beast, that was channed or lockt up within some grate and would faine breake loofe. If this be foilet wis breake his chrine, and pull downe the grate;

20 that he may regaine bis libertie, and fatisfie his angric flomacke, upon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proone otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation : then (ball it behous vs to looke unto him, that he may not feeke to please his good mafters the Romans, by offending vs. Your Jonne SELEVEVS is now at Lyfimschis, with part of your Armie: if PHILIP will not hearken to your Embaffage; let SELEVCVs be in readines, to fall upon Mucedon, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other fide. without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning PHILIP; and the present war in Greece. But more generally for the mannaging of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the Romans : Itold you my opinion at the beginning. Whereto had you then given eare, the Romans by this time should have heard other newes, than that Chal-

30 cis in Eubwa was become ours. Halie and Giule foould have beene on fire with warre: and, little to their comfort, they flould have under flood, that HANNIBAL was againe come into Italie. Neither doe I fee what should hinder vs even now from taking the fame course. Send for all your Fleete and Armie bother (but in any cafe let Ships of burden come along with them loaden with flore of victuriles: For as the case now stands, we have here too few bands, and too many mouthes.) Whereof let the one halfe be employed against Italie; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were even readicto follow vs into Italie : yea and be readie to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my

4 aduice : who though perhaps I am not werie skilfull in all forts of warre : yet how to war with the Romans, I have beene inflrusted by long experience, both to their coft and mine owne. Of this counfaile which I give, I promife you my faithfull and diligent feruice for the execution: but what counfaile former you fhall please to follow ; I wish it may bee profeerous . Many were pleafed with the great spirit of the man, and faid he had spoken brauely : but of all this was nothing done; faue onely that one was fent into Asia, to make all things readie there. In the meane while they went in hand with Theffalie; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force; many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But Lariffa that was cheife of the Countrie, flood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For OIL Behins, a Roman Proprætor did send helpe thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himselfe Enemie vnto Antiochus : whereby the fame of the fuccour comming to Lariffa grew fuch, as wrought more than the fuccour could have done, had it arrived. For

Antioches perceining many fires on the Mountaines tops afarre off; thought that

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a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had been comming upon him. Therefore exculing himselfe by the time of the yeare; Hee brake up hisseige, and marched away to Chaleis. At Chaleis he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeares and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the fouldiors as readily imitated their Captaines: in fuch wife that when he took the feild, he might euidently perceiue in what loofe manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman Conful, shall meet him verie shortly, 10 and helpe him to reclaime them from this loofenesse of nuptial Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The warre against Antiochus fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as Nafica his Colleague : vnto whom fell a charge, of farre leffe credit and importance. Nasica, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had been elong since, in time of the Punicke Warre, crowned with the title of The best man in Rome : when the Senate, for verie feare and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught 20 them to call the Mother of the gods. But no prærogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more vnto himfelfe, than his lot should affoord him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make war against the Boyans: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with barder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But M. Acilius went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thoufand Horse, and fifteene Elephants. Ptolemie King of £gpt, not with standing his late Alliance with King Antiochus: and Philip King of Macedon; had lately fent Em- 20 balladours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into Atolia, there to affift the Conful in this warre. Ptolemic fent also gold and filuer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneft. But he was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto Philips I:mbaffadors answer was made, that this his freindly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him. for the affiftance that He should give to Acilius the Conful. Masanissa likewise, and the Carthaginians, did striue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promifed a great quantitie of graine; which they 40 would fend partly to Rome, partly to the Armie in Greece . And herein Mafaniffa far out-went the poore Citic of Carthage: as also, in that he offered to lend the Conful fine hundered Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians vndertooke to fet out a Fleet at their own charges; and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerely pensions. But the Romans did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeem themselues out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hastie and ridiculous iffue of this war, that began with such noyse and pre-parations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene the Roman and the Afiatick fouldior. Antiochus had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the same manner as hee had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to

proue their excuse, when they should againe for take him. But King Philip and B.e. bigs, having recovered many places; and the Roman Conful being arrived, again f whom none made relistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. Aminander fled out of his Athamania: which the Macedonian tooke and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good feruice to the Romans. Philip, the brother of Aminanders wife, wastaken by the Conful; made a mocking stocke; and fent away prifoner to Rome. The The flatians vied much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of Antiochus, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing ynarmed; yet fo, that a thousand of them staied behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochius: who having withdrawne himfelf to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his freinds: and faid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour : after which, in time of need ; He found all the promites of the Atolians meerely verball: and himfelfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired Hannibal as a wife man, yea a verie Prophet, that had to refeene all this long before. Neuertheleffe He fent word to the Etolians, that they should now make readie all their forces; as confidering their owne need to be no leffe than his. But the £tolians had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus: who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought ouer . Yet came there some of

them, though fewer than at any time before, which iouned with him. Hereat the King was angrie: and could get no better fatisfaction, than that Those and his fellowes had done their best, in vaine, to have made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of Alia, nor his friends of Greese would appeare in this time of danger: He feized upon the Streights of Thermopyla: as meaning to defend them against the Rowans, vntill more helpe should 20 come. Of the Streights of Thermopyle there hath beene spoken enough \*before, vpon many occasions : and then chiefly, when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge Armie of Xerxes. Wherefore it may casily be conceived, how the

Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into The falie, were vnable to palle that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one balfe of Greece: vnleffe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene Leonidas and Antiochus. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this pasfage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to inuade the Countrie. The latter, having taken voon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he lifted himselfe in Greece : did commit himselfe vnto the safetie of this place, 40 when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilest he lay : He fent earnest messages one after other to the Atolians, entreating them not to forfake him thus: but at least wife now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, left the Romans finding any by-path should come downe vpon

him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that vndertooke to make good the few passages; by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemie to ascend. The Roman Conful in like fort, prepared to force the Streights: without flaying to expect King Philip: that washindered by ficknes from accompanying him . He had with him M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaceus, that had both of them beene Confuls. These he sent forth by night so with two thousand men, to trie whether by any meanes they could get up to the

Actolians. He himselfe encouraged his Armie : not onely by telling them, with what hafe-conditioned enemies they had to deale; but what rich Kingdomes Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night Cato had a fore iournic ( for what Mmmmmm 2

happened vnto L. Valerius it is vncertaine, faue onely that hee failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepie Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves, whilest He, being a vericable man of bodie, tooke in hand the discouerie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path : which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no fuch trouble of climbing : neyther had this en- to trance of the Thermopyla beene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any travailers to fearch out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that Cate followed, though it were the best: yet dit it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would fuffer him to paffe no further. So he staid there vntill day light: by which he discourred both the Campe of the Greekes underneath him; and some of the Aetolians verie neare vnto him, that were keeping watch. Hee therefore fent fortha lustie Crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby vnderstood, that these Actolians were no more than fix hundred; as also that King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set voon the Actolians; over. 20 threw them; flue a great part of them; and chaced the rest: that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was alreadic begun between the Armies below: and the Romans, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found it in a maner a desperate peece of worke to affault the Campe it felfe; which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by Antiochus his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of seruice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hil-side, and powred downe a showre of weapons on their heads. But Cate his approch determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the Atolians had been comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the Roman armes and enfignes were dif- 30 couered, fuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reliftance; but all of them for fooke the Campe, and fled. The flaughter was not great: for that the badnes of the way, did hinder the Roman Armic from making pursuit. Yet this daies loffe draue Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chaleis; and from thence, with the first opportunitie, got him backe into Asa.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and entreat for pardon : fetting open their gates; and presenting themselues vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Breisly, in few dayes all was recourred that Intiochus had gained : the £tolians onely franding out, because they knew not what else to doc. Neyther did the Consuleiue 40 them any respite. At his returne from Chalcis He met with King Philip, that hauing recourred health came to joyne with him against Antiochus: ouer whom since the victorie was alreadie gotten, He did gratulate vnto the Romans their good fucceffe; and offered to take part with them in the Atolian Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conful should besiege Heraclea; and Philip, Lamia; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially Philip, who faine would have taken Lamia before the Conful should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedenians that yied to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindred by the flonie ground. Yet was Lamia euen readie to be taken, when the Conful having wonne Heraclea, came thither; and told Philip, that the spoile of these Townes was are- 50 ward vnto those that had fought at Thermopyle. Herewith Philip must bee contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could foill endure to fee Philip in likelihood of thriuing by the Romans victoric, got not Lamia himfelfe: vntill fuch time as another Conful, was readie to ease him of his charge.

The losse of Heraclea did so affright the Etolians, that they thought no way fafer than to defire peace. Yet had they fent vnto King Antiochus prefently after his flight:entreating him not to forfake them vtterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greeces or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at leastwife to helpe them with monie and other aid. They prayed him to confider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but apportained vnto his owne fafetie: fince it would be much to his light, if the Atolians being wholly fubdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backes, might fet vpon him in Afa. He confidered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore He delivered vnto Nicander, one of their Embassadors, a summe of monie, that might ferue to defray the charges of the Warre: promiting that ere long he would fend them flrong aid, both by Land and Sea, Thous, another of their Embaffadors, He retained with him: who willingly flaied, that he might viee the King to make his word good. But when Herac'ea was taken from them; then did the Etolians lay afide al hope, of amending their fortune by the helpe of Antiochuse and made fuit vnto the Conful to obtaine peace, vpon any reafonable Condition. The Conful would fearer vouchfafe to give them audience but faid Hee had other bulineffe in hand : onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and fent L. Valerius Flacers with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would have delivered vnto himfelfe. At their comming to Hypatas they began, as men fauouring their own cause, to alleadge how well they had deferued of the Romans. Whereto Flacess would not hearken. He told them plainly. That the memorie of all fuch good Offices palt, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe fo even betimes, than to flay till they were reduced into termes of more extremitie. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the Romans, and to that effect lent Embaffadours to the Conful. This phrase of committing unto the faith, signified, in their vie of it, little elfe, than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the crauing of pardon. But the Romans vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as \* yeilding to discretion. Wherefore when the Conful heard them . Legal, excitots foeakein this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to ePolyb.13. their words. They answered that it was ; and she wed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayd Hee, I commaund you first of all, That none of yee prefume to goe into Alia, ypon any bulineffe private or publike: then. That wee deliner up vote me Dicearchus the Atolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Ashamanian, and tuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in renolting from vs. Whilest hee was yet speaking : Phame.us the Embassadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to militake the Cultome of the Greekes, who n had yeelded themselves unto his faith, not unto flauere. What? (faid the Consul) Doe yee stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto cuerie one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to fay. But Valerius and some others entreated the Conful, not to deale thus hardly with them, fince they came as Embaffadours; though finec. their Condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the Apodetior ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill

This furcefance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heracles; when Philip had beene commaunded away from Lamia, that else he might have wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his Mmmmmm 3

these injunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which

cause He entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce

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Armie, like one that could not bee truited in employment : especially the Romans being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre; He was delired to fet vpon the Athamanians, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the Atolians; taking for his reward. all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all Athamania, Perrhebia, Ape. rantia, and Dolopia. For the Atolians, hearing what had befalle their Embaffadors. were fo enraged, That although they were very ill prouided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that Nicandera. bout the same time was come backe from Antiochus, with monie and hopefull promises: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; and Philip having lately risen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His monie Nicander conneighed 10 into Lamia, by verice vnu suall dexteritie. But hee himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the Atolians, there to make report of his Embassage; was verie much perplexed about this his journie, which lay betweene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet hee made the adventure : and keeping as farre as hee could from the Roman fide, fell vpon a Station of Macedonians, by whom hee was taken. and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but cyther to bee delinered vnto the Romans, or vsed ill enough by Philip. But it seemes, that the King had not his therto concocted well the indignitie, of his being fent away from Lamia. For Hee commanded his feruants to entreat Nicander friendly: and he himfelfe being then 20 at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose vp: giving him to understand; That the \*Etolians did now reape the fruits of their own madneffe; forafmuch as they could neuer hold themselues contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into Greece. They had pleafed themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans, and then with King Antiochus: but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He faid, high time for them to have regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any triall: for furely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more availeable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselues much displeasure. Thus much the King willed Nicander to signifie vn- 30 to his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesie which hee then did him, in fending him fafe home. So giving him a Convoy to gard him to Hypata; He louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, Nicander was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of Macedon : fo as in the warre of Perfeus hee made himselfe suspected vnto the Romans; and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Conful vnderstood, that the Atolians refused to make their submisfion, in such wife as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the warreagainst them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus: whither he therefore directly marched, to trie what 40 they could or durst. The seige of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceized it: for it was a ftrong Citie, and well manned. But Acilius flood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a looser, by rifing from before it without Victorie. So He staid there welneare all the following time of his Confulfhip; whileft the Macedonian King and the Acheans, made farre better vse of the Roman Victorie. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in fuch places as had revolted vnto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the firong Citie of Demetrias; and with an haftic course of Victorie, subdued the Athamanians and others. The Acheans called to accompt the Eleans and Meffenians: which had long beene addicted to the Ltolian fide; and followed it, in taking part 52 with Antiochus. The Eleans gaue good words; whereby they faued themselues from trouble awhile. The Messenians being more flout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the Achean Prætor walted their Countrie, than to offer themselves vnto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth: to whome they sent

word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vato the Acheans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from Titus to the Achean Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre : as also the peremptoric Command of the same Titus caused the Mellenians to annex themselves vnto the Acheans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majettie of a Roman Embaffador. Titus did fauour the Acheans; yet could not like it wel, that eyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were firong enough to defend it against anic of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans vpon even termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus which had once been Philips, and was afterward given by him to Aminander who fent a Gouernour thither. But when Aminander in this present Warre, was driven out of his owne Kingdome by Philip: then did the Gouernour of Zacynthus offer to fell the Iland to the Acheans; whom he found readie Chapmen. Titus liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victoric which they had obtained. It was bootiesseto dispute. Wherefore the Acheans referred themselues vnto his diferetion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tor-20 toile, whereof Peloponnelus was the ihell : and that holding themselues within that compaffe, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should be open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having setled thinges thus in Peloponnejus , Flee went over to Manpactus : where Glabrio the Confui had laine two monethes, that might have beene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which Hee had voon the Atolians, or out of diflike of King Philips thriving to fast : Hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the belieged, and to the whole Nation, follong Truce, that they might fend Embassadoursto Rome; and submitting themselves crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that Naupactus was in great danger: else would not the Atolians 30 haue made fuch earnest suit as they did vnto Titus, for procuring of this sauour. But if Glabrio had beene fure to carrie it, in any short space : it may well be thought hee would not have gone away without it; fince the winning of that Towne, wherin was then the whole floure of the Nation, would have made the promifed submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to Rome: no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That eyther they should wholly permit themselues to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neyther Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should give approbation. They had not so much monie : neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves a-40 way unto diferetion; which what it fignified, they now understood. Wherefore they defired to have it fet downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeild vnto the good pleafure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answere: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whileft the Leviluss were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Confal had little to doe in Greece; and therefore took yon him grauely to set things in order among the tradable Levisus. Hee would have had them to reflore the banished Lavedamonian; home into their Countrie; and to take the Eleuns into the fellowshippe of their Common-wealth. This the Levisus liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the Romans; should be medling in all occurrence. Wherefore they destruce the restitution of the banished Lavedamonians: intending to make it an Act of their owne merce grace. As for the Eleuns: they were loth to bee beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Acheans: into whose Corporation they were destrous to be admitted; and law that they should have their desire, without shad populsion mediation.

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The Roman Admirall C. Linius, much about the fametime, fought a battaile at Sea with Polyxenidas, Admirall to the King Antiochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans, though it was not great: and fine and twentie faile of khocians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of faile: but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenidus being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betook himselfe to a speedie retrait.

And fuch end had the first yeares warre, betweene King Antiochus and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greekes as had followed the vaine hopes of the Ltolians, were glad to excuse themselves by seare; thinking themselves happie when 10 by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, Philip of Matedon, Arch-enemie of late vnto the Romans, did now fend to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him Lemetrius his yonger fonne; whom fome few yeares they had kept as an hoftage. Also King Ptolemie of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victoric, lent word how greatly all Afia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee defired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to fend an Armie, as soone as might be, into Afia: promiting, that his affistance, wherein socuer it pleased them to vie it, should not bee wanting. This Ptolemie was the fonne-in-law of King Antiochus : but hee was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of 20 the Contention, that the Romans were like to have the upper hand. The fame did Antiochus now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at Ephelus, as if he had beene in another World but was told by Hanmbal, That it was not so farre out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italie into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would foone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

## VIII.

LVCIVS SCIPIO, having with him PVBLIVS the African his elder Brother, for his 30 Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Atolians, that fo he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much trouble some businesse by Sea; and divers fights. An inuasion upon Evmenes his Kingdome; with the fiege of Pergamus, rayled byan handfull of the Acheans. L. Scipio the Conful comes into Afia: where ANTIOCHUS most earnestly desireth peace and is denied it. The battaile of MAGNESIA: wherein ANTIOCHVS being vanquished, yeildeth to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans weed their Victorie. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO after amost sumptuous triumph over An-TIOCHVS, is surnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stilled The African.



VCIVS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, the brother of P. Scipio the African was chosen Consul at Rome with C. Lelius. Lelius was veric gracious in the Senate: and therefore being detirous (as generally all Confuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. Cornelius would be sopleased, the

disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. Lucius hauing talked with his brother Publius, approued well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time beene put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise 50 fomewhat indifferent; P. Scipio the African faid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against Antiochus, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Leiutenant. These words were heard with fuch approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if Antiochus

relyed upon Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than Scipio; that had beene victorious against the same Great Worthie. But indeed a worser man might have serued well enough the turne. For Hannibal had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in confultation, where his wildome was much approved, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthic of remembrance; as a figne of the freedome that he yfed in his cenfures, even whileft he lived in fuch a Court. Antiochus mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may feeme, to have made him with, that hee had beene fer-10 ued by fuch braue men in Italie. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horfes, and Elephants, with fuch coftly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauerie on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleafing himfelfe with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what hee thought; and whether all this were not enough for the Romans, Enough (faid Hannibal) were the Romans the most couetous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost vpon the backs of Cowardly Asiatiques, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answere pleased the King; it is calle to ghesse. The little vse that hee made of this Carthaginian, tellifies that his diflike of the man, caused him to

CHAP. 5. S.S. of the Historie of the World.

loofe the vie of his feruice, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof. The Scipio's made all haft away from Rome as foone as they could. They carried with them, befides other Souldiors newly preft to the warre, about fine thousand Voluntaries, that had ferued under P. Africanus. There was also a Fleet of thirtie Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto L. A. mylius Regillus, that was chosen Admirall the same yeare for that Voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Conful Glabrio belieging Amphilla a Citie of the Ltolians. The Ltolians after that they were denied peace, had expeeted him once again at Naupactus. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the paffages thereto leading; which heedleffely, as in a time of confution, they had left vngarded the last yeare. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their 30 expectation, and fel vpon Lamia: which being not long fince much weakned by Philip, and now by him attempted on the fudden; was carried at the fecond alfault. Thence went Hee to Amphiffa: which he had almost gotten; when L. Scipio, his fucceffor, came with thirteene thousand Foot and fine hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of Amphissa was presently forsaken by the inhabitants: but they had a Caftle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; where-

halfe of the Lieliums: entreating him to fland their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and wil-4º led them to perswade the Etolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning delire it. This was gladly taken. But many meflages paffing to and fro: though Publius continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conful made fill the fame answere, with which they had beene chaced from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leifurethey might attend some better disposition of the Senate, or any helpeful commoditie which time should affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeares Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeares leifure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was P. Scipio: who thought all time loft which with held the Warre from palling ouer into Afix.

into they all retired. The Athenian Embaffadours had dealt with P. Scipio, in be-

The busines of detolia being thus laid aside : and the old Conful Glabrio sent no home into Italie: the Scipio's marched into Theffalie; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon and Thrace vnto the Hellespont. Yet they considred, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyaltic of King Philp: who might either doc them some mischeife by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notableaduantage: or at the least, would be be vnfaithfull, though he were not so

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couragious; yet might he take fuch order with the Thracians, that even for want of victualles, it by no greater inconvenience, they should be difgracefully forced to returne. He had promifed them the vtmoft of his furtherance : wherein, whether he meant fincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. The King was merricat a feaft, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bad welcom; and shewed him the next day, not onely what prouision of victuailes he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges over the riuers, and mended the bad waies by which they were to passe. With these good newes Gracehus returned backe in hast vnto the Scipio's: who entring into Macedon, 10 found all things in a readines, that might helpe to advance their journie. The King entertayned them royally; and brought them on their way, even to the Hellespont: where they stated agood while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance, Polyxenidas, the Admirall of Antiochius, was a banished Rhodian: true to the King; and defirous of reuenge vpon his Countrimen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe fomwhat vpon those that were fo carly in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to helpe them . Yet 20 went he craftily to worke; and fent word, as in great secrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleived : and the Rhodian Admiral grew so carelesse, expecting stil when he should receive a watchword from Polyxenidas, that he himlelfe was taken by Polyxenidas in his owne Hauen. The Kings Flect fetting forth from Ephelus by night, and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to Samos: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Hauen. Pauliflratus the Rhodian Admirall leeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow hismen on the two head-landsor points of the Hauen; foto gard the mouth of it: 30 for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But Polyxenidae had alreadie landed some companies, in another part of the lland : which falling vpon the backe of Pau/istratus, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and funke or boorded all his Nauie, fine excepted, that by a fudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemie: who having not bethought himfelfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to give way vnto these desperate Gallies; for feare left they should burne, together with themselves, a part of the Kings 40

Not long after this, the Romans had some losse by tempest: whereof Polysenidas could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpole, He was driven backe againe by the like foule weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentie other Gallies: the Romans also with King Eumenes repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, presented battaile to Polyxenidas before the Hauen of Ephesus. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyther they were entreated by the Rhodians, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet perfourmed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to for fake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Eles

and Pergamus: and leaving his fonne Seleucus to be feige the royali Citic of Pergamus, did with the rest of his Armie spoile the whole Countrie thereabout. Attaius, the brother of King Eumenes, was then in Pergamus; having with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore bee had reason to fland in feare; being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thoufand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Achaens: old souldiors all, and trayned vp under Philopamen; whose scholler, in the Art of war, Diophanes their Commander was. This Diophanes, beholding from the walles of Pergamus, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to disdaine, that such men as they 10 should hold him besieged. For Seleneus his Armie which was encamped at the hillfoot, seeing that none durst sallie forth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwise, than by spoyling all behind their backes, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. Diophanes therefore spake with Attalus: and told him that hee would goe forth to visit them. Attalus had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equall. But the Achean would needes have his will: and iffuing forth, encamped not far from the Enemie. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the beseigers; they wondred at first what his meaning was: but when they faw that he held himfelfe quiet, they made a lett of his boldnes; and laughed to fee with what an handfull of men he looked fo flout-30 ly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and diforders. Which Diephanes perceiuing, Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they wel might; and he himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horses readic sadled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as Hee draue them all out of their Campe; and chaced them as far as hee might fafely aduenture, with great flaughter of them, and no loffe of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of Pergamus (who had concred the wals of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this spectacle) were veric toyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these Acheans. Yet would they not therfore iffue forth of their gates, to helpe the Ache-30 ans in doing what remained to be done. The next day Seleucus encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and against him went forth Diophanes the second time; who quietly rested awhile in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: Seleneus, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. Diophanes moued not whilest the Enemie was in sight; but as soone as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all hast, & soone overtaking them with his Horse charged them in Rere; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their verie Trenches. This boldnes of the Acheans, and the basenes of his owne men, caused Selencus to quit the seige, little to his 40 honour. Such being the qualitie of these Afiatiques; Philopamen had cause to tell the Romans, That he enuied their victoric. For when Antiochus lay fealting at Chaleis after his marriage, and his fouldiors betooke themselves to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great fecuritie: a good man of war might hauc cut all their throtes, euen as they were tipling in their victualing houses; which Philopamen said that hee would haue done, had He bin General of the Achean, & not, as he then was, a private man. Antiochus was full of busines : and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at Pergamus: into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before Pergamus he left his sonne as before bath to beene shewed, and went to Elea: whither hee heard that Emylius the Roman Admirall was come, to bring fuccour to Eumenes. There hee made an Ouerture of peace : about which to confult, Eumenes was sent for by Emylius, and came from Pergamus. But when it was confidered, that no conclusion could be made without the Conful; this Treatic brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly menti-

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oned; which caused Seleucus to give over the leige of Pergamus. Atterwards, foure or fine Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the Syrian Fleet, being of feuen and thirtie Saile, was beaten by the Rhodian which was of like number. But of this victorie the Rhodians had no great cause to rejoyce : for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, together with Apollonius a Courtier of Antiochus. was Admirall of the Syrians, did them in manner as great hurt as they could docto Apollonius; and having the victorie taken out of his hand by Afolionius his flight. yet made such a retrait, that the Rhodians durst not farre aductive vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Præfaces vnto the war; the last and greatest was a victorie of the Romans by Sea, against Polyxenidas the Kings Admirall. The bat- to taile was fought by Myonne/us a Promontoric in Asia: where Polyxenidas had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and fine of them greater, than any of the Romans. This being all the firength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanitie of those bragges, wherewith Antiochus vanted the latt yeare, That his Armaia should couer all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fiftie Gallies , the Rhodims, two and twentie: the Roman being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the Rhodian more light-timberd and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sca-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same deuice; with which, fine of their Gallies had lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemie: who declining them for feare, laid 20 open his fide; and was thereby ingreater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysted faile: and having a faire wind, bore away toward Ephefus as falt as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behind them: wherof thirteeene were taken : all the rest burnt or sunke. The Romans and their fellows lost onely two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masteric of the Sea.

The report of this miladuenture, may feeme to have taken from Antiochus all vle of reason. For assi no hope had beene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in Europe: Hee presently with Arew his Garrisons from Lysimachia: which might eatily have beene kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the beseigners (if the liege had beene continued obttinately) to termes of 30 great extremitie. Hee allo gave over the sleg of Celophen: and laying asside all thought save onely of desence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to

his father-in-law, King Ariarathes the Cappadocian.

Thus the Roman Conful, without impediment, not onely came to the Hellefpont; but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to Antiochus on Europe fide. The Fleet was then also in readines, to transport him ouer into Alia: where Eumenes had taken such care before, that He landed quietly at his owne good case; euen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadic. The first newes that hee heard of the Enemie, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him 40 from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now perfivade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampfacus, and Lyfmachia, had been the places about which they varied. Seing therefore the King had now alreadie given over Ly machia; and was further purposed, not to strine with the Romans about Lampsacus and Smyrna: what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with war? If it was their defire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of Asa, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands : the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein . Breifly, let them take fome part of Asia: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be 50 uncertaine; and it should be quietly put into their hands. It all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had beene in this war. So praying the Romans to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too infolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected

their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were indged by the Romans to be veric little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his only fault : and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in Aolis and lonia; but quite out of Asia the leffe, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount Taurus. When the Embassadour therefore saw, that no better bargaine could be made, He dealt with P. Scipio in private: and to him hee promised agreat quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by 10 the King. Scipio would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his fonne, than vpon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publicke busines: Hee onely faid thus much, That fince Antiochies had alreadie for laken Lyfimachia, and fuffered the war to takehold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, faid He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Conful demanded of him no leffe, than if he had beene alreadic fubdued: little reason 20 there was, that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loose, as hee thought, no more, than by feeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threefcore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleased, to heare that the Conful drew neare him apace, as one hastning to fight. But how foeuer he was affected; Hee made so little shew of feare, that hearing P. Scipio to lie ficke at Elea, He fent thither vnto him his fonne without ranfome: as one both defirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ficknes, and withall not defirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne fafetie. Thus ought his boun-30 tie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein he dealt craftily. For fince he could have none other ranfome of Scipio, than fuch as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtelie before the battell, as would afterwards have beene little worth; than to flay untill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recourrie of his fonne: fo as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue beene much availeable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, He faid onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, Iam now able to make your King none other amends, than by adulfing him not to fight, ontill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to conie-40 fture. Antiochus resolued to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about Thratira, beyond the River of Phrygius or Hyllus, vnto Magnesia by Sipylus: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. This ther followed him L. Scipio the Conful; and fate downe within four emiles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greekes, came to bid the Romans welcome: of whom at first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driven backe over the River. Two daies were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the Romans would passe the water. The third day the Romans made the aduenture: wherein they found no diffurbance; nor were at all opposed, vntil they came within two miles and an halfe of Antiochus his Campe. There, as they were 50 taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand, Horse and Foote: whom the ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Foure daies together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies ; and let them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the Romans came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Con-

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fultooke aduife what was to be done. For either they null fight vpon what foeuer difaduantage, or elfer folue to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrie of their freinds, and therefore (which two many difficulties: valefle they would flaine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more conucnient place; and fo deferre the war vntill the next Spring. The Roman fouldrour was throughly perfivaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, that this great Armie should be assailed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouring the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to set you shim. All this while P. Scipio came not. Wherfore the King, being loath to discouring the shim then, by seeming to land in seare of the Enemie; resoluted to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailes: Healso did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might vndersland his meaning to she the.

The Roman Armie confifte of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vivally, were in the points; the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were divided into Maniples. The Haftate had the leading : after them followed the Principes, at fuch distance as was viuall; and last of all, the Triarij. Now beside these, there were about three the usand Auxiliaries; partly 20 Acheans; and partly fuch as belonged to Eumenes: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vtmost of all (faue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Tralians were almost three thousand Horse : of which, Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the river : yet foure Troups of horse were placed there; though fuch helpe feemed in a manner needleffe. Two thouland Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Conful had with him fixeteene African Elephants, which hee bestowed in his Rere: for a funch as had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they only would have served to discourage his men, as being fure to be beaten, the Indian being farre the greater, and more 30 couragious beafts: whereof Antiochus had likewife much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diverfly apointed, and not all accultomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the feuerall kinds, in such wise as each might be of most vsc. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These Hee placed in the middest, and divided into tenne Battalions: every one haning two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beafts, and fuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Crefts, Towers on their backes, and befides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in cuerie Tower, made agallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these 40 were fifteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greekes: then, three thousand Barbd Horse and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the Agenta, that were all Medians, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, divided in their severall kinds, doe seeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have beene firetched out in Front. Adjoyning to these were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment : called the Argyraspides or Silversbields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like fo valiant as those of the same name, that had serued under Great Alexander: then, twelve hundred Archerson horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foote, two thousand and five 50 hundred Archers of Mylia; with foure thousand flingers and Archers of the Cirtzans, and Elymaans. On the left-hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greekes and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were fent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seuen hundred of divers

Nations; and a Regiment of a thou sand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the Kings Troupe, being, Syrians, Phryzians, and Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the Dromedaris, where on sate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, Carians, Ciliaians, Paphylians, Pytraans, Elymaans, and many others, hauing also with them sixteene Elephants. Antiobus himselfe commanded in the right wing: Seleuans in the left and three of his principall Captaines commanded over the Phalameier.

The first onset was given by the Dromedaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot, Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eafily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with showtings, and noyfes, and fome wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged voon the left wing : where they found no relistance ; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearle, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible : that the Phalangiers, with such varietie of Auxi-20 liaries, made little or no relistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, Antiochus himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flancked with Horse; gaue vpon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But M. Amylius, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, iffued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renewe the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were alreadie victorious: whereof when Antiochus discouered the approch; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away upon the spur without further tariance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a 30 great multitude that were fled into it. Antiochus is faid to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not flaine aboue three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horse: of Eumenes his followers fluc and twentic.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custodic of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Townesmen and Souldiors were fo difmaved with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded vp themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on the way. Neyther were many dayes spent, ere Antiochus his Embassadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the King his Master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother : who obtained leave to make the answere, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done; which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this fide of Taurus. For their charges in that warre they required fifteene thousand Talents: fine hundred in hand; two thousand and fine hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve yeares next ensuing by even portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some flore 50 of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, verie earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Atolian, with force others who had flirred up the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might fo eafily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demaunds; as no great Nnnnnn 2

art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commillion, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to doc, than to fend immediatly to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Confuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, M. Fuluius, and Cn. Manlius Volfo. The Etolians defired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neyther of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Confuls should make Warre vpon the Liolians. the other, vpon Antiochus in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes, that Antiochus was alreadie vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands; yet fince the State of Asia was not like to bee 10 fo throughly fetled by one Victorie, but that many thinges might fall out worthic of the Romans care; Cn. Manlius, to whome Aia fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this came the Embassadors of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others : yea by King Eumenes in person ; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no disputation: it was generally approued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his owne deferts : and comparing himselfe with Masanissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian, 20 fince they had found him a King indeed, whereas Mafanissa was onely such in title; and fince both he and his father had alwayes beene their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrie by them taken from Antiochus, as they had no purpole to keepe in their ownehands. Neyther thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themfelues with the care of giving libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on Afia fide. For fince the most of those Townes had beene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The 20 Rhodians did not like of this. They defired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Grecian libertic; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had beene fubicct vnto Philip, and ferued him in his Warre: which was not alleadged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they inlifted, was this, That the Victorie of the Romans against King Antiochus was so great, as eafily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaucaway so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King Antiochus : after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe 40 whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of anic ten that Rome had beheld untill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of The African had beene given vnto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some, to reward L. Scipio with the title of The Afiatick: which the fortune of his Victoric had no lesse deserved; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

à. IX.

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The Ætolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquished by the Roman Consuls FULVIVS and MANLIVS. MANLIVS hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other obiections) with attempting to have paffed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by SIBYLL. Of SIBYL'S Prophecies; the Bookes of HER-MES; and that Inscription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio Es: and the leginning of faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

ARC. FULVIVS and Cn. Minlius had the fame charge divided be-

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tweene them, which L. Cornelius Scipio, now ftyled Afiaticus, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one m ins worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had graunted fo long a Truce to the Atolians. But fince, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtic little Nation had not fought to humble it felfe to the Roman Maiestie, it was now to be brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the Atolians. They had forescene the danger, when their Em-20 balfadours were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the Rhodians and Athenians to become interceffours for them . Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuife, vpon helping themselves, even by repurchase of Countries loft, where they spied aduantage.

Poore King Aminander lived in exile among them, whilest Philip of Macedon kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Callles. But the Athamanians (besides that manic of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) having beene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conversed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and infelent manner of commaund, vfed by 30 the Captaines of Philip his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their feruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which undertooke the worke. Yet affurance, that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to tric his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand £10lians, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers, having divided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the readie assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his vie. The fame of this good fucceffe at first; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action : made the Lieutenants of 40 Philip vnable to thinke vpon relifiance. One of them held the Towne of Theium a few daies; giving thereby some leifure vnto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his belt, he was forced thence; and could onely tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was lo . Philip had brought from home fix thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all faue two thousand behind him & so came to Athenaum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theum a while, to take a placelying over Argithea, that was chiefe of the Countrie. Zeno did as he was appointed: yet neither be, nor the King, had the boldnesse to descend upon Argithea; for that they might perceive the Athamanians, 50 all along the hill fides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they should be bufie. Wherefore nothing was thought-more honourable than a fafe retreat: specially when Aminander came in light with his thouland . Atolians. The Macedonians were called back from wards Argithea, and prefently with drawne by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not fuffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure.

Nanaan 2

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The Athamanians and Ætolians way-layed them, and purfued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine slight, with great loss of men and armes; few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, until Philip his returne.

The \*Etolians\*, having found the businesse of \*Athamania\* so easie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, you the \*Amphilochians\* and \*Aperantians\*. These had belonged who their Nation, and were lately taken by \*Philip\*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became \*Etolian againe. The \*Dolopians\* lay nexts; that had been euer belonging to the \*Macedonian\*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours readic to fight 12 with them in the \*Atolian\* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the iou was the lesse; for that newes came of Antiochus his last ouerthrow, and of M. Fuluius the new Consult his hasting with an armie into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his owne from Philip with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of Philip his loss: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. Fuluits went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe feat of Pyrrhus his Kingdome. 20 With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Etolians: yet could not by them be relieued, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vpon equall ground. To helpe the Ambracians, it was not in the Etolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and readic to be driven from their new conquest, by Perfess the sonne of Philip, who invaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with fo many at once; and therefore as earnestly fought peace with the Romans, as they floutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadors came; who befought the Consult to graunt them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any vio- 20 lence of the affavlants, or danger that might feeme to threaten. The Confull had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so be driven to leave vnto his fucceffor the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the Ætolians, and bad them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend Antiochus had made the same purchale. He also gaue leaue to Aminander, offering his feruice as a mediatour, to put himselfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnsusferable. The same Embassadours of the Athenians and Rhodians accom- 40 panied those of the Liolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this interceffion, for that Philip had made verie grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Ætolians were bound to vphold the maiestic of the people of Rome, and to observe divers articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any people of Greece; they having beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrie. The Isle of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselues (as not long since 50 they had gotten Zacynthus from the Acheans, by (tiffely preffing their owne right) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilest they seemed to forbcare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto Philip, or others, might lay claime, there was fet downe an Order fo perplexed, as would necessarily

require to haue the Romans Iudges of the controuerfies, when they should arife. And hereof good vse will be shortly made: when want of emploiment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordlie Inquisition to be held, upon the affaires of Macedon and Greece.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conful, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallogreekes and others. His Armie was the fame that had followed L. Scipio; of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. Hee visited those Countries on the hither fide of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by Antiochus. Among these there were some pettle Lords, or Tyrants, to some free Cities, and some that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration hapned in Asa. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which heeshould else haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootie, when, haning fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length upon the Gallogreekes. These had long dominiered ouer the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their forepassed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they served vnder King Antiochus, as made them to know themselues farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon to the Riuer Halys, in an Inland Countrie, where those enemies were not like to fearch them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of Eumenes, exhorted the reft to yeeld: then was no counfaile thought fo good, as to forfake their houses and Countrie, and, with all that they could carrie or drive, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of Olympia and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and vichuailed for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promifed greatest affurance : it was thought, that the Conful would either for beare the attempt of forcing them, or eafily be repelled; and that finally, o when he had staied there awhile, winter, and much want, should force him to diflodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallogreekes had beene careleffe of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough to that purpose : the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in difaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did calily prevaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallogreekes, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive armes, could not hold out against the arrowes and 40 weapons of the Roman light armature : but were driven from a peece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselues headlong downs the steepe rockes. Few of the menescaped aline: all their wines, children, and goods, became a prey vnto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation ouercome soone after, at the other mountaine : onely more of them faued themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backes.

The fewartes being ended: Fulaius and Manlius were appointed, by the Senate, cach of them to retaines a Proconful his Province for another yeare. Fulsius, in his 50 fecond yeare, did little or nothing. Manlius gane peace to those whom hee had vanquilhed; as likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocium, and some others, not by him vanquilhed, but submitting themselves for leare of the Roman armes. Hee drew from them all what profit he could: and laid yoon them such conditions, as hee thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Antiochus; whereto

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he fwore, and received the Kings oath by Embaffadours, whom hee fent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of Asia, he tooke his way toward the Hellefbont, loaden with spoile, as carrying with him (belides other treasures) all that the Gallogreekes had in fo many yeares extorted, from the wealthic Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of Manlius returns home. rich in money alone, or cattaile, or things of needfull vie, which the Roman fouldier had beene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houlhold-stuffe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Mulitians for banquets, and, in a word, with the feedes of that luxuric, which finally ouer-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Countrie of Thrace lay betweene Hellespont and the Kingdome of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journie homeward. L. Sapio had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any fuch bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because Philip of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when Manlius came along with an huge traine of baggage; the Thracians could not fo well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that Philip tooke it otherwise than verie pleafantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angrie; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gave the Romans 20 to vnderstand, that Eumenes could not have abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of Rome had not made warre in Alia: whereas contrariwife, Antiochus had offered vnto himfelfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Atolians; promifing moreover to reflore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference betweene him and Eumenes, when the warre began : he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victorie, to give away not onely the halfe of Asia, but Chersonnels and Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas vpon himselfe they beflowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. 30 He had entertained louingly the two Scipio's, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was growne into neare acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes tooke a surer way. For the Scipio's had not the disposing of that which they wanne from Antiochie : as neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Delegates affilting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore faw these vpstart Kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced to highly, and made greater than himfelfe yea himfelfe vnregar- 40 ded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against Antiochus, or rather that hee had joined with Antiochies and the Atolians, by whom he might have beene freed from his infolent masters. But what great argument of such discontented nesset the Micedonian had, we shall verie shortly be viged to discourse more at large. At the present it was belocued, that the Thracians were by him set on, to affaile the Romans palling through their Countrie. They knew all advantages: and they fell, vnexpected, upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had alreadie paffed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet fo farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to 50 leave behinde: though both the getting, and the fauing did cost many lives as well of the Barbarians as of the Romans. They fought untill it grew night: and then the Thracians withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though leffe dangerous, before

the Armic could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and to to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To Manlius, and to Fuluius, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction : especially to Manlim; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to affist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vinworthic Commander. Touching the relt of their acculation; it sufficeth that he made good answere, and was approued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthie of more particular confideration. Reprehending his delire to have hindred the peace with Antiochus; they said, That with much adoe he was kept Lindas

10 from leading his Armie ouer T AVRVS, and adventuring upon the calamitie threatned by SYBYLS verses, unto those that should passe the fatall bounds. What calamitic or onerthrow this was, wherewith Sibyls prophecie threatned the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer Taurus, I doe not conceiue. Pompey was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of Luculus had opened vnto him the way, and had before hand wonne, in a fort, the Countries on the other fide of the Mount; which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either Lucullus or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecie, fell out neare about 20 one time, with the restitution of Ptolemie King of Egrpt; that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seeme to have had reference, vnto the fame things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the Agyptian King. Whether the Oracles of Siby/had in them any truth, and were not, as Tullie noteth, fowed at randome in the large field of Time, there to take Tullide Dinin. root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more proba- 12. ble, than that the restitution of Ptolemie to his Kingdome by Gabinus the Roman, should have any way betokened the comming of our Saujour : as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers, have beene well pleased to interprete Sibyl in that prophecie. Of the sibylline prædictions I have sometimes thought reverend-20 lie: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet follow-

ing the common beleefe and good authoritie. But observation of the shamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the bookes of Sibyl, had well prevailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of Eusebius: when that learned and excellent worke of master Cafauben upon the Annales of Cardinall Barenius, did altogether Isaac Cafaub. worke or matter Cajanoon vpon the Zinnaies of Caldinan Business, Gid altogether Exercial. 1. free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of ad Annal. Bar Sibyl, wherein Christ so plainly was foreshewed, but even the bookes of Hermes, n. 10. 611. which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited peeces, and at first entertained (whosoeuer deuised them) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as 40 delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthned with forreine proofes. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historie, reported by Eusebius from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to Simon Magus Euseb, Ecclbift. in Rome; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription Simoni Deo Sancto, 1.2.6.13. that is, To Simon the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should have beene quite omitted by Tacisus, by Suetonius, by Dien, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets

50 that this inscription, Simoni Deo Sancio, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse in place of SEMONI SANGO: a title foure hundred yeares older than the time of Simon Migus. For the goods of one Vitruuius a Rebell, had many ages before beene confecrated SEMONI SANGO, that is, To the Spirit or Demi god Sangus, in whose Chapell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman

would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it beene true; neither

can it be thought that Senece, who then lived and flour flied, would have abstained

from speaking any word of an Argument so samous. Wherefore I am perswaded,

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vponthem; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be missered, Sinonisant Sancto, and that some of the simple who had heard of Simon Mague, but not of Sangue, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such consectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historicall, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten posse.

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Now concerning the Triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbred among a 10 few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last paiment of those monies, which the Common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second Punicke warre. Solong was it, that Rome had fill some feeling of Hannibal: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memoric, of any danger. This Triumph of Manlius was deferred by him, even as long as he well could: for that he thought it not fafe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two Scipio's were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. P. Scipio the African, with whom they began, could not endure that 20 fuch vnworthie men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrie. When therefore his day of answere came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assemblie, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the People, That vpon the fame day of the yeare he had fought a great battaile with Hannibal, and finished the Punicke Warre by a fignall victorie. In memorie whereof, hee thought it no fit scason to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitoll, and there give thankes to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at 30 other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weightie businesse of the Common wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if ever fince the seventeenth yeare of his life, untill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deferts had exceeded the great neffe of those honourable places, then would they pray that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might fill be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, cuen the Officers of the Court, followed Scipie; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne flaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, vntill for verice shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, 40 unrequested, a surther day. After this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their fuit, but enforce him to fubmit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankfull Romans, that could suffer him to vindergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome againe. How many yeares he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeare, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeare, with Hannibal and Philopamen, as also of his private behaviour at Liternum, render it probable, that he outlined the Tribunelhip of his accusers; who meant to have drawne him backe to his answere, if one of their Colleagues (as one 50 of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoeuerit was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with L. Scipiothe Asiatique. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monie receiued of Antiochue, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the

Senate should give charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and indicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree an Oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, and initigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue: temperate, valiant, and of fingular indultrie; frugall alfo, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was even faultic: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vn mercifull and vn conscionable, in seeking to encrease his owne wealth, by such meanes as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyloned with enuic, troubled both himfelfe, and the whole Citie, whileft he lived. His meane birth caufed him to 10 hate the Nobilitie; especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their adnancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when Glabria, whose Lieutenant he had beene at Thermopyla, was his Competitor for the Cenforship. and likely to carrie it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periurie, That he had not brought into the common Treasurie fome veffels of gold and filter, gotten in the Campe of Antiochus, Now the hatred which he bare vnto the Scipioes grew partly (belides his generall fpight at the Nobilitie) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was given vnto 20 himfelfe, in the African voyage, by P. Scipio, whose Treasurer he then was. For when Cato did vtter his diflike of the Confuls bad husbandrie (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptoric manner; Scipio plainely told him. That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, Cato filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the Scipioes, whileft it was nourished by their enemie, brake out vpon advantage, especially against L. Scipio, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuere inquirie and 30 judgement being appointed of purpose against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should have been layed up in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by Tiberius Gracebus, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his having beene beholding to Antiochus, nor was found so much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had beene against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was L. Scipio no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made fuch a collection for him, as would have fet him in better o estate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessarie vse, being redeemed for him by his necress friends.

And thus began the citille warre of the Tongue, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, wntill now, fince the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and fome want of fufficient employment, were efpeciall helpes to the kindling of this fire, which first caught hold vpon that great Worthie, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extreame danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contains themselues within heat of wordes, and cunning practife, For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarressome businesses, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubbes and stones, afterward with swords; and similty, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a Lade of rare vertue, that in honour of her two soness was more commonly named Mother of the

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Gracchi, faw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Confuls all the whole power of the Citic, vnder this forme, Let the Confuls prouide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemie to the State, they thought to have woon a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracehus, and of Saturninus a popular man, whom by fuch authoritie they did put out of the way; it was not long ere Marius, a famous Captaine of theirs, was 10 so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: whereupon began the civile warres; which giving vnto Sylla, who prevailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught Cafar, a man of higher foirit, to affect and obtaine the like foueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was proposed. It is true, that never any Confull had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in paffing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citic stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: fo the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemics those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voices 20 in the House, did compell Casar, or give him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by inteftine discord, the Romans confurning all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subjects vnto the arbitrarie government of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their infolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe even what they lifted. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto ynto compleat greatnesse. nor beleeued of her felfe as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. 30 Wherefore this confummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the fequele will discouer.

# CHAP. VI. The second Macedonian Warre.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the 40 Romans, when the warre with ANTIOCHVS was finished. The Romans quarrell with PHILIP. They deale insolently with the Achaans. The Macedonian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his some DEMETRIVS; of whom thence-



FIER the ouerthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Acheans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arrivall of the Romans in those parts : yet in veric 50 truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vasfalls to the People of Rome. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whome

focuer it rest; namely, To make Lawes; To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beste Mome; and To reserve (as the French call it) le dermier resort, or the last appeales, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeale, or last refort, as eueric pettic injuric offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselues within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Gommonweales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Effates and R egalities vtterto ly dissolued. Neuerthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interpoled their will to the contrarie; neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of Greece did bow verie gently: either as being thankefull for their deliuerance from a yoke more femily grieuous, or, as being skilfull in the art of flatterie, and therein taking delight, fince therein confifted their chiefe hope of thrining; or, as being more fearefull of difpleasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But Eumenes living 20 further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, queftioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to vie his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little availeable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For youn the same reason (as well as youn his owne high deferts) were they verie louing vnto Masanissa, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion setled in Afrike: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subjection vnto themselves, by the ministeric of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsefull 30 and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But fuch magnanimitie was noneotherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himfelfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately given passage to their Armies through his Countrie, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the Hellespont into Alia; against Antiochus: yet vpon the complaint of Eumenes, and the States of Thessalie and Thrace, he was commaunded to abandon the Cities of Anus and Maronea, with all Pecces and Places demaunded by any of his neighbours; whereof manie of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themfelnes.

These Townes of Anus and Maronea had beene part of Lysimachus his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion verie farre. He is thought to have made himselfe Lord of Tran/yluania: in which Province it is faid, \* That innumerable Medals of gold have been found, in the Hift: of Hungaage of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped vie by Mari with his Image on the one fide, on the other fide with Victorie. Of all these Lord-50 ships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lined not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleneus Wicator by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and flue Lysimachus: as alfo, by the like right, Ptolomie Ceraunus thought them his owne, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the Kingdome of Macedon could not fusianc, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crowne, 000000

together with the more part of Thrace, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, and his fuccessours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the Gaules being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recoursed their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanians and wild Thracians, to finde their advantages and make vie of them, even vpon Macedon. Against the mischieses commonly done by these, King Philip did prouide the most convenient remedies: by shutting vo the wayes, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying Lylimachia, with some other Townes in Ibrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of 10 his owne Countrey, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate : yet for a smuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Atolians, of wrongfull viurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied Lysimachia, Hereto he made a good answere, That his Garrison did onely faue it from the Thracians: who, as foone as hee thence withdrew his men, did feize vpon the Towne. and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have faid, touching Anus and Marones; That they were Places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the Barbarims might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not anayled him, 20 in the disputation about Lysimachia: and in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title, fince Antiochus had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whileft Philip was bufied in his former warre; and fince they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselues all the title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether Enus and Maronea should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed voon Eumenes; who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia and Chersonness, that were alreadie his by their gift. What they would determine, he might ealily perceive, by the demeanour of their Embaffadors towards him: who fitting as Judges betweene him and all that 20 made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in cuerie controuersie. Neuerthelesse, he sent Embassadoursto Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes, wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might prevaile) was wholly on his fide. For he had holpen their Confuls in the warre against Antiochus and the Atolians: wherein what soeuer he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embalfadours: and would they now depriue him of those two Townes,lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of Antiochus, like as out of his owne ruines Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By fuch allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwife to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to 40 doc. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embassadours. Wherefore, considering how infolently the Maranites had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their libertie, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to Onomastus, that was Warden of the Sea coasts, to handle these Maronites in such fort, as they might have little joy of the libertie by them fo earnestly desired. Onomassus employed Cassander, one of the Kings men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians by night, that they might facke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the Roman Embassadours, who had better notice, than could have beene 50 feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more firicily, than became his Majestie, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himselfe, and layed it even upon the Maronites; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

to him, other some to Eumenes, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throtes. And hereof hee willed the Embaffadours to inquire, among the Maronites themselues: as well knowing, that they who survived were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not vtter an offensive word. But hee found the Romans more seucre, and more throughly informed in the bulinesse, than to rest contented with such an answere. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must lend Onomastius and Cassander to Rome, thereto be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble 10 him. Yethe collected his spirits, and said that Cassander should be at their dispofition : but concerning Onomastus, who had not beene at Maronea, nor neare to it, hee requested them not to presse him; fince it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his friends. As for Caffander, because he should tell no tales; hee tooke order to have him poisoned by the way. By this wee see, That the doêtrine, which Machiauel taught vnto Cafar Borgia, To employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages have given vs examples of this goodlie pollicie, the latter having beene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient : as the reigne of Henrie the eighth here in England, can beare good witneffe; and therein especially the Lord Cromwell, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of Philip made an unpleafant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought vpon him the warre which hee feared, before hee was readie to entertaine it. Wherefore hee emploied his younger fonne Demetrius as Embaffadour vnto the Senate : giuing him instructions, how to make answere to all complaints ; and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in fuch wife that if ought were amiffe, yet might it appeare that hee had beene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacific the Romans, and make all cuen for the present. Demetrius himselfe was knowne to be verie acceptable vnto the 30 Senate 3as having beene well approved by them, when he was hoftage in Rome: and therefore seemed the more likelie, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in re-

gard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likelie to divert from himselfe some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadours, that had beene Judges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrie. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the compleint of the banished Lacedemonians against the Acheans. It was objected vnto the Acheo ans, That they had committed a grieuous flaughter vpon many Citizens of Lacedemon: That vnto this crueltie they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of Lycurgus. Hereto Lycort.w, then Prætor of the Acheans, made answere, That these banished Lacedamonians, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to be the men, who had themselues committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame vpon others: the Acheans having onely called those vnto judgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintifes having flaine them, vpon private, though inft hatred, as they were comming to make an lwere for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of Lacedamen, hee faid it was most agreeable to Lycurque his ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications; as the

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Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Viurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walles, and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lyeurgus his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the Acheans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the Luedamonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, Lycortas plainly told App. Claudius the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained, to answere and give account of their actions; as vasfals 10 and flaues vnto the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the Acheans as well require to be fatisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busic themselves, to take account how things went at Lacedemon? For if the Romans would fland upon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratific it : then must the Achaans have recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without periurie could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing, the Romans, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of Lycortas, Appius found little to replie. Yet taking flate vpon him, hee pronounced more like a Mafter than a 20 Iudge, That if the Acheans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and carne thankes whileft they might; they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the Acheans; which ground to heare the Lordly words of Appies. Yet Feare prevailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romans to doe as they lifted. Hereupon the Embaffadours reftored fome banished and condemned men : but the Roman Senate, verie soone after, did make void all Judgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the Acheans upon any Citizen of Lacedamon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territoric of Lacedamon, should be suffered to continue a member of 20 the Achean Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had beene, an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared, That they held it to depend your their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achaia, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the love which they bare vnto the Achaians, than the power which they had over

Into fuch flauerie had the Greekes, and all Kings and Common-weales whatfocuer, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the Romans to their fuccour. They wanted not the good counfaile and per- 40 fwalions of many wife and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gaules, and Africans, all subdued by the Romans, and, by feeking Patronage, made meere vaffals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect; yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so prevaile with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of felfe ruine, be ought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearfull scruilitie.

All this made well for Philip of Macedon: who though he saw the Greekes verie farre from during to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in 50 awe; yet was hee not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Remons by freeing from his subjection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrie would be his, when focuer he should take armes as short-

lie he was like to doe. Young Demetrius, comming home from Rome, brought with him the delired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie foone following. He had beene louingly vied at Rome, and heard with great fanour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, vnskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anfwere: it was permitted vnto him, to reade fuch briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for Demetrius his owne fake, as they then faid and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his fonne, together with fome infolence of his fonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans; did increase in Philip his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him a lealousse of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from Rome; some bringing one commandement; fome another; and fome, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embaffadours young Demetrius was converfant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and o for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleafing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, That Perfess, the elder fonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon Demetrius, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely Perfew, but Philip himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more Roman than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere wee proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this icalousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

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The death of PHILOPOEMEN, HANNIBAL, and Scipio. That the militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie : notwithstanding some examples, which may feeme to produe the contrarie.



He Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptorie with the Acheans; that they feemed not valikely to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the Messenians, who against their will were annexed vnto the Achean Common-wealth, having long

beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselues from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, seuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-ftrongly affected in the bufineffe; were carefull to feeke occasion of reducing things to fuch passe, that altheir Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the Achean League. And hereupon they began to doe fome acts of hostilitic; whereby it was probable that bloud should bee 50 drawne, and either fide to farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; Philopamen, then Pretor of the Acheans, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall gentlemen of the Acheans, especially of the Megalopoli:ans, were foone in a readinesse to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for O00000 3

the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, hee met with Dinocrates, Captaine of the Mellenians; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilest his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace; there arrived, by chance, a supplie of five hundred from Messene, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled Philopamens Horsemen to turne backe. Philopamen himselfe had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had fo willingly aduentured themselues under his conduct. He tooke upon him to 10 make the Retrait: and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrific from approaching over-neare to him. But it fell out vnhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weake plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Encmies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeued their fortune to bee so good, although their eies were witneffes. The first messenger that brought these newes to Meffene, was so farre from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They 20 caused him to be brought into the Theater, that therethey might satisfie themfelues with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the fingular benefits by him done vito them, especially in deliuering them from Nabis the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, Dinocrates and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life : because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leave any differace, or injurie, done to him, vnreuenged. They durft not one trust another with the keeping of him : but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had beene made for the custodie of their T reasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine 30 laid an heavie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staied long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which Philepamen tooke in his hand; and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycortas was fafe, when he heard an answere to his minde, he faid it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. Hee was seventie yeares old, and weakned with long fickneffe, whereby the poifon wrought the fooner, and casily tooke away his life. The Achaans, when they missed him in their flight, were maruelloufly offended with themselves, for that they had beene more mindfull to preserve their owne lives, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent 40 a Commander. Whilest they were denising what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently afflieted: fo as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Messen, crauing his enlargement : and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. Lycortas was chosen Generall of the Armie against Messene: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then Dinocrates, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands your himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the ashet of Philopemen, that were carried home in folemne pompe to Megalopolis; where they were all 50 of them flaine at his funerall, as facrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. O. Martius, a Roman Embassador, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldome absent. He would have entermedled in this busines of Meffene, had not Lycortas made short worke, and left him nothing to doc.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius sent Embassador to Prusius King of Bithynia: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the warre against Eamenes, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer Hannibal, the most spightfull enemie in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. Prufias (therein vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condifcend: or rather (as Linie thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him aliue to Flaminius. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and Flaminius, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous Captaine having found cause before this to suf-10 pect the faith of Prustas, had deuised some secret fallies under ground to saue himfelfe from any treasonable and sudden affault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie: which he then was constravned to practife, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him. as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of cscape, nor counsell to refort vnto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwayes preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerse fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, he yttered these wordes: I will now (faid he) deliver the Romans of that feare, which hath fo many yeares 20 possest them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of FLAMINIVS over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, Shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroicall deedes : No ; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how farre the auncient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For fuch was the nobleneffe of their forefathers; as, when PyRRHVs inuaded them in Italie, and was readie to give them battaile at their owne dores, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson: whereas these of a later race have employed FLAMINIVS, a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Confuls, to practife with PRVSIAS, contrarieto the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith given, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hospitalitie, to slaughter or deliner up his owne Guest. He then cur-30 fing the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to revenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poylon, and died.

In this yeare also (as good Authors have reported) to accompanie Philopamen and Hamibal, died Scipio the African: these being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than infortunate. Certainely, for Hamibal, whose Tragedie we have now sinished, had he beene Prince of the carthaginians, and one who by his authoritic might have commaunded such supplies, as the Warre which he vindertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly cross by a cowardly and envious Fastion at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sultaine it, did o lastly dissolute ties in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and jealoufic of our Mafters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vaprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and jealous of men; the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of mieries layed on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did Monluc the Marshall of France consession. That were not the mercies of Go o instinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his prosession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the evuelites, by them per 30 mitted and committed, were also instinite. How society, this is true, That the victories, which are obtayned by many of the greatest Commaunders, are commonly either assertion to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whome they serve. For the most of others, whose vertues have raysed them aboue the level of their inferiours, and have summonted their enuie; yet

haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with difgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof; as Coriolania, M. Liuiu, L. Amylius, and this our Scipio, whom wee have lately buried. Among the Greekes we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yealong before these times, it was a Legacie that Daniel bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine Ioab. With this fare Alexander feasted Parmenio, Philotas, and others; and prepared it for Antipater and Callander. Hereto Valentinian the Emperour inuited Atim: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew Attila of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides runne-awaies, an hundred and 10 fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by Proximus, That in killing of Atius, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left : for it was not long after that Maximus (by whole perswalion Valentian slew Atius) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durst attempt, Atius living. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with Atims, the glorie of the Westerne Empire was rather dissoluted, than obscured. The same vnworthie destinie, or a farre worse, had Bellisarius; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his cies torne out of his head by Instinian: and he died a blinde begger. Narses also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by Iustine. That Rule of Cato 20 against Scipio, hath beene well observed in everie age since then, to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standethin awe of any one man. And hence have the Turkes drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkifb one, That euerie warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of warre, than suffer his owne glorie to be obscured by them. For this cause did Baiaret the fecond dispatch Bassa Acomat; Selim strangle Bassa Mustapha; and most of those Princes, bring to ruine the most of their Vifiers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great Gonfalue, who draue the French out of Naples : and Ferdinando Cortefe, who conquered Chexico; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines 30 of all Nations, have beene paid with this copper coine 3 there are examples more than too many. On the contrarie it may bee faid, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of watre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have beene given, or offered, vnto verie few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many have vsurped them, by the helpe and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppreffed the libertie of free Cities : and the Licutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiteroufly cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre : but have vied the advantage of some 40 commotion, or many of them, by base and cowardlie practises, have obtained those dignities, which undeferuedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that have purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in feeming, than in deed. Phoeas was a fouldiour, and by helpe of the fouldiours, hee got the Empire from his Lord Mauritius: but hee was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, seldome found in any other than cowards, hee flue first the children of Mauritius, a Prince that neuer had dong him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himselfe. This his bloudie aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by Hercelius: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. Le-50 ontius laid hold upon the Emperour Iustine, cut off his nose and cares, and sent him into banishment : but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of Tiberius; to whose charge hee had lest his owne men of warre. Instine, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the

same fathion. Philippicus, commanding the forces of Instine, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. Anastrasius, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Mafter Philippieus, and thruit out both his eyes. But with Anaftofius, Theodof.us dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how Leo rewarded this Theodofius; how many others have beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captaines to make themselves Kings, have by GoDs justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way to of thriuing, by the practife of armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the spoyle

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of Enemics, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But searce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by Salomon, of vnthankfulnesse in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: A little Crie, and few men init, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And Edds 9.14. there was found a poore and wife man therein, and he delinered the Citie by his wifeome: but none remembred this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, least thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been emecb-

ted for great benefits: which the vnwifer fort of them thinke to fauour of fome impotencie in themselues. But in this respect they are oftentimes contened and abuled : which proues that weakeneffe to be in them indeede, whereof they fo gladly shunne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giving thankes; yet fo, as those thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines have made, by enriching themselves with the spoile of the enemie, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the wel-deservers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriously to rob them of their owne, ypon a falle suppolition : that euen they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloyned fomwhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce ex-

amples: that of the two Scipioes being so lately recited. In my late Sourraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne fafetie shee was constrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the sernice of Martiall men both by Scaand land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeares had, yet, according to the destinic of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any scruice by them performed. And that her Majestic had many adnifed, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witnesse, who in all her daies neuer received dishonour, by the cowardife or infidelitie of any Commander, by her felfe chosen

and imployed. 40 For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as Malbey, Randel, Dremrie, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gibert, Cunftable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others : fo those of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof 2 orice and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as cuer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Collonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travailes and wounds) nortitle nor effate to their posteritie. As for the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berty L. willoughbie of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Effates.

That her Majestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeve other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue beene subject, I say that such a confidence, although it may feeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakeneffe. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that

where the prosperous Actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, & among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which martiall men sildome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a Prosession faire more noble than their own, seeing therein they should onely mind their Maisters of the wrong they did into others, in giving less honour and reward to men of farre greater deserving, and of faire greater vse than themselves.

But his Majetite bath alreadie payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relicuing by Pentions all the poorer fort, he bath honored more Martiall men 10 than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeares.

He hath giucna Coronet to the Lord Thomas Haward for his chargeable and remarkeable feruice, as well in the yeare 1988, as at Caliz, the Hands, and in our owne Scas; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Majestie hath changed the Baronies of Mention and Burley into Earledomes, and created Sidney Vicount, Knollys, Russel, Caren, Panuers, Arunded of Warder, Gerald, and Chiebester, Barons, for their governments and services in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

#### . III.

PHILLE making provision for ware against the Romans, deales hardly with manie of his owne (whicess. His negotiation with the Bastarna. His crucitie. He suspected his some Demetarns. Vs. Demetarns accused by his brother Perseves and shortly after slaine, by his salvers appointment. Philler repented hims, it his somes death; whome he findeth to have been einnocent: and intending to revenue it on Perseves, he deith.

VINTYS MARTIVS the Roman Embaffador, who trauailed up and downe, feeking what worke might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to vie the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon. At his returne home, that he might not seemeto have discovered nothing, hee told the Fathers,

That Philip had done what socuer they enjoyeed him; yet so, as it might appeare, that fuch his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and fayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was denifing. Now it was fo indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull obsequious nesset to the Romans, 40 and forefaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with fafetic of their honour, if they could finde convenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes socuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing been alreadie vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he prouided as well as he could deuise against the necesfitte which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritine Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad service against the Romans, hee compelled to for sake their dwellings, and removed them all 50 into Emathia. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more affured, against those enemies that were terrible to the Masedonians. Further, he deuised vpon alluring the Baffarne, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river

of Danubius, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who besides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable service against the Romans: being not onely stout fighting men; but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vinto him alone. The least benefite that could be hoped by their arrivall, must be the otter extirpation of the Dardanians, a People alwayes troubletome to the Kingdome of Macedon, whenfocuer they found aduantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarne, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expeditio on, through Illyria, and the Countries upon the Adriaticke Sea, into Italie it felfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them upon the way: Rather it was thought, that the Scordsfei, and peraduenture fome others, through whose Countries they were to paffe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of these Bestarne from their owne habitations, into the Land of the Dardanians, upon the border of Mucedon; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: Philip with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paffe. And thus hee fought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Roa mans, nor were knowne vnto them; fince he was not like to finde affiftance from anie ciuile Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these denices were long ere they tooke effect: fo as the Bestarne came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered upon him, and flood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell youn him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake o their auncient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his diferetion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within wordes: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparent. This cuill therefore would soone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicatine nature made it worfe. He could not pardon words proceeding from just forrow; but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly fought reuenge where it was needleffe. In his rage he caused many to die : among whome were some eminent men; and sew or none o of them descruedly. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whome hee had injuried. thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should have massacred all the children of those parents, whome tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vinmanly pleafure, fome accidents, more tragicall than perhaps he could have defired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengcance powred on him from Heauen, he felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to fay what the Romans intended, in the extraordinarie fauour which they shewed vnto Demetrius, the Kings younger sonne. It may o well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish diffention betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of Demetrius; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame jealousie in the fathers head . If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their

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life, the fall ion of their apparrell, or the vnfightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were jefted at in ordinarie discourse and table-talke. Demetrius was fure to be presently on fire, defending and prayling them, even in fuch points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embaffadours, as often as they came, gaue his father caufe to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counfaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder sonne Perseus: who fearing so much least his brother should step betweene him and the succession, converted wholly, vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. Perfew was then thirtie yeares olde; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. Demetries was younger by five Id yeares, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and craftie ynough, to entertaine more dangerous practiles, than his free speeches discouered. The jealous head of the King having entertained fuch suspitions, that were much encreafed by the cunning practife of his elder fonne, a flight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great folemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus. They eleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Armic was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of Macedon, from the verie first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then fol 20 lowed the King betweene his two fonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whome all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts: which, under the Kings two fonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vling poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinarie contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-carneftly feeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good fuccesse in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, vntill Perfeui his side at length recoyled. Perfess himselfe was sorrie for this, as it had beene some bad pre- 30 fage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vie. They were of the craftier fort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauor bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and craftic head. And now they faid, that this victorie of Demetrius would affoord matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemne pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spyes in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of Perfew his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or foure of Demetrius his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store 40 of wine, Demetrius told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his traine behind, but forced them also to beare him companie. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselues secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to Perseus: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his dores, as if he stood in seare to be affaulted in his house. Demetrius wondered to see himselfe excluded, and sared verie angerly with his brother. But Perfeus, bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertaine- 50 ment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the same that bath beene here recited, saue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and

which did aggrauate all the rest, was, That Demetries had vn dertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vidertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romans; by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For Perseus made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because he bore a due respect vnto his father, and was forrie to fee him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him : as alfo that they fought how to winne vnto Demetrius the lone of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, lent of late from T. Quinting to the King himfelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wifely in fending Lemetrius to Rome; and that he should yet further doe well to fend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by Titus, of purpose to shake the allegeance of those, that should wayt upon his brother to Lome; and make them, forgetting their ducties to their old King, become feruants to this yong Traytor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answere, by rehearing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in fuch manner as hee remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending Perfew, that converted matters of Passime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the Romans did beare him; Hee faid that it 20 grew, if not from his owne vertue, at leaftwife from their opinion thereof: fo as by any impious practife. He were more like to lofe it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not fuch passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; belides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a lealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excesse of error, whatfoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themfelues both in word and deed. And herein he may feeme to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to Perfeus: vling to little conference with his yonger fonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, He liked neither to haue him present, nor neare vnto him. Aboue all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betweene Demetrius and T. Quintius, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, Philocles and Apelles; men whom hee thought no way interested in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they faw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by Titus (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents wherof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of 40 granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious defires had caused him to enter into practifes unfustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that Titus himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King, to thinke his some a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demetrius in custodic, made show as if he had pitted the estate of the vnhappie Prince; and so wrung out of him his fecret intentions, which he shortly discouered vnto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to flie secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to live in fafetie, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reversion vnto the 50 Crowne of Macedon. What focuer his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the fallhood of Didas; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the cleape, and in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So Philip resolued to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away prinily, for feare left Pppppp

the Romans should take the matter to heart, and held it as proofe sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. Li dus therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappie Prince out of his life. This accurfed Minister of his Kings vinaduifed fentence, first gaue poyfor to Demetring which wrought neither so haltily, nor so secretly, as was defired. Hercupon bee fent'a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedie; who vilanously accomplished their worke by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Olive.

In all the race of Antigonus there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houses of Lysimachus and 12 Caffander fell cyther with themselves, or even vpon their heeles; by intestine difcord and lealouties, grounded on defire of fourraigne rule, or feare of looking it. By the like vinaturall hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of Ptolemie and of seleueus: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuoufly diffempered. Contrariwife, it was worthic of extraordinatie note, how that vpitart family of the Kings of Pergamus had raifed it felle to maruclous greatnesse, in verie short space, from the condition of meere slauerie; whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pictic. Neyther was Philip ignorant of these examples: but is faid to have propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne 22 for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe : not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King Intigonus his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minoritie. But Hee was himselfe of an unmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon manie of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the fatiating of his bloud-thirftic appetite hee delightfully had committed your manie innocents, both ftrangers, & fubiects of his own; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyfon. After the death of his fonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin 20 objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him fatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not been contriner of the whole processe. His only remaining Son Perfew could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might eatily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remoue of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no leffe to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of mind, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well understood the difference, be. 40 tweene a riling and a fetting Sunne. As for old Philip, hee was left in a manner defolate: some expecting his death; and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with fulpitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had never beene flow to apprehend. He was much vexed; and so much the more, for that he knew, neyther well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Colen of his, named Antigonus, continued fortrue to Philip, that hee grew thereby hatefull to Perleus : and thus becomming subject vnto the same icalous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his fecrets. This counsailour, when hee found that the anger conceived against Perseus would not vent it selfe, and give 50 ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne Whether Demetrius were guiltie or no of the treason objected; as also that Philades and Apelles, (the Embassadours which had brought from Rome that Epifile of Flaminius, that ferued as the greatest euidence against Demetrius) were suspected of forgeric in the business made diligent

inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one Nychus, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and prefented vnto the King: faying that this fellow knew all, and must therefore bee made to vtter what hee knew. Xychus for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected : confessing against himselfe, that hee had bin employed by the Embassadors in that wicked peece of bufineffe. No maruell, if the Fathers paffions were extreame, when hee vnderstood, that by the vnnaturall practife of one some, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly, against himto felfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischiefe. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, Apelles fled away, and got into Italie. Philocles was taken: and either for a fmuch as he could not denie it when Xyehus confronted him, yeelded himfelfe guiltie, or else was put to torture. Perfeus was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flie the Countrie: yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards Thraze, whilest his father wintered at Demetrias. Philip therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious fonne; tooke a refolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, & conferre it vpon Antigonus. But his weake bodie, and excelline greife of minde, fo disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yelld to nature. He had raigned about two & fortie yeares: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himselfe, with continuall wars; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappie, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wife Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, he might thanke his owne peruerse condition: since his vncle King Antigonus, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well seried, as made it easie for him, to accoplish any rioderate defires, if he had not abhorred all good counsaile. Wherefore he was justly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happineffeofa Tyrant, which hee affected; and the life of a King, wherof he little cared 30 to performe the dutie. His death, euen whilest yet it was only drawing neare, was forefignified vnto Perseus, by Calligenes the Philitian; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So Perseus came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine he no lesse improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

### d. IIII.

How the Baltarne fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of PERSEVS in the beginning of his Reionc. Some warres of the Romans : and how they suffered MASANISSA, cruelly to oppresse the Carthaginians. They quarrell with PERSEVS. They allow not their Confederales to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of CAL-LICRATES: whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to PERSEVS. He feekes friendship of the Acheans, and is withflood by CALLICRATES. The Romans discouer their intent of warring upon



Mmediately vpon the death of Philip, came the Baftarne into Thrace: where order had bin taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was knowne than that Philip did live, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his

feruice. But when it was heard, that a new King raigned in Macedon; & not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize; then was all dasht

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and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the Bassana would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers, Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip: grew carefull of thriuning in the presents with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes, and the Baissana had the vaper hand, so as they chasted the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the vistors made little vieo? their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ourthrow, received by them in alsalving a place of strength; or whether because of extreame bad weather, which is said to have afflished them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirtie thousand, which pierced on into Dardana. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not find. It seems that by the caresesse wing of some countrie, such was the correlected wing of some victories, they drew losse voste wine clouses and sinally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrie.

As for Perfeus he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the Romans was likely to proue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his mind to the setling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tookeaway the life of Antigonus. To winne loue of his people; hee fate 20 personally to heare their causes in judgment (though herein hee was so ouer-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him fet forth. About all he had care to avoide all necessitie of warre with Rome and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadours thither to renew the league; which hee obtained, and was by the Senate faluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neyther was he negligent in feeking to purchase good will of the Greeks, and other his neighbors: but was rather herein fo exceffinely bountiful, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeares, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the mastring passion, which ouer-ru- 30 led him, and changed him into fo manie shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions palt and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, butic in wars againft the Spaniar deand Ligurians, people often vanquithed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered thrist, fubdued the rebelling Sarainsans, and had fome quarrels, though to little effect, with the Ulyrians and others. Our the Carthaginians they bore (as euer fince the victoric) a heavie hand: and infered Masaniss, to take from them what he littled. The Carthaginians, like obedient varilats to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were 40 bound by an article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Masaniss therefore had great advantage over them: and was not ignorant how to vie it. Hee could get possession by force, of what so ever the Romans not hardly entreated, to leave things as they sound them.

So had Hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of Emporia: and so did hee withen againe and againe; with pretence of title, where hee had anie; otherwise, without it. Gala the Father of Malaniss had wonne some land from the Carthaginians; which afterward Spphax wanne from Gals, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for love of his Wise 50 Sophonishs, and of Astrabad his Father-in-law. This did Masanissa take from them by force: and by the Romans, to whose judgment the case was reserred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to yeall manner of submissione obedience to Rome.

They had feareely this digefted injurie, when Mafaniffa came vpon them again, and tooke from them about feuentic townes and Caitels, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaffidors they made lamentable complaint vnto the Roman Senite. They thewed how grieuoufly they were oppreffed by reason of two articles in their League: That they thould not make warre, out of their owne lands nor with any Confederates of the Romans. Now although it were fo, that they might lawfully withfrand the violence of Mifaniffs, inuading their Countrie, howfocuer he was pleafed to call it his: yet tince hee was confederate with the Romans, they durft not prefume to beare detenfine armes against him, but fustered them-10 felues to be caten vp, for feare of incurring the Romans indignation. Wherfore they entreared, that eyther they might have fairer inflice or be fufferd to defend their owne by firong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, That the Romans yet would bee pleased to determine, how farre forth Majanifa should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then defired they, that the Romans would let them understand, wherein they had offended ince the time that Scipio gaue them peace; and vouchfafe to inflict on them fuch punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete : for that better and more to their comfort it were, to fuffer at once what should bee appointed by fuch Judges; than continually to live in feare, and none otherwise draw 20 breath, than at the mercie of this Numidian Hangman. And her ewithall the Embaffadours threw themselves proftrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to move compassion. Here may we behold, the fruites of their enuie to that valiant house of the Birchines; of their irrefolution, in profecuting a war fo important, as Hannibal made for them in Italies and of their halfepennie-worthing, in matter of expense, when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they feruants, even to the feruants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, flaine, taken, and fold as bondslaues in the streets of Carthage, and in all Cities of Africk and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace, which Hanno to often and to earneftly defired. Only they want peace with Mafaniffa; once 30 their mercinarie, and now their mafter, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they befeech their mafters to take the office of correcting them, In fuch case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such profperitic as might haue bin their own. But the Romans had farre better entreated Varro, who loft the battell at Canna; then Hannibal that wanne it was vied by the Carthaginians: they had freely bestowed, eueric man of them, all his private riches, vpon the Common wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without crauing recompense: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to fet out an armie into Spaine, at what time the enemie lay vnder their owne wals. These were no Carthaginian vertues: and therefore the Carthagi-40 nians, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miscries belonging to the vanquilhed. Their pitifull behauiour bred peraduenture some commiferation, yet their teares may feeme to have beene millrufted, as proceeding no leffe from enuic to the Romans, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with Masanista: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a litle while, enter into coparisons with Rome. Wherfore they obtained no fuch leave as they fought, of defending their owne right by. armes: but cotrariwife, when without leave obtained they prefumed fo far, the defiruction of Carthage was thought an case punishment of that offence. At the pre-

the reason of his comming; and had related vnto him the complaint, made by the Carthaginians against his Father. He answered, That his Father, not being throughly aware of anic Embassacra thither sent from Carthage in had

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fent, they received a gentle answere; though they had otherwise litle amends.

dience. Hee was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded

50 Guluffa the fonne of Mafaniffa was then in Rome; and had not as yet craued au+

In the midft of all these cares, the Romans had not been evnmindfull of Persens. They vilited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behauiour. These Hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) hee perceiued whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the trobles in Dardania: neyther would they take any fatisfaction. untill the Bastarna were thence gone though hee protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leffe ill contented with good offices, by him done to fundrie of his neighbours, than with 30 those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to anie; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where he did good; they called fuch his bountie, feeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subjects, upon what ocasion it is uncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew Euphranor, whom he had appointed their gouernour. It feemes that Euphranor had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian: and therefore vnlikely to have presumed so farre, vnleffe eyther they had bin extreamly prouoked; or elfe were fecretly animated by the Romans. Whatfocuer it was that bred this courage in them: Perfens did foone allay it, and reclaime them by firong hand. But the Romans tooke veric angrily, 40 this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Countrie of their Italian confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the same yoake with the Carthaginians; whereto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves have done the part of Mafanissa; though Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were fuch, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their license first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine have reduced the Greekes, and generally all their adherents even such as had entred into league with them vpon equal 50 tearmes: whom vfually they rewarded with a frowne, whenfocuer they prefumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hercofthe Acheans had good experience: whose condence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinarie fauour at Rome caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chattifed the Mellensans by warre; T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking fuch a worke in hand, without hisauthoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblaby at other times were they reprehended euen with Lordly threates, when they tooke vpon them to carrie any bulinesse of importance, by their owne power, without flanding vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neuertheleffe, vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little; and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were

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10 not like to thriue; especially in vsurping the practise of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward Polyb. legat. 51. schollars, that they needed, and not long after felt, veric tharp correction. Yet was \$ 53. there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the Roman Se-

nate, being desirous to humble the Acheans; refused not only to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, rejected this honest and reafonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from italie, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argines, Lacademonians or Corin-

20 thians, would repolt from the Achaans; they themselves would think it a businesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of Philopamen: at what time it was beleeved, that the Common wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by conntenance of the Romans. All this notwithflanding; when Lycortas Prætor of the Achaens had vtterly subdued the Mesfenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Towne rebelled from the Acheans, but manie entred into their corporation : then did the Romans, with an ilfauored grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made fuch bad answere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citic) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to bee carried to Messen. Thus 30 thinking, by a fained grauitie, to have ferued their owne turnes; they manifelted their condition; both to let on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspe-Red; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soveraigne power, in directing all mat-

ters of warre, which diffemblingly they would have feemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates; not permitting anie of them to make warre, whether offensiue or defensiue; though it were against meere strangers; without interpoling the authoritie of the Senate and People of Rome: vuleffe peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towardes the accomplithment of their owne fecret malice. Now these Roman arts how socuer manie (for gainfull or timerous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citic in Greece, having neyther subjects of their own that might rebell, now power wherewith to bring anic into fubication; for want of more noble argument wherein to practife their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient comendations, were much delighted in flattering

thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-weales and Kingdomes, that with ouer Jo nice diligence strone to preserve their liberries and lands, from consuming by piecemeale: they were to be denoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most vipliant, and wherein manie of the Greekes beganne to haue affiance, was necessarily to bee made an example, how much better it were

the most mightie. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free

from all trouble, vntill the warre of Mithridates being men vnfit for action, and

better to bow than to breake.

CHAP. 6. S.4.

Neyther

Neyther Perfeus, nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greekes at this time ftood affected. Perfess by reason of his neare neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopaman had long fince foretold; of the miferable Subjection, Whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Roman patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly fensible of their libertie, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, wherto alreadie they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans: yet all of them had 10 the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other feruile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone beeat an end; when honestie and loue of the Commonweale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this carefull prouifionfor the lafetic of Greece, the Romans were not throughly aductifed; cyther because things were diligenly concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom eueric Citie in Greece) had too manie) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore 20 more li ke to speake malitiously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselues, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their ownedelires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which manie know, from those that are feared or flattered by manie. The Acheans being to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one Callierates, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of fuch a man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischicuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vil defires, have against the plaine fort of 30 honest men , that least carnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome bufincise of the weale publike. For this Callierates was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Countrie, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alleadging what was meetest in instification of his people: hee vttered a quite contrarie tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Acheans, and all the rest of Greece, with a farre more heavie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the fetling of their authoritie, among his froward Countrimen; if they ment not wholy to foregoeit. For now there was taken vpa custome, to fland vpon points of con- 40 federacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any iniunction from Rome notwitstanding. Hence grew it that the Achaens both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by sorce of some Law, they were discharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might have their wils: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columnes or Monuments erected, nor no folemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the observance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the Romans willed the contrarie. But it was cuen the fault of the Romans themselves, That the multitude refused to give 50 care, vnto fuch perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the found of libertie vsed to bee more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were

fare by their fo doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would in-

CHAP. 6. S.4. of the Hillorie of the World.

increase apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the Fathers could so neglect the advacement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiesty. More wifely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the Greeks: who many times, yea & ordinarily, conferred great honors, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for having vttered some braue words against the Romans. The Fathers, hearing these & the like reasons, wherwith he exhorted the to hadle roughly those that were obstinate, & by cherishing their friends, to make their partie itrong, resolued to follow this good counsaile, in cuery point; yea to depresse al those that held with the right, & to set vp their own 10 followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt theceforth more peremptorily with the Achains, than had been their manner in former times; but wrot at the present vnto alcities of Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedemon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of Callicrates; they aduised all men, to be fuch, and so affected, as he was, in their severall comon-weales. With this dispatch, Callicrates returned home a joyfull man: having brought his Countrie into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preserment. Neverthelesse hee forbore to vant himselfe, of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embaffage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherwith he threatned 20 those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts hee obtained to bee made Pretor of the Acheans: in which Magistracy, as in al his courses following, hee omitted nothing, that might scrue to manifest his readie obsequiousnes vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatning termes wan manie flatterers, and loft as many true friends: so Perfeus on the otherlide, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promifes, to affure vnto himfelfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of Greece distracted with factions: some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wher-30 in they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherofif not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them iust occasion to make war vpon him. Perfess having finished his bustnesse among the Dolopians, made a journie to Apollo his temple at Delphi. He tooke his armie along with him, yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journie, but the good affectio towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, hee dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the 40 memorie of all wrongs what soener, done by his father, might bee butied with his father; fince his own mening was to hold friendship sincerely with al his neighbors. The Romans perhaps could have beene pleased better, if he had behaved himselse after a contrarie fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken such a journie, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Acheans: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbad any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer Philip had by manie vile acts, especially by the death of the two Arati, given them 50 cause to abhor him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, bin to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolued to for sake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for prescruation of concord among them, to vse all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Countrie to-

wards him to doubtfully affected: especially when by bearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past;

was vncjuill, if not inhumane, as nourithing deadly hatred, without leaving meanes of reconciliation. And hereof the Acheans reaped no good fruit. For although they

were not, in like fort, forbidden the Kingdome of Macedon: yet understanding what

would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot

therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of

which their mafters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers:ex-

faine he would have changed into loue. He therfore apprehended al these sugitives,

to fend them home againe; and wrote vnto the Achaans, That as for good will vnto

them, he had taken paines to restore back their fernants; so should they do very wel

to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater

part; being openly rehearfed by the Pretor, before the Councell, But Callier ates took

the matter very angrily; and bad them be aduited what they did: for that this was

none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the

before hand acquainted with the war, that was comming vpon Perfeus, from Rome. He rold them, how Philip had made preparations for the same wars how Demetrius

had bin made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Per/eus

had, fince his being King, done manie things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly

Herehearfed all those matters, which were afterwards alleaged by the Romans; the inualion of the Bastarna, vpon the Dardanians; the Kings journic against the Dolopi-

ans; his voyage to Delphi; and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was (he faid) a

dangerous temptation of men to his partie. Wherefore he aduited them, to expect

the event of things, and not over-halfily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Hereto good answere was made by the Pretors brother: That 30

Callierates was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neyther one of the Kings cabbinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted

with all that had paffed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that Per-

fews had renewed his league with the Romans; that hee was by them faluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadours.

This being so: why might not the Achaans, as well as the Atolians, Thessalians, E-

pirots, and althe Greeks, hold with him fuch correspondence, as common humanitie

required? Neuertheleffe Callierates was growne a man fo terrible, by his Romanacquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffely gainfay him. Therfore the matter was

folue. Better it was to fay thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought

most reasonable and convenient. But when Perseus, herewith not contented, would

needs vrge them further, and fend Embassadours: then were they faine, without a-

nie good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and denie to give audience:

which was proofe fufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherin they lived. For hearkning to this advice of Callierates; they were soone after highly

commended by a Roman Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the Ro-

mans intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre

referred vnto further deliberation; and answeare made the whilest, That since the 40 King had only fent a letter without any Embassadour; they knew not how to re-

Romans, Herewithall he tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Acheans 20

ccedingly to the loffe of fuch, as made of their flaues very profitable vie. But Perfew tooke hold vpon this occasion: as fitly scruing to pacific those, whose enmitte

CHAP. 6. S.s. of the Historie of the World.

How EVMENES King of Pergamus was builed, with PHARNACES, the Rhodoians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom hee accuse the to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly , and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutnesse of the Macedonian Embassadours. PERSEVS his attempt upon EVMENES. The brotherly loue betweene EVME-NES and ATTALVS. PERSEVS his device to poyon some of the Roman Senatours: whereupon they decree warre against him, and lend him defiance. Other thinges, concerning the inflice of this warre.

V ME NES King of Pergamus had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings Pharnaces and Mithridages his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom he was animated with coortable words & promise,

That they, by their authoritie, would end the butines, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings Prusias and Ariarathes, hee ended the warre himselfe; and brought his Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleafed him to give them. After this being at good leifure; hee beganne to consider, how the affaires of Macedon stood under Perfeus. His hatred to Perfew was verie great: and therefore hee was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemie, was as great, and withall notorious. Now befides his ancient and hareditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the Greekes, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wex euerie where stale: whilest Perfeus, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuic borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignitie, Hee stirred vp the Lycians against the Rhodians his old triends: and in helping these rebels 30 was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found hee, in these poore and indirect courses of reuenge. The Lycians could not bee faued by his patronage, from seuere and cruell chastissement, given to them by the Bhodians. This rendred him contemptible: as likewife, his acts of hostilitie, litle different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not only continued falling into Polyb.Legat.74. neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Acheans, as too vnmcasured, misbeforeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deferuings. All this (which hee needed not to have regarded, had hee not beene too 1 ide lib. 42. vainly ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-serviceable to the Ro-40 mans, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell the libertie of

Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to firiue any longer with bountie, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the general fauour. And therefore her resolued even to overturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the Romans vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idoll, The Macedonian Kingdome, which all so vainly worshipped. Neyther would t proue a difficult matter, To perswade those that were alreadie desirous rather hee was like to bee highly thanked, for fetting forward their wifnes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some peece of the Kingdome, as he had bin rewarded, for the 50 like feruice, when Antiochus was vanquished.

To this end, He made a fecond voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to fig which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with fuch attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltic, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death

was giuen.

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of Demetrius; the expedition of the Basiarne into Dardania; that of Perfeus himfelle against the Dolopians, and to Delphi; the great estimation of the Ascedonian in Greece, his intermedling in bulinesse of his neighbours, his riches, and his great proutions : were all the materiall points of Eumenes his discourse. Only He descended vnto particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee faid, That Perfeus had thirtie thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his owner monie in a readinesse to entertaine tenne thousand mercinaries for tenne yeares: armes, to furnith a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, readie, at a call, to bring him foldiours as manie as he should require; and that hee prepared victuals for tenne yeares, because he would not bee driven, eyther to live to vpon spoile, or to take from his owne subjects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to confider, that King Seleneus the fonne and successor of Antiochus the great, had given his daughter Laodice in marriage to Perfeus; Perfeus not wooing, but Seleucus offering the match; That King Prulius of Bithynia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the lifter of Perfeus; and that these mariages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassagesfrom all quarters. Neyther spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loath to veter it plainly) That even the envie to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with Philip, were now growne maruelloully well affected to his fonne. All this, and some facts of Perfeus, which might cyther bee denied, or instified (as that hee had procured the death of some 20 which were friends to the Romans; and that hee had expelled Abripolis the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie vnto the most: saying that hee thought it his dutie to forewarne them; fince it would bee to Himselfe a great shame, if Ferfess got the start of him, and were in Italie making war vpon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great follie, to beloeve that the Romans flood in feare of Perfeus, leaft he should set vpon them in Italie. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their affociates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were given to Eumenes, who had 30 euery way furnished them with such goodly colour to beautific their intendment. Now though it were fo, that He told them litle elfe than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon anie relation made by their owne Embassadours, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitie against them, their injustice, and oppression, would have beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible; that such a Prince as Eumenes, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Asa, to bid them looke to themselves: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their own right and 40 fecuritie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto, their more than vivall curiofitie, in concealing what Eumenes had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embalfadours were at Rome, prouided of answeres to the words, which they knew before hand that hee would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanitic, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to have disclosed all: when the warinesse of the Fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of fome fearefull apprehension; against which, it behooved their wisdome to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was given to the Rhodian Em- 50 baffadours; who accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome to Ala, than Antioabus had ever beene, and a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhedians had with great pompe, conveighed by Sca vnto Perfew, his bride Landier; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans despightfully acCHAP.6.S.5. of the Historie of the World.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycisms, as alreadic vanquilhed, were feeling themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes: Embaffadours came from 60.00 for. Rome with thrange newes which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it flood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne protection and people or Nation by them vanquilhed; and that the Lycians were by them affigued visco those of Rhodes, not as meere vasfals, but as dependants and affociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victoric against King Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Alsfanissa, The Etolians, o and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find the solutes agricued if they wel considered the matter: fince by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might casily bee made their fellowes, when soeuer it should please the Senate: though it were so, that al men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the Rhodians, for their good will to Perfeus, by setting them and the Lycians together by the cares. The Fathers could therefore see no reason to dillike Eumenes, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embaffadours; which indeed more nearely touched themselues. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his love to

But the Micedonian Embassage they heard not so carelessely as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King Perfeus delired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might sauour of hostilitie; but that, it his trauaile in this kind proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falles out contrarie to expectation. These big words may seeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of Harpilus, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from jo instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why Perfeus himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discouering his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a works of fuch importance. Wherefore He, or his Embaffadour for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not verie bad, but subject (in appearance) to Fortune, which might have beenehis, had he knowne how to vie it.

Now that this brauerie (as better it may bee termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heats it appeares by his daring to aduenture foone after, on a practife that more justly might anger the Ramans, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war vpon him. It was knowne that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe facrifice to Apollo, Perfess deadly hating him, and thirsting after his bloud, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a facrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischieuous enemie. So there were appointed three or foure four ruffians to do the murder: who placing themfelues behind a broken mud wal, on the fide of a verienarrow path leading vp from the Seato the Temple; did thence affault the King, whom they forely bruifed 50 with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without flaying to fee all fure, flee in such halt, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discouer them. Eumenes was conneighed away to the little Isle of .E.

gina, where he was cured being all the while kept fo fecretly, that the fame of his death was current in Alia. Hence it came, that his brother Attalus tooke voon him as king and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) Stratonica the daughter of King Ariarathes, whom hee then thought the widdow of Eumenes. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliue home, Attalus going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than that He should forbeare to marrie with the Queene, untill Hee were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, Eumenes neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise At- 10 talus forbore to attempt anything to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when Eumenes felinto their hatred) were in good readinesse, to have transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By fuch concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus ray led and vpheld: as might also that of Macedon have beenedif Demetrius had lived and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of Perleus.

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It is likely that Perfew was verie glad when he understood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had faued all from discouerie. But as hee was deceited in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that Eumenes lived : so was Hee 20 beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement, which hee vainly effeemed the lesse materiall. For He had written to one Praxo a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertaine the men whom he fent about this busines; and she, being apprehended by C. Valerius a Roman Embassador then attending youn the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. Falering also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, onc Rammius a Citizen of Brundusium: who comming newly from the court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret; had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. Brundusium was the ordinarie port, for ships patting betweene Italie and Greece. There had Rammius a faire house; wherein hee gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadours, and other honours- 29 ble personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journying to and fro. By occasion of fuch his hospitalitie, he was commended to Perseus, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose manie courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or defired, made partaker of the Kings fecrets. The fumme of all was, That hee must needs doe a turne, in giving to such of the Romans as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare leaft the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed upon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discovered all. Rammius was but one man, 40 and one whom the King had neuer feene before, nor was like to fee againe and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the acculation was improbable. Thus did Perfeus, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in likesort concerning the attempt vpon Eumenes: denying to have had any hand, eyther in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to bee made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulnesse of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a fubject pleading for his life in judgment. But howfocuer the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might have bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of Perfess was very futeable to these practises. Neyther did the Senate greatly stand 50 to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Effate, wherin he supposed that they ought not to touch him for fuch private offences, it gave him no priviled gethey judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein furely they wanted not good reason. For if hee

might not lawfully make warre vpon Eumenes their confederate; that is, if Hee might not fend men, to wast the Kingdome of Pergamus, or to beliege the townes: might he fend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leffe breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the fword : wasit lawfull for him to doe it by Poyfon? Wherefore they prefently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemes, at this time, to have beene so confident, in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he defired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by to shew of courage, to make his enimies the more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being wearie they departed without andience. Then called he them back; and bad them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long beene collecting against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him:adding thereto, that He had entertained long and secret conference in the Isle of Samothrace, with Embassadours sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have flood vpon the cuidence, brought against him by Rummius and Praxo. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to 20 build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a king, to be strong, welbeloued, and well friended. Per/eus answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans, Greedic, Proud, Infolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embaffadors, that were no better then meere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answere: which was to this effect; That hee would no longer stand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs. In the forme of the league betweene Philip and the Romans, as it is let downe Polyb Legange

by Polybius, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience 30 in the future ; excepting those which he immediatly performed. But Linie inserts Lin.Lib.33. a clause, whereby he was expressely forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederats were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had beene restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which never was agreed vpon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would vrge this

point further, and say, that the Macedonian might not beare defensive armes, with-

out their permission: then had Persew very instreason to find himself agricued. For 40 since they had allowed his father, without controlle, to make warre in Thrace, (whilest they themselves were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargaine after another falhion? Wasit now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his Owne Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that inuaded Macedon? By fuch allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league, as vniust; hee ministred occasion vnto the Embassadors, to giue him desiance. Hauing heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either hee should have beene lesse vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his

50 heart could ferue him to vndertake the warre; hee should couragiously have managed it, and have fallen to worke immediatly, whilest the Enemie was vnprepared; not have lost opportunitie, as now and often hedid, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

The Romans folicit the Greekes, to joyne with them in the warre against PERSEVS. How the Greekes flood affected in that warre. The timorousnesse of Persevs. Mar-TIVS a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes. the field; and winnes part of Thessale. The forces of LICINIVS the Roman Consul: and what aftistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Theffalie; and what aduantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his feare. PERSEVS braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to wie his victorie; fues for 10 peace; and is denied it by the vanguished. PERSEVS having the worse in a skirmish, for fakes all the countrey lying without Tempe. The Baotians rebell against the Ramans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against PERSEVS. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision; having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

Olong had the Romans beene feeking occasion to take in hand this

Macedonian warre, that well they might have bin readic for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouisions. But it was on a fudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences 20 to make the warre, : whereof, it no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to beleeue, that their owne firength was fuch as would prevaile in the end; they ballily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who mustafterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, 30 and take part with the Macedonian; such was the diffension betweene their fenerall clistes; how focuer the generalitie of them were inclined the fame way. Neuertheleffe Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe a. paint Perfeus, or rather to demandit, in no leffe ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against Philip and Antiochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embaffadors vsed as gentle words, for fallions sake; as if they had flood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now growne well acquainted with fuch Reman courtefie : and vinder flood, that not only fuch as made refufall, but even they who might feeme to have granted halfe ynwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse 40 was ended. Wherefore none of them were ferupulous in promiting the belt of their helpe to the Romans; \* the Acheans and Bhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should bee ill taken, as if they had balted in some pare of their dutie. It is strange that men could bee so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have feene the ruine. The vulgar fort was every where addicted to Per/eus 3 of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not oppolers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wifeft and most honesta who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to Perseus then to the Ros mans. And of this number, Polybius the chiefe of Historians was one : who 50 though Hee \* judged the victorie of Perfeus, like to propue hurtfull vnto dreeus yet wished hee the Romans ill to thrine, that so the Greekes might recouen perfect libertie : for his endenours in which course, hee was: at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares,

CHAP. 6. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely renerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the Achaans, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their scare, may be justly imputed vinco the timorous demeanour of Perfeus himselfe. He had vndertaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him; than he began to speake the enemic faire, and sue for peace at Rome, Since therefore it was knowne, that every small thing would ferue to terrific him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans to power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leifure vpon those which had affisted him: little cause was there, why any should aduenture to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wife men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble fuit vnto the Roman Embaffadors. Q. Martius, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenes in cunning then was vivall among the Romans; made flew of inclination to the Kings defire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the King, 20 and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Wherto though Perfew made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially Martius, tooke it in good part, as there with satisfied; and admifed him to give the like fatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently bee done; a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martius his defire; which was to make the King lofe time. For Perfeus had all things then in readines, and might have done much, ere the Roman armie could have bin in Greece. But by the interpolition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffred a most couenient feafon, of winning your the enemie, to flip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elfe, than leifure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleafed herewith, as it 30 had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gaue men to viderstand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. Hee fent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, not with standing the goodnes of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vtmost of his ambition. This his fearefulnes might feeme excusable, and the blame therof to ap-40 pertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly their own; had it not bin his office, who took vpon him as their Champion, to give fuch a manly beginning to the warre, as might incourage al others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more sucree from him, and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhedians, among whom he had many front partizans, defired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might feem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Buotians also, who had entred of late into a firict fociety with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yeelded themselues as vasials. Neither was 50 Martius contented to accept their submission under a generall forme; but caused their feuerall towns to make couenant apart, each for it felfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weales, they might not (were they never fo desirous to rebell) have such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the Citie of Thebes. This work, of separating the Baotians Qqqqqq 3

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from Thebes their their head; was more than Agefilans could effect, or Epaminondas would fuffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedemonians. So far more availeable to Thebes, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of Epaminondas and a few braue Citizens; than was the focietie with King Perfess, against a number not so great as followed the Lacedemonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilest the King sate still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embaffadors which Perfess had fent; audience 10 was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded : but neither excuse, nor intreatic, would serve their turne; the Senate being resolved before hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirtie daies respite allowed them to depart out of Italy swhereas they who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walles, in the Temple of Bellona (the viual) place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to fuch Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had only the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtesie serue alone to hide the craft of Martins, as if hee had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while 23 from Perfew the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius, the Roman Conful, was at Apollonia; in a manner as foone, as the Macedonian Embaffadors were with their king at Pella Which though it were enough to have rouzed Perfew, and have made him lay as fide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans; and to redeeme their good will with some part of his kingdome, that so he might eniov the reft; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the floutest counsaile preuailed: which also was the wifest; and so would have proved, had it beene stoutly 30 and wifely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne untill now, to doe what should have bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendeuous at Citium, a towne in Macedon. All being in readines, he did royall facrifice, with an hundred beafts, to I know not what Mfnerua, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers; and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelve thoufand foot, and a thouland horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part Thracians; the rest his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the infolencie of the Romans, the 40 goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemic, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their fenerall abilities. He gaue them thanks : but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into Thessalie: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that countrie, in their journey towards him. Some townes of The sale opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend 50 themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was My/a; a towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more floutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the affailants. It was taken by reason of a salie; which

the Townsimen rashly made, and being driven backe, received the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practifed heere: to the greater terror of the oblinate. So Velatic and Connus (towns of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of offa, leading into Tempe) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to Sycurium, a towne feated on the foot of mount offa; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemie.

CHAP. 6.5.6. of the Historie of the World.

Licinius the Conful brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promifed other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes and Attato las his brother, came to him in Theffalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from eucry part of Greece, such aide as the seuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to fend; which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; Masanissa sent thither his sonne Misagenes, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. Ariarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had fent to Rome his yong sonne, there to be brought vp? yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because Eumenes himselse began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had beene in the beginning. Prusias was content to be a looker on : as being allied to Perseus, and yet fea-20 ring the Romans. Antiochus, and Ptolemie (though Ptolemie was then yong, and

vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the Syrian meaning to inuade the Agyptian: yet each of them promifed helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to performe. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Matedonian : yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a prettic tricke, wherewith M. Lucretius, the Roman Admirals brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This king had foure and fittie thippes, riding in the hauen of Dyrrachium, vncertaine to what purpose; all which Eugretius tooke away, after a very kind fort; making thew to beleeue, That for none other end than to ferue the Romans, their good friend Gentius had fent thither this fleery But what focuer Gentius thought in 30 the beginning; he foolilhly loft both his kingdome and himfelfe, in the end of this war , by offering, rather then giving, his helpe to Perfeus.

With none other company than what he brought ouer the fea, Licinius came into Theffalie: fo tyred with a painfull journey, through the mountainous country of Athamsnia, which flood in his way from Epirus; that if Perseus had been ready; attending his descent into the Plaines; the Romans must needs have taken a great onerthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the ruer Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any flender helpe, that dould enable him to deale with Perfeus. Therefore he refolded, to abide where he then was, and keepehis trenches, vntill his numbers 40 were sufficiently increased : contenting himselfe in the meane while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of Theffalie, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece belides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heavie yoake of bondage to the Macedoni-

an, when there was little hope or expectation of fuch a benefit. It was generally rich fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midft of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly ful of all delights, that the name was often vfed at large, to fignific the most pleafant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, Off and Olympus (famous in Poesse) with their Spurres or bran-50 ches, by which it was on all lides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessalie.

And this way were the Romansto enter into Macedon; unlesse they would make an bungrie journey, thorow the countrey of the Daffaretians, as in the former warre with Philip, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. Perseus therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into Tempe: though far

greater he might have had, if by millpending of time he had not loft it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worle; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) enery yeare more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might have done far greater things, had he seized vpon the streights of dows, which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behinde the Mountaines of Pindus. Surely not without extreame difficultie, must the Romans have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or elfe have committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of feas that were very dangerous; if they would have fought other way to into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses they once deuised, notwith it anding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be faid, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Ltolians, vpon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspition with the Romans (as we shall finde anon) even as soone as they met with Perseus. The Baotians, how politikely focuer Martius had wrought with them, aducntured themselves desperately in the Macedonians quarrell: what would they have done, if he at first had done 20 his best ? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea and Eumenes himselfe, after a while began to waver, when they faw things goe better with Perfess, then they had expected. So that if in flead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might haue done) fome of his enemies, and among them Eumenes, who offered for good recompence; to forget his broken head; then might the Romans perhaps have bin compelled to forfake their imperious patronage oner Greece; and to render the libertie, by them given, entire; which other wife was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, fince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have beene ex- 30 pected at first, from greater advantages. But as a searefull companie running from their enemies, till some river stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would have wonne the victorie: fo fell it out with Perfews. In feeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof he should have sought the honor; hee left his friends that would have flood by him, and gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safetie: yet being ouertaken by necessitie he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of Tempe, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to be driven into such miserie, as was incuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that he kept his footing in Theffalie, it is hard to shew 40 particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Conful having no defire to fight, vntill fuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of Peneus, about three miles from Lariffa. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the contrer vnto a hasty triall. Wherforche inuited the Romans into the field; by walling the land of the Phereans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At his comming they were trou- 50 bled; for that it was fudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee fafely lodged. They fent out a few of King Eumenes his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were flaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither Licinius, nor En-

menes, found it reasonable to hazzard battaile. Thus day after day, a while together, Perfess continued offering battaile: which they fill refused. Hereby his boldnes much encreased; and much more, his reputation; to the griefe of those, who being to farre come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these branadoes. The towns of Sycurium, where Perfeus then lay, was twelve miles from the Romans: neither-wasthere any convenient watering in that long march, which vied to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both wearie and thirstie when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconne-10 niences, he found out a lodging, feuen miles neerer to the Enemie; whom he vilited the next day by the Sunne rifing. His comming at fuch an vnufuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to affaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother C. Licinius, King Eumenes, Attalus, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himfelfe remaining in the Campe; with his Legions in readineffe, The honor of this morning, was the Macedonian Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the Theffalians made a good retrait) with little loffe to of his owne. But he discourred his weaknesse ere mght, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe; to counfaile given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the Romans were in great feare left he should affault their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vufent for : he neuertheleffe tooke it for found aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victorie; by which meanes it was faid. That either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwife many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bin greater; and had he wonne the Roman Campe, his friends would have been the more, and the bol-30 der. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace : and in fuing for it, cuen when he had the victory, what elfe did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yeelding to the Romans, whenfocuer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the low of his victorie would admit none of these considerations. Hee had flaine of the Roman horfetwo hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had flaine about two thou fand: lofting of his owne no more than twentie horse and fortie foot. The Roman Campe, after this delaster, was full of heavinesse and seare: it being much doubted that the enemie would set upon it. Eumenes gaue counfaile to dislodge by hight, and romone to a surer place beyond 40 the River Peneus. The Conful, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he flood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Jossepast, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the River in the dead of the night, and incamped more frongly on the further fide. The Atolians were forely blamed for this loffe; as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight; wherein the rest of the Greekes followed them. Fine of them, that were memor respeciall marke, had been observed, to be the first which turned their backes: an observation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leifure; Asfdr the The flillians, their vertue was honored with reward: foas the Greekes might learne, by examples of either kinde, 50 that if they would shunnesiddignation, or incurre fauour, then must they aduenture no leffe for their Lordothe Ramanh, than gladly they would doe for their own libertie. Thus fared it with the Conful and his armic. Perfeus came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, hee not vntill then

found. The Romans widen gotten into a place of fafetie; whither they could neuer

haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victorie, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have rowted them, whilest they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was vaine to tell what might have been done: fince there was no remedie. The Romans were beaten, cuen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of Rome; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pretors, Confuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were beaten fo shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoiles of them without relistance, as yeelding themselues ouercome. With fuch braue words did the King fet out the glory of his action; dividing the spoiles 10 among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor found. He came nearer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopfelus, a place in the mid-way betweene Tempe and Lariffa: as if it were his meaning to preffe them somewhat harder. Neuerthelesse hee was easily perswaded to vie the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore hee sent vnto the Conful, and offered to yeeld vnto the same conditions, wherein his father had beene bound to the Romans; if the war might fo take end. It were needleffe, heere againe to show the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this defired peace, there was in the Conful no greater power, than to grant a truce, whileft Embaffadors might goe to Rome: it refting in the Senate and People to approoue the 20 conditions, and ratific the league. And of such a truce granted by Martius, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and returned answere, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that Perseus would yeeld both his Kingdome and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to bee so resolute in aduersitie. On the other fide, it argued a very faint heart in Perfess, that having received an answere fo peremptorie, he still persisted, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to Sycurium. There he lay bearkening what the Enemie did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of Misagenes the sonne of 32 Masanissa, with the aid before mentioned. This distance betweene the King and them, caused the Romansto waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged ouer all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and upon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired on the fudden: but the alarme being taken in good feafon, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand vpon them, if he could have withdrawneit, and given over in time. But whileft he froue to force a gard, he was vifited by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battaile, he was ouercome. This misaduenture, whether great 40 or small, caused Perseus, after a few dayes, to fall backe into Macedon; as being naturally given to feare danger, even where none was : whereby what loffe he felt will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, faue only Tempe, weakly guarded: and confequently an easie prey to the Romans.

After the Kings departure, Licinius went straight vnto Connus; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe upon the Perrhabians and others; from whom hee wanne fome townes, and among the rest, Lariffa. There were fundrie townes thereabout, bearing the same name of Larifa: so that this which the Conful tooke, may seeme, not to have belonged vnto the Theffalians; vnleffe, perhaps, after his victorie, Per- 50 feus did greater actes than we finde recorded, and got some part of Thessalie.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the Baotians, whom a Roman Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his

owne will, should not be afraid of a Roman armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Nauic on their coaft. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of Martius; were more true to Rome, than other pettie townes, which by that same distraction of the Baestians, became within themselues more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to have beene fought among the changes happening in their variable factions: wherof the knowledge is now loft. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by Lucretius the Roman Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would have brought others to rebell in like fort, if by extreame oppression hee 10 could have driven them so farre. Neither was Licinius the Conful undiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from Perfeus. I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is faid in generall; That in the warre

which he made, he \* cruelly and couctoully demeaned himselfe.

CHAP. 6. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeare following; Hostilius the Consul, and Hortensius the Admirall, or Pretor of the Fleet. Hostilius shewd more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of Rome, than in profecuting the warre against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman war ypon his kingdome, after that the Conful had fought passage in vaine ouer certain mountaines, Perfeus feemed, in a manner, \* free from it. He was troubled indeed \*, Pobbileget 20 on that fide which looked towards Illyria, by Ap. Claudius, whom the Conful fent 700 thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leauies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But Claudius thinking to have taken V/cana, a bor-

der towne of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; falled forth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of V/cana shortly after became Roman: which howsoeuer it happened, Perfeus very soone reconcredit, and many other places therewithall: Cotys, a Thracian king, securing him on the one fide of Macedon; and Cephalus an Epirote, revolted from the Romans, on 30 the other. Perseus likewise made a painfull journey into Atolia: where hee was promised to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Roman faction; yet in

his returne home, hee tooke in Aperantia; and shortly heard good newes, That (Ap. Claudius was againe throughly beaten by Cleuds, one of his Lieutenants. Such fuccesse had the Micedonian war under Hostilius. The same Consul offended much the Greekes, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadors trauelling thorow all the Cities of Peleponnesus, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their busines, than of those which 40 were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in Polyb.Legat.74. the Parliament of Achaia, Lycortas that worthy Commander, who nobly followed

the steps of Philopamen; and together with him, his sonne Polybius, who soone after was Generall of the Achean horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honorably discharged. The summe of the accusation should have beene; That these were not heartic friends vnto the Romans, but fuch as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But fince

no colour of truth could bee found, that might give countenance to fuch a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the Ætolians: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approoued the motion: as also among

the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Mace-

donian, but also the good Patriotes; making it no leffe then a matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary lide, there wanted not some, who soundly told these pick thankes of their base flatterie; rating them openly in such fort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors caried themselves, as men that could beleeve none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The belt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. 10 Of this decree the whole countrie was glad : for it was, or feemed, a good remedie of many inconveniences. But they that flanding on priviledge hereof, refused to fulfill every commandement, were numbered among the Patriotes; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worse, than to have beene traytours. The Senate was dimen to fet downe this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magiltrates, and especially by the Admiralls, Lucretius and Hortenfius. Lucretius was condemned in a great fumme of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loued not to haue their subicets oppressed. Hortensius being still in office, had warning to 29

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to lecke redreffe of iniuries, or to offer their feruices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the leffer Asia, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base peece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemens targets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow voon Inpiter in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee fingular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance : they built a Temple, vnto the Towne Rome, and appointed anniversarie games to beecelebrated among them, in honour of that 22 Goddesse. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemie, and the like vaine men, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, divine honours; when hee sees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a Goddesse, and receiuing (without scorne of thegiuers, or shame of the present) the title of Deitie, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

ð. VII.

O. MARTINS the Roman Conful, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of PERSEVS in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by MARTINS; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, withill successe. Their affaires in hard effate. MARTIUS a cunning and a bad man. POLYBIVS fent Embassador to MARTIVS from the Achaans, POLY-BIVS his honest wildome beneficiall to the Acheans. King EV MENES growes averse from the Romans. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHYS and EVMENES. His falle dealing with GENTIVS King of Illyria; whom hee drawes into the Roman warre. He fends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans. PERSEVS lofeth a mightie succour of the Bastarns, by his wretched parsimonie.



Fter two yeares of the Mucedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had been thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans defired; as it did in the end. Perfeus had hitherto the better, and was itronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had 20 enlarged his borders on the Illyrian lide; his friends, in all patts of Greece, took cou-

rage daily; and his reputation grew fuch, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the iffue of the war might proue, and therupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius and Hostilius the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Mucedon; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, even of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Roman fide; and the armie much leffened, not only by calualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one 30 vpon the other) in licencing the fouldiers to depart. Quintus Martius the new Conful, who fucceeded vnto Hostilius, was to amend all this: which nevertheleffe was more than he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supplie of men. He began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way : not feeking to force the streights that were surely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines, which were thought able to forbid all paffage over them, without helpe or need of any cultodie. The King heard of his approch; and being uncertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent But the Conful proceeded in his journey; with hope, either not to bee discouered by the Enemie, or to breake through all opposition, or at least wife, to fight on as conucnient ground, as they should have that lay to slop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a lafe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discouer the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than lifteene miles: after which they had light of the Enemie, that lay to denv their paffage. They occupied therefore a lafe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them : which he did. The Mucedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arrivall; but methim, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bie-59 kering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed : all the rest

were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore Abritus tooke the only courferemaining; and indeed the best-Part of his men he left with Populus, to attend upon the Macedonians: whilest hee,

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them the better to endure the labour. Perfeus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: fince they fought with his men ypon the paffage, three dayes together; he lying fo nigh, that he might wel neare have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with seare; that he 40 neither flirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conful, nor made any prouision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, sate hearkening after the euent. Foure only paffages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the fame which Martius had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the laft, by the Citic of Dium out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded; and whofocuer would feeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as Martius had vndergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, faue through the valley it felfe, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium stood upon the 50 foot of the huge mountaine Ohmpus, about a mile from the fea: of which mile the river Helicon becomming there a lake, and called Baphyras, tooke up the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily have beene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middeft of Tempe, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where

the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of Penews, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more eatie, than to make the Conful repent him of his troublefome journey : if Perfess could have feene his owne advantages. For the Roman armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travell:but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the fame way that it came, if the King had made good the fireight of Dium. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemes a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemie, from about their heads, would have beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they fiole away from him. It may therefore bee thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their journey into Micedon, from the fide of Illyria, whence that kingdome had often bin inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no meanes to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardize of Perfeus, did commend the counfaile by them followed, as wife. For he no fooner heard that the Enemic was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than he 20 fared like one out of his wits; faying, That he was vanquished, & had loft all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of Dium, what he could carry away in hafte; and ftraightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to Thessalonica, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to Pella, that his treasures there should be cast into the fea : as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. Nicias, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as wel as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recoursed by Diners from under the water. But Andronicus, who had charge to fet fire on the Kings Arlenall, deferred the execution; forefeeing that repentance might follow: and to he prevented the damage. Whether Nicias, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or Andronicas, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service was this. Perseus growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hastie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the sea by their diving, were payd their wages after the same fort : that so there might be no witnes of the Kings base folly, Such end must they feare, who are privic to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If Perfeus would have gone furely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himselfe, that no man might beleeve him to 40 be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacitie. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called Hippins away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and Asclepiodatus, from desence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed he rated them openly slaving, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemie the gates and barres of Mucedon. Of this reproch if they would discharge themsclues, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have feed as did Nicias and Andronicus.

CHAP.6. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

The Conful Marsius had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King so hastily relinquilbed his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the 50 Roman armie, this notwithstanding was hardly able to sublist, for want of victuals. He tooke Dium without refistance; & thence went forward into Macedon: wherein having travelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards Thessalie. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to have holpen him

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in the war; but having left behinde, at Magnefia, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been carefull to occupy the Caltles about Tempe, which were for faken by the Macedonians: for by those waies only might come be brought into the army. To meet the fooner with this corne, which was defiroufly expected; he for looke Diam, and went to Phila; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bin worth. It is probable, that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemie, he should be faine to quit it. Howsocuer it was:men 10 thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and

gaue off, when it most behoued him to have prosecuted the action. By understanding the folly, or cowardize of Martius; the King recollected himfelfe; understood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly reposses the town of Dium, which he haitily repaired, finding it difmantled by the Komans. This done; he encamped strongly by the river Enipeus: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leffe diligence, more timely vfed, would have bin enough, not onely to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace; but to have given him fuch a noble victory, as might 20 cause the Romans to seek a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recourry and fortification of Dium, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towns of Heracles, flanding on the river of Penews, five miles from Dium, was taken by force : or rather by a trick of climing upon mens heads, somewhat after the maner of our tumblers. But it made such desence as it could; and was not given up for feare. After this Martius did fet a bold face towards Drum; as if he would have taken it againe, and haue driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. He fent the Admirall to 39 make attempt vpon the sea-townes, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias and others. All these were affayed: but in vaine. The fields about Thessalonica were wasted; and fome companies, that fundrie times aduentured forth of the towne, were fill put to the worfe. As for the towne it felfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or fea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherfore the Admirall fetting faile from thence, ranne along by Ania, and Antigonea (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) vntill he came to Pallene, in the territory of Callandrea. There King Eumenes ioyned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre: and fine other were sent thither from King Prusias. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his 40 fortune at Caffandrea: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by Perfeus, before the town: which while the Romans were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thece, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town wal filled vp with that earth, and courred with one fingle row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed fuch as hee thought meetest: giving an alarme to the other side of the towne, therby to shadow his attempt. The breach was foon made. But whilest the Romans were shouting for ioy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceined what was done; & falying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the com- 50 panies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they flew about fix hundred & suffred few to escape vnwouded. This desafter, & the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king Eumenes affailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by fea) caused the siege to breakevp. Torone was the next place

CHAP. 6. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned, he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto Euphranor, a Micedonian Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with fuch forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed fiege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemie pay deare for all that he there got. This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias, by Melibua; whither the Conful (that he might not be quite without worke) had fent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddainely ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all

10 halt, setting their Campe on fire. Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessy) most vulike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by for faking Dium: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Hiftoric of this Warre . For Martius persuaded the Rhodians, by Agefipolis their Pobb.Legatas. Embaffadour, who came to him at Heraelea about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselues as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although Polybius doe most probably coniecture, that 20 this was rather a malicious deuice of Martins, craftily feeking to bring the Rhodians

in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoling the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of Perfeus, or of Antiochus, who had then an armie on foot: yet fince he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And fo were the Rhodians moued to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtefie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embaffador, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of Perfeus, & of Gentius the Illyrian, did fet out their businesse at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good 30 fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wher-

in he had lately flaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we finde inti- Pohh. Ligat. 87. mated:though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome, to view the estate of Martius his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall, wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both mony and cloths: and Ap. Claudius the Pretor, who lay on the frontire of Illyria, so vnable to inuade Macedon, that contrariwife, he was in extreame danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thicher to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bin taken on the Illyrian side, which made al to halt; or at least, 40 that the Romans with greater loffe, than is before spoken of, had been driven from

fome of the Townes which they belieged. Now although it were fo, that Martius in very few of his actions, behaued himfelfe like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aprly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wifedome, he dealt as a craftesmalter, with a reftlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proued his fufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuerthelesse, out of enuic, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busic headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as Perfeus, by the successe of his doings against Hossilius, had got-

50 ten much reputation, and was thought likely to inuade Theffalie; Archo, Lycortas, and other good Patriotes among the Acheans, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of aduerlitie, whom in prosperitie they loued not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree which passed: That the Acheans should send their whole power into Thessalie, and participate with Rrrrrr 3

Polyb.Legat.

the Romans in all danger. So the armie was leuied; and Polybius, with others, fent Emballadors vnto Martius, to certific him thereof, and know his pleafure. Polybius found the Conful bufied in feeking paffage through Tempe into Macedon. Hee went along with the armie; and awaited the Confuls leifure, till they came to Heraclea; where finding the time convenient, hee presented the Decree, and offered the feruice of his Nation, wherein foeuer it should be commanded. Martius tooke this very kindly; but faid, that he needed now no maner of helpe. Forthwith! Polybius dispatched home his companions, to fignific thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to Martius, that Ap. Claudius defired, or rather imperiously required, of the Acheans, flue thousand men, to 10 be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest, that Appius had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable service, by distracting the forces of Perfeis. But the Labyrinthian head of Martius couldnot allow of fuch plaine reason. He called vnto him Polybius, to whom he declared, that Appins had no need of fuch aide: and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wife take order that the men might not bee fent, nor the Acheans be put to fuch needlesse charges. Away went Polybius; muling, and vnable to refolue, whether it were for loue to the Acheans, that the Conful was so carnell in this busines; or rather for enuic, and to hinder App. Claudius from doing any thing, fince himselfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching 29 this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owner felfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Conful, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other fide, that the words by Martius vttered to him in prinat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe Claudius, alleaging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, valesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of Appius was referred vnto the aduice of the Conful: by whom it was 33 fure to be made fruitrate. Hereby the Acheans were fauers, of more than an hundred and twentie talents: though Polybius himselferanne into danger of Appius his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of Martius, that King Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare, lest the fire, which hee himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his ownelodging; or whether the regard of money were able to o. uerswey al other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precifely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that 40 Eumenes did not fo much as give any helpe to Martius: but comming to have joyned with him, in fuch friendly manner as he did with the former Confuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certaine horse of the Gallogreekes, being requefted to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother Attalus tarrying behinde with the Conful, did the Romans good feruice: then is the reason apparant, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to Enmenes, and the loue to Aitslus. But it is more generally received; that Eumenes gave a willing care to Perseus his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well bee, that couetoulnessed drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. How-50 focuer it befell; Perfeus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to folicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to Eumenes, and to Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect loue, betweenea King and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrellalike to all Kings, though

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vied the helpe of one againit another; That Philip was oppressed by them, with the helpe of Attalus; Antiochus, with the helpe of Philip and Enmenes; and now Perfeus affailed, with helpe of Eumenes and Prufias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to confider, that when Micedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that alreadie they began to thinke better of Prusias, than of him. In like fort he admonished Antiochus, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Egyptian, follong as the Roman, could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleafure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to to compell the Romans, to furcease from their war vpon Macedon; or else to hold them as common duemies vnto all Kings. Antiochus lay farreout of the Romans way: and therfore was little troubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to bee true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answere; hee began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no leffe weary, than Perfess was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might haue fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre, then would be remaine a Neuter therein; and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condificend vnto peace: 20 and for affurance of his true mouning herein, he offered to give hoftages. Perfeus liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine have peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this he promifed to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the moneyin the Temple at Samothrace : whence it should be delivered vnto Eumenes, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of Samothrace was Perfeus his owne ! and therefore Eumenes thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Belides, his labour deserved somewhat, how soever the businesse might happen to succeed : so that needes he would have part of his wages in prest. Thus the two Kings did 30 no more, than loofe time; and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans, as a

Traytor. After the same manner dealt Perseus with King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainely, and faid, That without money he could not flirre. Hereunto Perfew loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his seares. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; fo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which Gentius demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by Perfew; to the end that all 40 his armie might have comfort, by fuch accesse of strength to their partie. Prefently upon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both Perfew and Gentius: who defired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betweene Perfess and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that Martine the Conful was no leffe desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promifed, That they, by their authoritie, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing prowd words, to the same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadours; gaue an answere, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vaine glorie of the Rhodians was throughly challifed; and more throughly should 50 haue beene, if their fubmiffion had not beene as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vse of Gentius his friendship, made Perseus; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would have haltened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. Pantauchus, the Micedonian Embaffadour, who remained with Gentius, exhorted

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him daily to begin the Warre by land and fea, whileft the Romans were vnprouis ded. But finding what it was that made all to fray; he fent word to Perfeus. Hereupon tenne Talents were fent to Pantauchus: who delinered it to the yong King, as carnelt of that which followed. More followed indeed; and fealed vp with the feale of the Illyrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, Gentus had layed hands vpontwo Roman Embaffadors, and cast them into prison. Which Perseus no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treafure-bearers, and fent them with their loade to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether hee were hyred thereto, or not.

Liu. lib.44. Plutarch. in vit, Æmyl.

There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aide of Perseus, under one Clandicus a pettic King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foor, of the Gaules, which were (as Flutarch hath it) the Bastarne. These had before hand made their bargaine, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entrie into the Kingdome, Perfeus fent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whome he promifed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had fent money to give the fouldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answere. Why then (faid Clondicus) tell thy maister, That the Gaules will not stirre one foot 20 further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Perfeus hereupon tooke counfaile: if to veter his owne opinion, before men lo wife that they would not contradict him, were to take counfaile. He made an inuective against the incivilitie and avarice of the Bistarne: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fine thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vie; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if anie of his counfailors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, fince without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out by the way of Parabis, into Theffalie: where walting the Countrey, and filling themfelues with spoile, 32 they should make the Romans glad to for fake Tempe, even for I unger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they worme anie vi-Storie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might have beene alledged, if anie man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was fent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those manie thoufands that had beene drawne so farre to no purpose. But Clendicus asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those fine thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceived, that Antigonus could make no bester answere, than shifting excuses; the Bastarna retur- 40 ned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt Perfeus, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Office he was verie foone discharged by L. Amylius Paulus the new Conful: who in fifteene dayes after his fetting forth from Italie, brought the Kingdome of Mac:don to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

Q. VIII.

CHAP. 6. S.8. of the Historie of the World. namnag admostelliten in 1. - 1.5-

angbo, an 42 galan 23 VIII.

Of L. EMY LIVE PAY LVS the Conful. His journey. He forceth P ELSEVS to discampe: Ha will not haver a battaile with anie disaluantage. Of an Eclypse of the Moone. AM TITY's bis fuperflition. The Battale of Pydnas PERSENS his florbe: He forfakes his Kingdome : which hallsty Relds to ENY VIVS. PERSEVS de Sambibrace. HE

yeelds himfelfe to the Roman Admirall; and is fent prifoner to A NY Livs. 10

Y the Warre of Mixedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Whitely though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitic for moued them; that either they deered Planch is that Produince to P. Emyllia Paulus, without putting it, as wayotherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his

fellow Conful; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it voon him than that fo worthie a man was adulanced to the dignitte of a fecond Confullhip 1986 refuled to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that conterned his Province; vn-20 till by Embalfadours, thither fent to view the effate of tille Watte, it was perfectly vinderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Maredonian, at the present remained. This being throughly knowne to be Tuchian hash beene afred die told; the Senate appointed a fitting fupplie Mot Dhely to the Conful but vnto the Nauje, and likewife to the Armie that fay betweene Historia and Epirus; from which App. Claudius was remotted, and L. Anicias lent thither in his place. Emylius, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requered those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into Macedon, and there affift him with their adurce ; or elle to governe their 30 tongues at home, and not take vpon them to give directions by heafelay, and cenfure by idle reports: for he told them plainely, Phat he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multisude. The like speech of his father L. Amyliu, who died valiantly in the Battaile of Conne, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was chough to make them conforme themselves the more gladly vito the instructions given by a wise and resolute

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, Emplies was honourably attended, at his fetting forth on this journey , with all especial hope of men, that he should finish the Warre: though that he strough finish it to soone and happily, 40 was more than could have beene hoped of imagined. He came to Brandufium : whence, when the winde cathe faire, he let lay lear breake of day, and artined fafely at the Isle of Coreyra before night! Thenethalled beto Debb? where, basing done facrifice to Apollo, after the fift day he fet 18 Polards to the Campe, and was there in fine dayes more. So are there but fine of the fifteene dayes remaining in which he finished the Warre.

Perfeus lay firongly encamped at Diam. having pared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of things, where it was flord and my driewealther. So as there was little hope, or noticed to the him; and confidently as will polfibilitic to enter that way into Mattabl . One great file butenichte troubling the 50 Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt vison Dium; was take of fresh water. For there were tetine my les betweene Dum and Tempe, all the way lying betweene the Sea should and the foot of Olympul, without anje Brothe or Spring breaking forth on that fair. But the state of the fair the state of th

no shoare that wants them, though they rife not about the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Attribu from taking up his lodging anie nearer to the enemie, than the Towne of Herades, on the River of Peneus; where he had watering at pleafure, but could performe no feruice of anie worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had fuch meanes to lye close to the Macedonian as it prefently did. the paffage onward, being defended as hath beene thewed, feemed no leffe difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to fearch another way: which by enquirie was foone found out. There was a narrow paffage ouer Olympus, leading into Perrabia; hard of afcent, but flenderly guarded, and therefore promiting a faire journey. Martius either had not been informed hereof; or durft not attempt 10 it : or perhaps could not get his fouldiors to make the aduenture; they fearing leaft it would prove such a piece of worke, as had beene their march over off into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater indultrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, even at his first comming, manie dilorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the fouldiers, among other good leftons, to be obedient and readie in execution; without troubling themselves, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto Scipio Amylianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his owne lonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of Scipio the African; the other, by one of the Fabil. 20 Scipio tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretains; but his maine firength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, confifted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at fome distance, they might doe notable service against those that should climbe up vnto them; yet when the darkneffe tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the butinesse about which they went, Scipio and Fabius tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet; where victuals were prouided for their journey: it being noyfed, that, they were to runne along the coast of Macedon by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about 30 three dayes.) the Conful made thew of a meaning to fet upon Perfess where hee lav ; rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than you anie hope to doe good, in feeking to get ouer Enipeus. The Chanell of Enipeus, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the prefent it lay welneare all drie, yet it ferued not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore Amylius employed none fane his Felites; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towe ers which Perfeus had rayled on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the Romans, 40 and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet Amylius persi-Red ashe had begun; and recontinued his affault, fuch as it could be, the fecond day. This might bane ferued to teach the Macedonian, that some greater worke was in hand: fince otherwise a good Captaine, as Amyling was knowne to be, would not have troubled himselfe with making such bravadoes, that were somewhat costly, But Perfeus looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himfelfe no leffe (if not more) amazed than anie of the reft. Order was forthwith given to diflodge ; or rather, without order, in all tu- 50 multuous haft, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedic retreat made to Pyons. Whether it were fo, that they which had cultodie of the pallage were taken fleeping, or whether they were beaten by platter oregister and Eabim had verte good fuccesse in their journey. It may well beating they sleet wrill the Romans

came fomewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and flings could doe little ferture, were beaten at handle ftroakes: fo as the different relations that are cited by Platarch out of Polybra, and an Epitheof Saqia, may each of them have been effect. This was an open way cleared into Mieclon: which had been effected by Alartias in the years fore going; but was closed vp agains, through his not profecuting for ich an opportunitie.

Perfets was in extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappie beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and fo to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making to defence. But farre worfe countaile prenailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King refolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into anic one Towne, least that should be first of all befreged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully relieved. This was even the fame that Emylius, or anie invador, thould have defired. So a place was chosen neare vnto Pydna, that serned well for the Phalanx, and had likewife on the fides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who flaved not long behind him. As soone as the Romans had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than differetion, had hafted away from them, forfaking the 20 Campe that was to notably well fortified: they defired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the Conful; praying him not to loofe occasion by delay. But Amylius told him, That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor anie thing there, faue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand; and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe meafured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leyfure, hee fell o backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans, and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the fame day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground feruing ill for the Phalanx: as on the other fide, the Conful had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Remanaccount) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Conful, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiors not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was feene. It was the manner of the Romans, in fuch Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Braffe and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great eafe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoffication of Sulpicius converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they faw it verified. Contrariwife, the Macedonians howled and made a great noy se as long as the Eclipse lasted; rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigie betokening their loffe; lince their defire to fight was no whit leffened by it. I will not here nand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signific, or cause, anie alteration in ciuile affaires, and matters that have fmall dependance on natural complexion : for the argument is too large. More worthic of observation it is, how superstition captinates the wildome of the wifelt, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. \*Emplius, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the

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Moone, that it was no supernatural thing, nor about the reach of humane underfranding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anie deuout regard thereof: yet could he not refraine from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with facrifice her delinerie, as foone as the thone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by Plutarch, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not affift him in this foolith denotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to Hercules; which was no leffe foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely confumed, ere Hercules could be pleased with anic Sacrifice, and vouchfafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beasts. At 10 length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promife of victoric to Amylius; but with condition, That hee should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greeke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new Goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda; or vpon Romulus, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) vpon Mars the father of Romulus, to whome belonged the guidance of militaric affaires; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; Emylim was throughly perfuaded, that the 20 King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not have stayed at. Pydna, when as a little before, his leyfure ferued to retyre whither hee lifted, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conful thought that hee might wait vpon advantage, without making anie great haste. Neyther was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore Perfew kept his ground, that was commodious for the Phalanx, and Emyline font forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which 30 whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer carneft desire. A horse brake loose at watering; which two or three of the Roman fouldiers followed into the riner, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne fide. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the Thracians was flaine. His countrimen feeing this, hasted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had flaine him ouer the river. Hercupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew fuch, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the cuent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaile, accordly as the manner of his Countrie, and the armes, 40 wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat levell, saue that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Komans the better fouldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conful encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto Hercules. It is the leffe maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaile, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme whereby to saue his owne person. As for Hercules, hee liked not the facrifice of a coward: whose vnseasonable denotion could be 50 no better than hypocrifie. For hee that will pray for a good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaile, hee found it no better than lost : and he, in looking to his owne fafetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian Phalanx did so stoutly presse onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as Emylius was thereat much aftonilhed; That the Peligni rushing desperately on the Phalanx, were ouer-borne, many of them flaine, and the fquadrons following them fo discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the Romans; and which the Conful beholding, is faid to have rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horfe, had in like manner done his denoyre; the victorie might have bin his owne. That which turned the fortune 10 of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the Phalanx long in order. For whilest some of the Romans small battaillons pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recovled from it; it was necessarie (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Conful, what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to direction given by Amyliu, when hee faw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and 20 the rankes in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the Phalanx proued vnauaileable against manie fmall fquadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of cyno/cephala: yea, this forme of embattailing was found unferuiceable against the other, by reafon, that being not euerie where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little fuch inconvenience of ground, as had beene at \* Cyno- \* chap.4. \$.14

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scephala.

Perfeus, when he faw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle prefently, and ranne amaine towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing 30 the little good feruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercie of the Enemie: who flew about twentie thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that battaile, onely some sourcefcore, or fixfcore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fel to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and fuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therfore turned out of the common way, being followed by fuch as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within 40 a while to lessen. For hee sell to denising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to Pella, he found his Pages and houshold servants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnfeafonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. Afterthis, none whom he fent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare 50 some greater mischiefe; he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him onely Euander (who had beene employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about fine hundred Cretians; more for love of his money, than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

fiftie talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would have redeemed it; but never paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to Amphipolis; where hee exhorted the townslmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed Euander to speake what himselfe would have vttered. But the Amphipoli. tans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselues. Vpon the first same of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towns of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: fending them foorth under colour of againcfull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade Euander be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde In to tarrie: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine veffells that hee found in the river Strymon; paffed over to the Isle of Samothrace: where he hoped to live fafe, by priviledge of the religious Sanctuarie

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of Amylius, within so few dayes after his victoric. Prdna which was nearest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the fouldiours, that were of fundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and confent. Hippius who had kept the passage ouer 20 offs against Astrius, with Pantauchus, who had beene sent Embassadour to Gentius the Illyrian, were the first that came in : yeelding themselues and the Towns of Beraa, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Rella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had for faken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such tearmes, that the sacke of it was granted to the Roman armic. Amylius fent abroad into the Countrey, fuch as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards Pella. Hee found 39 in Pella no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a little while hee shall have

It was soone understood, that Perseus had taken Sanctuarie, in the Templeat Samo: Irrace: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that he wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in tearmes ill beseeming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, King Persevs to the Conful Pavevs; the Conful, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine 40 the Title, refused to make answere thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheleffe in this conference, hee was maruailous earnest, that hee might bee allowed to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had fo carefully preserved his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with fuch vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yetneglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his defire to liue at case, and bee called King. Yeait feemes that hee had indeede, even from the beginning, a defire to live in this 50 Isle of Samothrace: both for that in one of his consultations about the war he was dehorted by his friends, from feeking to exchange his Kingdome of Macedon, for \*fuch a paltrie lland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which Eume-

nes demanded, in the holie Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vige him to give place vinto necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of Rome. This is so tarre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace Cn. Oftauius the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who affayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not ferue, a question was moued to the Samothracians; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like holie priviledge of 10 Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quicke. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and fend word to the King, That Euander, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at Delphi, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holie place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them forbeare to fay, that Perfeus himfelfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auaile, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? Perfeus therefore willeth Enander to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Romans hand, 20 who are like to be presidents and ouerseers of this judgement; so as it were better to die valiantly, fince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion Enander seemes to like well: and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poy fon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had flucke to Perfeus in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to for sake him: so as none are left with him, saue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and fay, That the King hath loft the priviledge of this holie 30 Sanctuarie, by murdering Euander therein. Or if the Romans will affirme so much, who shall dare to gaine lay them ?. Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and even that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from cap-

CHAP. 6. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

tiuitie; hee purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto Cotys his good friend, into Thrace. Oroandes, a Cretian, lay at Semothrace with one shippe; who casily was persuaded to wast the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and \* children (if rather it were not true, that hee Platareh in vit. had with him onely \* Philip his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his Liu. lib.45. fonne, being his \* brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by Liu.lib.42. 40 a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sca fide, hee found no

Oroandes there: the Cretians had played a Cretian tricke, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilest Perseus was fearching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recouer the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not fafe to enter it the common way, least he should be taken; hee hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages miffing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till Octavius made proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and Mucedonians what soener, abiding with their maister in Samothrace, should have their lives and libertie, with all to them 50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewife lon, a Theffalonian, to whome the King had given the

cufiodie of his children, deliuered them vp to Octavius. Lastly, Perfess himselfe,

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with his sonne Philip, accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better proteefted him; rendered himselfe, and made the Roman victoric complete. If hee had not trusted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Masedon, without other hope of living, than of raigning therein; hee might well have brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by disiding his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himfelfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that have beene wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to Amylius; before whome hee fell to the ground fo basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer him- to felfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the leffe to bee effecmed. Emylius vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the Romans. Hereto good answere might have beene returned by one of better spirit. As for Persen, he answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conful tearmed it) almost affurance; for that fuch was the mercie of the People of Rome. After these good words, being inuited to the Confuls Table, and respectively entreated, hee was committed prisoner to Q. Alius.

Such end had this Macedonian Warre, after foure yeares continuance : and 20 fuch end therewithall had the Kingdome of Macedon; the glorie whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated

GENTIVS, King of the Illyrians, taken by the



Bout the same time, and with like celeritie, Anicius the Roman Prætor, who succeeded vnto App. Claudius, had the like successe against King Gentius the Illyrian. Gentius had an Armie of fistcene thousand; with which hee was at Liffus, readie to affift King Perfew as foone as the money should come, whereof hee had recei-

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ued onely tenne Talents. But Anicius arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into \* Scodra. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, affifted with the Kings presence, made it seems 40 vnpossible to be wonne, in anie not a verie long time. Yet Aniciue was consident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to give an affault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the Towne, would needes iffue forth and fight. They were, it feemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadours; by whome, at first, hee defired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embassadours, to have recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was 50 no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still aline. Having obtained three dayes respite, hee passed up a River, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of

Scodra, as it were to confult the more privately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Caranantius was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into Scodra. He sent messengers crauing accesse vnto the Prætor: before whome having lamented his follie past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his follie present) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were prefently given vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of Rome not knowing that it was begun; vntill 10 Perpenna, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from

CHAP. 6. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

Anicius how all had paffed.

# ò. X.

How the Romans behaued themselues in Greece and Macedon after their victoric over PERSEVS.

Ow began the Romans to fwell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had been evnmannerly toward them before, whilest the Warre with Persons ceemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadours were still at Rome, when the danger. The Rhodian Embassadours were still at Rome, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; faying, That they were fent from Rhodes, to make an ouerture of peace; for a fmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no leffe grieuous to the Romans themselves, than to the Macedonians and manie others: but that now they were verieglad, and in behalfe of the Rhodians did con-30 gratulate with the Senate and People of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answere, That the Rhodians had fent this Embassage to Rome, not for love to Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the delire of some (conctous of the charge) to have Warre proclaymed against Rhodes; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparrell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; befeeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengcance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from Rome being knowne at Rhodes, all that had beene anie whit averle from the Romans in 40 the late Warre of Macedon, were cyther taken and condemned, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that slew themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would have done, if olde M. Cato, a man by nature vehement, had not vetered a milde fentence, and aduertifed the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that \*rather the wealth of that Ci- \* casar in orat. tie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than anie just cause, had moved them apud Salust. de thereto. This confideration, together with their good deferts in the Warres of line. Philip and Antiochus, helped well the Rhodians; among whome, none of anie marke remained alive, save those that had beene of the Roman Faction. All 50 which notwithstanding, manie yeares passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the focietic of the Romans: a fauour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equall

friends. With the like, or greater feueritie, did the Romans make themselues tetrible in SIIII 3

all parts of Greece. Amylius himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; vifitting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had ouer them. More than fine hundred of the chiefe citizens in Demetrias were flaine at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with helpe of the Roman fouldiors. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confilcated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conful, the redreffe was fuch, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the libertie of their Countrey, he feafted like a King, with excessive cheare; yet so, that hee had all things verie cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be back- 10 ward in fending prouisions, nor fee on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were fent from Rome; fome, to give order for fetling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was viuall in fuch cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The Kingdome of Mace. on was fet at libertie by Amylius and the Embassadours, his atsistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this libertie was fuch as the Romans vied to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed vnto the Kings. was leffened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was divided into source parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were fent captine into Italie, with their wines and children, as manie as were aboue fifteene 20 yeares old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated, and new given by Æmylius. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue anie inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subjects to Rome; the things done to them could descrue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse perjurie, were it not so that the familiar cultome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were fent to vifit the Greekes, called before them all fuch men of note, from cueric quarter, as had anie way discoucred an unseruiceable disposition towards the Ro- 30 mans. These they sent to Rome; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to Perseus, which fell at length into the Romans hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for vsing them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But lince onely two men were believeded, for having beene openly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is confessed, that the good Patriotes were no leffe afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had fold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the Acheans these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vn- 40 tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of figne, by letters, or otherwise, whereby anic one of the Achieuns could be suspitiously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Callierates, nor anie of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their feruice to the Romans, but onely fuch as were the best Patriotes. Yet would not therefore the Embassadours neglect to vie the benefit of the time: wherein, fince all men trembled for feare of Rome, the scason serned fitly to ranke the Achaans with the rest. And hereto Callicrates was verie vigent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellowes should be 50 made to pay for their mischicuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embasfadours came among the Achieurs: where one of them, in open affemblic of the Nation, spake as Callierates had before instructed him. Hee said, That some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended Perfeus.

The fift Booke of the first part

This being fo; he defired that all fuch men might be condemned, whom, after fentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole affembly) what inflice were this? name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, we will foone condemne them. Then faid the Roman boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true, faid Xenon, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have beene friend to Perseus: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Vpon these words of xenon the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were

to the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at kome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare, and answere before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertic, should dwell together in any of the Greekes. At their comming to Rome, they were all cast into prison: as men already condemned by the Acheans. Many Embassiages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since 20 honestie had beene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthied among

them) to informe the Senat, that these men were neither condemned by the Achaans, nor yet held to be offendours. But in flead of better answere it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that the semen should returne into Achaia. Neither could any folicitation of the Acheans, who never ceafed to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after feuenteene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and vertuous man Polybius, the great Hiltorian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or having made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of jayle, after that they were committed thereto, fuffered death

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the fouldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of Epirus should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible crueltie; as also it was performed by Amylius with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leave of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vie the libertie beflowed upon them by the people of Rome; he fent unto the Epirots for tenne of the principall men out of euerie Citie. These hee commaunded to deliver vp all the gold and filuer which they had; and fent along with them, into eueric of their 40 Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day

by him appointed they should fall to sacke, everic one the Towne whereinto hee was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoyled by the Roman souldiors; and besides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the Epiro's deserved punishment, as having favoured Perfews. But fince they, among this people, that were thought guiltie of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had beene alreadie fent into Italie, there to receive their due; and fince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present 50 in good obedience, but had, even in this warre, done good fervice to the Romans:

I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeve it, had anic one Writer delivered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse meruallous, that GoD was pleased to make Amylius childlesse, even in the glorie of his triumph, how great focuer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victorie, with the Greekes and Macedonians. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Emballage fent from them to Antiochus: whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of Antiochus his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadors came.

à. XI.

The Warre of ANTIOCHUS upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

Demetrius Soter, and one daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given in marriage to

Ptolemie Epiphanes, King of Egypt. Seleueus the fourth of that name, and the el- 20



NTIOCHUS the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raign and life. He died the fix and thirtieth yeare after he had worne a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of Ptelemie Epiphanes: while he attempted to rob the Temple of Bel, or (according to Instine) of Inpiter. He left behinde him three fonnes, Seleneus Phi'opator, Antiochus Epiphanes,

Strab.lib.t 6. Iuft. Lb 37.

Enfeb.in Cron.

Mac.cap.z.

dest of Antiochus his sonnes; raigned in Syria twelue yeares, according to Eusebius, Appian, and Sulpitius: though to fephus give him but seven. A Prince, who as hee was flouthful by nature, so the great loffe which his father Antiochus had received; tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeares before his birth, Daniel gauethis judgement, Et flabit in loco eius vilisimus & indignus decoreregio. And in his place (speaking of Antiochus the father of this man) (ball flart up a vilde person, vir worthy the honor of a King. Vinder this Seleucie, those things were done which are spoken of Onias the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. What time as the hely Citie was inhabited with all peace, because of the godlinesse of ONIAs the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King 20 did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of Macchabees, of Simon of Benjamin, who by Apollonius betrayed the treasures of the Temple: and of Heliodorus sent by the King tofeize them; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recourry at the prayers of onics; of the Kings death, and of his fuccessor Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the Machabees take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his florie, nor of the acts of his fucceffors, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother and successour of this Seleucus; from whom downward to the death 40 of Simen Machabeus (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeenth yeare of the Greekes in Syria) that first book treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the Storic somewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeare of the Gracian raigne, and with the death of Nicanor, flaine by India: remembring in the fourth Chapter the praetile of Isfon, the brother of Oniss, who after the death of Seleucus, prevailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by Iansenius and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this Onias, that Arius King of the Spartans fent Embassadors to the Jewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greekes, Jonathan the brother and fucceffor of 50 Indas, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiffle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Antipater his Embassadors, whom hee em-

ployed at the same time to the Senate of Rome; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which arius had fent to Onias the High Prieft, whereto Iofephus

Mac. t.12.

# CHAP. 6. S.11. of the Historie of the World.

addes, that the name of the Lacedemonian Embassador was Demoteles, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were scaled with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Now to this Seleucus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in the hundred and feuen and thirtieth yeare of the Greekes in Syrie. Hee was the fecond some of the Great Antiochus: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his fifter Cleopatra, being then very yong, 10 had beene about feuen yeares King of Ægypt.

Ptolemic Epiphanes, the father of this King Philometor, had raigned in Agypt foure and twentie yeares; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip of Micedon, and the great Antiochus, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the Romans, as made them give over their vniust purpose; especially Antiochus, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this Ptolemie, the Propinces of Calefyria, Phanice, and Indea, which he had wonne by his victoric ouer Scopas, that was Generall of the Agyptian forces in those parts. Neuertheleffe, Ptolemie adhered to the Romans: whereby he lived in the greater securitie. Hee lest 20 behind him two fons; this Ptolemie Philometor, and Ptolemie Physcon, with a daughter, Cleopatra, Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom the was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such werethe marriages of these Egyptian Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he flew her, fell into harred with his subjects, and was like to be chafed out of his kingdome: his yonger brother being fet vp against him. Physcon hauing a strong partie, got possession of Alexandria; and Philometor held himselfe in Memphis, crauing fuccour of King Antiochus his vncle. Hereof Antiochus was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the yong Prince, fought by

30 all meanes possible to possesse himselse of that kingdome. He sent Apollonius the sonne of Mnestheus Embassador into Agypt, and vnder colour to assist the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King Philometer, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdomeinto his hands; pretending an extraordinarie care and delire of his Nephewes safetie and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contrarie, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he along ft the coast of Syria, to Joppe, and from thence on the fudden he turned himselfe towards Ierufalem, where by Iason the Priest (a Chaplin sit for such a Patron) hee was with all 2.Mar.4. pompe and solemnitic received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of Se-

40 leucus, the brother and predeceffour of Epiphanes, that impious traytor Simon of Macastapa, the Tribe of Beniamin, ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to Apollonius Gouernor of Calesyria and Phanicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said Apollonius being stroken by the Angell of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of Onias: yet fufficed not this example to terrific others from the like vngodly practifes. Presently vpon the death of Seleueus, this Iason, the brother of Onias, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of filter, with other rents and summes of money. Mac.1.2.c.4. So he got his delire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughtie dealing of Ialon, and his being ouer-reached by another, in the fame kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the Acheans, when as that mischieuous Callierates, who had beene too hard for all worthic and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus.

One fire than other burnes more forcibly, One Wolfe than other Wolues does bite more fore; One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly. So one most mischieuous of men before, CALLICRATES, falleknane asknane might be, Wet with MENALCIDAS more falle than be.

And even thus fell it out with Islan: who within three yeares after, was betrayed, and overbidden by Menelaus the brother of Simon, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: Isfon thereupon being forced to flie To from Ierusalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites. From Ierusalem, Antiochus marched into Phanicia, to augment the numbers of his

men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Agypt; with which, Mac.1.c.1.v.17 and with a mightie armie of land-forces. Hee went about to raigne over Ægypt, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mightie companie, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Nauie, and moued warre against Ptolemaves King of Egypt, but Ptolemaevs was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wanne many strong Cities, and took away the spoiles of the Dangil, Va4. Land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of DANIEL. He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall doe that which his Fathers have not done, nor 20

ouerthrow to the Captaines of Ptolemie, betweene Pelusium and the hill Cassius, after which he entered and fackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Agypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that ANTIO. CH v s had smitten Egypt, he turned againe and went up towards I srael and Ierusalem with a mightie people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuarie, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlesticke for the light, and all the Instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the powring Veffels and the Bowles, and the golden Basons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Silver, and the Gold, and the 30 precious Iewels, and the fecret Treasures : and when he had taken away all, he departed into bis owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria so great a victorie

ouer the Egyptians, nor tooke from them so great riches. For hee gauca notable

Lib.6.

Polyb.Legat.81.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that Antiochus tooke in hand this Egyptian businesse. At what time he first laid claime to Calesyria; justifying histitle by \* the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not beene configued ouer to the Egyptian, or given in dowrie with Cleopatra. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had alreadie gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Achaans, Rhodidians, Athenians, and other of the Greekes, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to fome good conclusion. But his answere was; that if the Alexandrians could be con- 40 tented to receive their King his Nephew Philometer, the elder brother of the Piolemics, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee faw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers confume themselues with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatning destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any defire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the prefent; leaving the Piolemies in very weake estate; the yonger, almost ruinated by his inuation; the elder hated and forfaken by his people.

But how weake soener these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to bee so firong, that Antiochus might leaue them to the profecution thereof; and follow, at 50 good scafure his other businesse at Ierusalem or elsewhere. So after the sacke of Ierusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch; and then made a journey into Cilicia, to suppresse the Rebellion of the Tharsand other in those parts, who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called Antiochis For

CHAP. 6.S.11. of the Historie of the World.

Gouernour of Syria in his ablence, he left one Andronicus, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while Menelaus the brother of Simon, the same who had thrust Issen out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, comitting the charge of the Priesthood to his brother Lyfimachus, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to Andronieus the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adioyning. This he did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised, the same being now by Sostratus cagerly demanded. Hercof when Onias the Priest (formerly dispossessed by Iason) had certaine knowledge, being moued 10 with zeale, and detesting the facriledge of Menelaus, hee reproued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuarie at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a fuburb to Antioch. In compasse it

had aboutten miles: wherin were the Temples of Apollo and Diana, with a Groue, fweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to luit, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of Oniss, to commit himselfe to the protection of Apollo and Disna, or to claime priniledge, from the holines of a ground confecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuentence is far lesse, to hold this book as Apocryphall; than to judge this fearefull shift which 20 Onias (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke feemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not faue the life of the poore old man: for Menelaus taking Andronicus apart, prayedhim to flay Macliba.ca.4. ONIAS. Sowhen he came to ONIAS, he counfelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perswading him to come out of the Santhuarie; so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousnesses. Hereof when complaint was made to Antiochus after his returne out of Cilicia, Hee tooke away ANDRONICVS his garment of purple, and rent his cloathes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City, and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against O NI As, hee was Managanas flaine as a murderer. In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should have 30 thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suite of one Ptolemie, a traytor to Ptolemie Philometor, he condemned innocent ment to death; who justly complained against Menelaus, and his brother Lysimachus, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Veffels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne ourragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since he reuenged the death of Onias, yet flew those that were in the same cause with Onias, Who had they told their cause, Versag.

his volteadinesse, this king was commonly tearmed Epimanes, that is, madde, in stead of Epiphanes, which lignificth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, Antiochus made preparation for a second voyage into £gypt, and then Mac. 2.6.5. v. 1. were there feen throughout all the Citie of Icrusalem, fortie dayes long, hor femen running in the aire with Robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troopes of Horsemen set in aray, incountring and courfing one against another. Of these prodigious fignes, or rather forewarnings of GoD; all Histories have delivered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of Ierusalem by Velpasian, a starre in the forme of a sword ap-

rea, before the Scythians, they should have beene heard as innocent. By reason of such

peared in the Heauens directly ouer the Citic, after which there followed a flaughterlike vnto this of Epiphanes, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, Pliny Plinibia. c.51. tells vs that Armics were seene fighting in the aire from the morning till the cue-

ning.

Gouernour

In the time of Pope Iohn the eleventh, a fountaine powred out bloud in flead of water, in or neare the Citie of Genoa; loone after which the Citie was taken by the Mercur, Vipera water, in or neare the Citie of Genoas, 100 nearter which the Citie was taken by the de Prodig lib 8. Sarasens, with great flaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, Pipera ha Profit. collected many, and very remarkable. Butthis one feemeth to me the most memo- to & facto inrable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the Emperour Nero, the situio. Off-spring

. 769

Off-spring of the Cafers, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable figne gaue warning.

CHAP. 6. S.11.

The fift Booke of the first part

When Liuis was first married to Augustus, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell braunch in her mouth. Linia caused this Henne to be carefully nourifhed, and the Lawrell braunch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultrie, and from the little braunch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: fo that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vie to carrie in their hands a braunch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; and after the Triumphs ended, to fet it againe in the same ground: which braunches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those 10 persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeare of 2Vero, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cafars Statues, and the Scepter placed in Augustus his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Iewes did not thinke fuch strange signes to be vinworthic of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon G o D, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus into Agypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein raigning: fo was his fecond Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder Ptolemie being left in Memphis, not firong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power 20 of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perfualion than by armes. Phylcon had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former fiege; the Alexandrines though they loued not Philemeter, yet loued they worfe to liue in fearcitie of victuals (which was alreadic great among them. and like to grow extreame) fince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother faw no likelyhood of good iffue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and about all these, the louing disposition of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he flood of his vncle. For though Antiochus were gone out 30 of Egypt with his armie; yet had he left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelusium; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Agypt, to his owne vie. This confideration wrought also with Physican, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra their fifter, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to Antiochus, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King Philometor his nephew, and a meaning to subject his yonger brother vnto him, which he gaue in answere to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently fur- 40 nished and sent out his Nauie towards Cyprus, and drew his Land Armie into Calesyria, readic to enter Egypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Embassadors sent from Ptolemie. Their errand was partly to yeeld thankes to Antiochus for the establishing of Philometor in his Kingdome; partly to befeech him, That he would rather be pleafed to fignific what hee required to have done in Agypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemie with fo puilfant an Armie. But Antiochus returned this short answere, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armic, vpon anie other condition, than that Ptolemie should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelulium, the whole Territorie thereto belonging and that 50 hee should also abandon and leave vnto him the Isle of Cyprus, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answere vnto these demaunds, hee fet downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without anie accord made, the Syrian Fleet entred Nilus, and recoursed as well those places which appertained to Ptolemie in Arabia, as in Agypt it selfe; for Alemphis and all about it received Antiochus, being vnable to refilt him. The King having now no stoppe in his way to Alexandria; passed on thitherwards by eatie journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Agypt flood; the Romans had notice long agoc. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to entermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein Antiochus feemed to take part with the juster caule. Yet they gaue fignification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to have the Kingdome of Agypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doc; being troubled with Perfess; and therefore loath to prouoke Antiochus too faire. Neuerthelesse, the Agyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to bee expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greekes, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene fustained with food from Egypt, in the warre of Hinnibal; when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Agyptian, had Aratus laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Acheans attained. And by the like helpe, had Rhodes beene desended against Demetrius Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the Ptolemies had done for fundric people abroad, ill followed or feconded, by other as bad in requitall : but with continuance of futable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers fent abroad confidently for ayde: especially to the Rhodians and Acheans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans, Physicon and Cleopatra had fent, a yeare fince: but their Embaffadours lay still in Rome. Of the Acheans they defired in particular, that Lycortas the braue warriour might be fent to them as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne Polybius Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the Acheans readily condescended : and would immediatly 30 haue made performance; if Callierates had not interposed his mischieuous arte. Hee, whether feeking occasion to vaunte his obsequiousnesse to the Romans; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose service the Kings desired; withflood the common voice, which was, That their Nation should not with such fmall numbers as were requelted, but with all their power, be aiding vnto the Ptolemies. Por it was not now (hee faid) convenient time to entangle themselves in any fuch businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans what helpe soeuer should be required in the Macedonian watre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that AO Martius the late Conful had fignified vnto him, that the Romans were past all need of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their benefactours, the Agyptian Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any service to the Romans; for as much as the Acheans could, without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of Callicrates. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from Martius; whereby the Acheans were desired to conforme themselves to the Roman Senate, and to labour, as the Senate had 50 done, by fending Embassadors, to set Agypt in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was esfected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the Acheans should doe any good in the Tttttt

fame kinde. Yet Polybius and his friends durst not gaine-say the Roman Councell; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was Perfeus ouercome: and then might the Embaffador fent from the Roman Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of Physicon and Cleopatra; which having stayed more then a whole yeare in the Citic, brought nothing of their bulineffe to effect vntill now. The Embalfadours deliuered their meffage in the name of those that had sent them : though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) Philometor, no leffe than his brother 10

and fifter.

In this Embassage of Ptolemie, now requesting helpe from Rome; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from fuch as it had bin before three or four yeares last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the Macedonian warre; either he, or Euleus and Leneus (vpon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to fet you Antiochus, for Cwiefyria; but would have interposed himselfe between the Romans and Perfeis, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Emballador was by a friend perswaded, to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, he fell on the sudden, by the 20 rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live vnder protection of the same Antiochus. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, hee might have feemed to ftand in no need of fuch protection; he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to faue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and fifter, shewed it selfe even in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorely cladde; the haire of their heads and beards ouer-growne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliuc. Thus they entered into the Senate; and there fell groueling and proftrate vpon the floare. Their garments were not fo meane and mournefull, nor their 39 lookes and countenances fo fad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey flood; they made a pitifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, befeeching them to have compaffion of their effate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the Romans. They faid that the people of Rome had so much heretofore favoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of fuch account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let Antiochus know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandria, and withdraw his Armic out 40 of Agypt into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time or yfed any delay; then should Ptolemie and Cleopatra be shortly driven out of their Realmes, and make repaire to Rome, with shamefull dishonor to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreame dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchfafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as Embassadours, to determine and end the warre between those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King Ptolemie, and then Antiochus, and to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surccassed and gaue over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to 50 the Senate and people of Rome, whom they found obstinate or vsing delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embassadours, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after. Whilest

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 6. S.12.

Whilest Popilius and his fellowes were on their way toward Egypt, Satiochus had transported his Armie ouer Lusine, some fortie myles from Alexandria. So neare was hee to the end of his journey, when the Roman Embassadors met him. After greeting and falutations at their first encounter, Antiochus offered his right hand to Popilius: but Popilius filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. Antiochus did so; and having a little while confidered of the businesse, hee tolde Populius, That hee would aduife with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answere. But Populus, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him fuch an answere as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King aftonished at this fo rude and violent a Commaundement, after hee had flayed and pawfed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to doe what socuer the Senate shall ordaine. Then Popilius gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the

Thus Antiochus departed out of Agypt, without anic good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as \* Daniel had prophesied long before: Dan. cap. 11. yea, fulfilling cueric particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mif. vers. 29,30.00 20 chiefe to Jerufalem after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene histotified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embassadours, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdome of Agypt, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne ouer Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus; which they left, as it had beene, in the power of the Egyptian, having first sent away Antiochus Fleet, which had alreadie giuen an ouerthrow to the Agyptian shippes.

d. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards EVMENES, PRUSIAS, MASANISSA, and COTYS. The end of PERSEUS and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of PAVLYS, ANICIVS, and OCTAVIVS. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

Y this peremptoric demeanour of Popilius, in doing his Message. and by the readic obedience of King Antiochus to the will of the Senate; wee may perceive how terrible the Romans were growne, through their conqueft of Macedon. The fame Popilius had beene well contented, a yeare before this, to lay afide the roughnesse of

his naturall condition, and to give good language to the Acheans and Ætolians, when hee went Embassadour to those people of Greece, that were of farre leffe power than the King Antiochus. Likewife, Antiochus had with good wordes, and no more than good wordes, dismissed other Embassadours which came from Rome, in fuch fort, as they complained not, much leffe vsed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as Antiochus.

50 Eumenes fent to Rome his brother Attalus, to gratulate the victoric over Perfeus, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the Gallogreekes, which molested him. Verie welcome was Attalus, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bad him be consident, and request of the Senate

Tttttt 2

his brothers Kingdome for himfeife; for it should furely be given him. These

\* Liu. lib.45.

\* Polyb.Legat.

Polyb.ibid.

hopefull promifes tickled Attalus with fuch ambition, that hee eyther approued. or feemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaymed by the faithfull counfaile of Stratius a Phylician; whome Eumenes had fent to Rome of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene fent; recounted his owne feruices done to the Romans in the late Warre, \*wherewithall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requested, That the Townes of £nus and Maronea might be bestowed upon himselfe. \* By his omitting to fue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, 10 that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious hee was, they not onely graunted all his defire; but in the prefents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embaffadours that came with an acceptable meffage) they vied fingular magnificence. Neuertheleffe, Attalus tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had alreadic graunted. This did so highly eifplease the Senate, that whilest hee was yet in Italie, they gaue order for the libertie of Anus and Maronea: thereby making vneffectuall their promife; which otherwise they could not without shame, revoke. And as for the Gallogreekes, which were about to inuade the Kingdome of Pergamus; they fent Embaffa- 20 dours to them, with fuch instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest : Eumenes thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. Hee might well blame the follie of his fecond voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: fince, by his malice to Perfeus, hee had tayed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No fooner was he come into Italie, than the Senate was readie to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to vie him as an enemie, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, have anoided the note of fingular inconstancie; and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would per- 30 mit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to Rome; and by vertue thereof lent him home, without expence of much further

Prusias King of Bishynia had beene at Rome somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behave himselfe as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or defire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kiffed the threshold, calling the Fathers his gods and sauiours: as also hee yied to weare a Cappe, after the manner of flaues newly manumifed, prof: fling himfelfe an enfranchifed bondman of the People of Rome. He was indeede naturally a flaue, and one that by fuch abject flatteric kept himfelfe 40 fafe: though doing otherwife greater mischiefe than anic wherewith Perseus had beene charged. His errand was, belides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne Nicomedes, whome he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would have beene vnjust hee received a cold answere. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was undertaken by the Senate; which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Ægypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the Romans gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, Masanista held his credit with the Romans good. His quarrels were endlesse with the Carthaginians: which made the friendship of the Romans to him the more affured. In all controucrises they gave judgement

on his tide: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of Emporia, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the Romans (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let goe all their hold, and to pay fine bundred Talents to the Numidian, for having hindered him of his due fo long. Now indeede had Rome good leyfure to deuile vpon the ruine of Carthage : after which, the race of Masanissa himselfe was thortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee fent to Rome one of his fonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer Perfeus; and offered to come thi-10 ther himselfe, there to facrifice for joy vnto Jupiter in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his fonne rewarded; and hee entreated to flay

Cotys the Thracian sent Embassadours, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him given to Perfews, for that the Macedonian had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his fonne, which was taken with the children of Perfeus, might be fet at libertie for conuenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; tince hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to Perseus, by giving hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carrie himselfe better toward the Romans in time following. His King-20 dome lay betweene Macedon and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it

was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappie Kings, Perseus and Gentius, they were ledde through Rome, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of Amylius and Anicius. Perseus had often made suite to Amylius, that hee might not be put to fuch differace: but hee still received one skornefull answere, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himfelfe. And furely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather have fought his death in Macedon, than have beene beholding to the courtesse of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman 30 clemencie, whereof Amylius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene ledde in chaynes through the firectes, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remayned without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capitol, there to doe facrifice, hee should command the captines to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto Perseus: yet so, that hee had little joy of his life; but eyther familhed himfelfe, or (for it is diuerfly reported) 40 was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of fleepe. Of his fonnes, two died, it is vncertaine how. The youngest called Alexander (onely in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Tura ner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In such pouertie ended the Royall House of Macedon: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If Perfeus had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day bee compelled to earne his living by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is 50 like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignetic, haue commaunded those poore men to be slaine, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been verie gentle, and would haue confidered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertroden wretches, are all subject vnto One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command.

But such is our vnhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, Doe as yee would be done unto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, I will be like to the Most High: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

Junenal.Sat,10.

-- v v -- Et qui volunt occidere quenquam Polle volunt -

Euen they that have no murdrous will, Would have it in their power to kill.

About

All, or the most, have a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controlle: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. Goo, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted fuch power to verie few: among whome alfo, verie few there are, that vie it not to their owne hurt. For who fees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (befides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not manie excellent Princes, not with standing their brotherhood, or other nearenesse in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that governes one, the most vinworthic of his whole 20 house, yet raigning overall? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselues to such flatterie; and the common practise of the Turkish Emperours, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King Edward the fecond; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of England: which had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exercise the fame vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish 30 the transitoric Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceine and teach, That \* GOD is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaister, that can be deuised, The true Law for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it upfide-downe at their pleasure.

narchies.

Chap. 3. 5.4.

Now, concerning the Triumph of L. Amylius Paulus; it was in all points like vnto that of T. Quintius Flaminius: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootic. So great was the 40 quantitic of Gold and Siluer carried by Paulus into the Romen Treasurie, that from thenceforth, vntill the civile Warres, which followed vpon the death of Iulius Casar, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have beene hindered by the fouldiors; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by seuere exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuerthelesse, it pleased God to take away from him his two remayning fonnes, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one died fine dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes 50 after it. This loffe hee bore wifely: and told the People, That hee hoped to fee the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victoric was requited with his owne private calamitic, in stead of the publike.

CHAP. 6.5.12. of the Historie of the World.

About the same time, Octavius the Admirall, who had brought Perseus out of Samothrace: and Anicius the Prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken King Gentrus prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embaffages from all parts; and Kings, either viliting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to vilit her, and doe their duties in perfon ; were enough to fay vnto Rome, Sume Superbiam, Take vpon thee the Maiestie, that thy deferts have purchased.

 $B^{\gamma}$  this which we have alreadic fet downe, is feene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer have ended. That of Rome which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted vp, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shal beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient Historics, which have beene preserved, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of fo many tragicall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men hauc complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, the greatest Lords of the world have beene stirred vp, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it to much vexation, and fo many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of Cineas to Pyrrhus proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vie at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, understood by them 30 which are diffolued; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stolne out of the world without noise; than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression and crueltie, by giving in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with fo many and fo variable forts of forrowes.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germaines, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there bath beene no State fearefull in the East, but that of the Turke; nor in the Westany Prince that hath spred his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard, who since the time that Ferdinand expelled the 40 Moores out of Gransdo, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the Turke is now counterpoised by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as have beene spent by the English, French, and Neatherlands in a defensive war, and in diuctions against them, it is casic to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thou fand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to line in peace, but all their swelling and ouerstowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one 30 feeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof, the one to joyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all

Europe to Spaine. For the reft, if we lecke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundleffe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath been already faid;

That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends, of those great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counfell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdome of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; Go p which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. I have confidered (faith SALOMON) all the workes that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexetion of (pirit : but who believes it, till Death tells it vs. It was Death, which open ning the conscience of Charles the fift, made him enjoyne his some Philip to reflore Nauarre; and King Francisthe first of France, to command that justice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then be neglected. It is therfore Death alone that can fuddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravell that filles his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them 20 fee therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mightic Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none bath dared, thou halt done; and whom all the world hath flattered. thou only hast cast out of the world and despised : thou hast drawne together all the farre firetched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, Hic incet.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, The first part of the Generall Historie of the World, implying a Second, and Third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewen out; belides many other discouragements, per-

fwading my silence; it hath pleased GoD to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspeakable and neuer enough lamented loffe, hath taught mee to fay with I o B. Verfaest in Luctum Citha. ramea, & Organum meum in vocem

FINIS.

# To the Reader.



He wee of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to anic length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: fince they cannot, like Annales, yearely fet downe all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may ferue as an Index to the prefent Part of this Worke; pointing unto the feuerall matters, that having fallen out at one time, are farre distoyned in the Relation. Certainely

it is not perfect : neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For how focuer the yeares of the first Patriarchs may seeme to have beene well-neare compeat, yet in the raignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel, wee finde manie fractions, and the last yeare, or yeares, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in manic other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect formes of the yeare, which were in efe among fundrie Nations: causing the \* Summer Mone: hs, in proceffe of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding ex- \* See Lib.2. treame confusion in the reckoning of their times . Neither is it a small part of trouble, Chap. 3. S.6. to chuse, out of so manie, and so veterly disagreeing computations, as have alreadie gotten authoritie, what may probably be held for truth . All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleaged, in excuse of such error as a more intentine and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serve to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane indgement) from anie notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to lu fice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for Come errors of the Presion the numbring of yeares, but for some hassie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to have bereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to bis owne cafe.

The Titles over the Columnes, have reference to that which followes under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two Titles, or more, are over the head, as | Rome Nationalitar | there doe the numbers underneath answere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Icrus ilem were finished in the 219. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314 from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be and riftood, That IEHOSOPHAT began bis raigne in the 2774. of the IVLIAN Era in the 3092 of the World, and in the 99 yeare of the Temple. This needes not more illustration; nor indeede so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To anote profesitie, I have forborne to infer; those yeares, which I finde not figned with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Raigne; some change of Government; some Battaile fonght; or thelike. So, of the 13. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETUS raigned over the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of I EHOSOPHAT, wherein CAPETVS began, onto the 17, wherein SYLVIVS A-VENTINUS Succeeded, and wherein I EHORAM first raigned with I EHOSOPHAT bus father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and fe fill onwards, till I had come to the first of AVEN-TINVS, and 17. of IEHOSOPHAT. In fetting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of cuerie one, what place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the firly fecond, fift, feuenth, or fo forth, in ranke, of those that rigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeare of his raignes, at the end, or foot of the name (as the space giues leave) is the whole number of yeares in which he raigned; in the faces following underneath are those yeares of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeare of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be understood, that the Same yeare belonged, not oncly to the King then beginning, but whio some one, or more, of

# To the Reader.

his fore.goers: as the first yeare of I i ii o n n n King of I stall was the same with the seemad his brother A ii a z i a, and the 22 of his father A ii a n. So, where two or three anote are sound in one sheet; as in the 2077, yeare of the World, Z linki, T ii is ii, and O m i i it is meant, that enerie one of them raigned in some part of the same yeare; which is reckoned the second of E i a, and the siril of O m i. Particularly, what the stave of the Egyptian Kings are set downer the years of the So N A S I i is, which it will thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the day of the month upon which N a i o n A s s a is yeare began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be sound in the place lest above either.

Concerning the Ara, or accompt of yeres, from I P HITVS, who began the Olympiads, from R ome Coult, from N A N ON A S S A R, and the like; as much as was thought connenient hith beene field, where due place was, in the Booke it felfe: fo as it remained onely to note, that winder the title of Olympiads is fet downe fift the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the year e of that Olympiad; as that C v R v s began his raigne in Persia,

in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeare thereof.

Now, for that the yeares of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of NABONAS-SAR, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columnes; opposing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all ouerthwart with one streight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour hane I spared, as more troublesome than weefull; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and fince the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to observe, that how soener the Era of the Olympiads be 24. yeares elder than that of Rome, and 29, than that of NABONASSAR, yet the raigne of some King may have begun at such a time of the yeare as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning : the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explane all. Queene ELIZABETH began her raigne the 17 of November, in the yeare of our LORD 1558: Shee was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it up; threw downe Images; and reformed manie things in Religion: all in her first yeare: yet not all in that yeare 1558, but the greater part in the yeare following; whether we begin with the first of Ianuarie, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but to, as the difference is never of a whole

The IVLIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the yeares of the World, was deailed by that honorable and excellently learned IOSEPHSCALIGES.

The being accommodated to the VILIAN years, now in Vigenmong vs. It conflicts of 7980 yeares; which refult from the multiplication of 19.28, and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being duided by anie of the fee, it leaves the number of the prefent yeare; or if no fraction remainer, it fixes the the feed to feel the type of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498, of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Canna, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sunne 18, and confequently the Dominical letter F. as may be found by duiding the fame number of the IVLIAN Period 4498, by 10. for the Frime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IVLIAN Period 4498, by 10. for the Frime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IVLIAN Period 4498, the prefent accompt, always exceeds the years of the World by 682. Befides the former vfer, and other thence redounding, it is abotter Churalter of a yeare, than anie other Era (us From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more vneurtaine position.

fitio

Ower of Justinat need to write, as touching the refe or explication of these Tables. Note there was thus much requisite to such as we connersant in workes of this kinde: it sufficient if hereby allow made pains convolos to be valed as.



# CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE

YEARES OF THE JULIAN PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

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. Mahalaleel died this yeare.	1972			895	830	603	416	234					
Iared died.	2104		<u> </u>			735	584	366					
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Vide Lib.2, c.2.5.2.	1848	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 1. Cham 16 L		
	7532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1.Na- bor. 148	
	1879 222	823	321	2 2 1	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. To rab. 205
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1 5	Vorta.	Noah.	Sem.	Arpha.	Salab	. Heber	Peleg.	Ren.	Asy-	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nabo	Terab	Kungs of Sicyon.	
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of Peleg his life	1996	940	438	338	303	273	239	200	30	177	149	147	118	9	_
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Noah died this yeare.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283	3	219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastic in Egypt. Vide L. 1. C.2. § 3.4.5. &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	31	6 286	5	222	43	190	1. Miz reim or 6 firs., 26		131	22	bram. 175
	2019 2019 262		461	361	320	290		232	1. Semi ramis,4		11		141	32	11
The last yeare			468	368	3,33	30		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
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Abram receiu s t Premife, Terah dies m Her l.2.c.1. § . t . 2. 3. 6	2765	525		425		390	360		23 .	75	2	05	6		75
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Abram enters in Cansan; and defect into Feyer. The first of the 43	2760	5		426	1	391	361		76	24		76	7		
perce Servicude. Abram returninto Canaan.	276	7		427		392	362		77	2	5	77	8		
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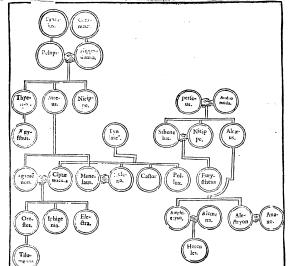
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Ilaac borne when Abraham was 100 gears. old compliat 101. current.	1701 1109	55!	416	386	1011	11	101	32	1. I Jaac.	
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Saral the wife of Abraham died this yeare.	63	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
lianc tooke Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. jeares old compleat.	2149	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
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Abraham died ibis zeare.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
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The 17. Dynastse, called of the Steep beards, beginning this yeare lasted 103. teares.	116			91	31	9 1. Arma- mithres 38	191	36	3 <b>I</b>	
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jloud of Ogyges, a thousand and wente yeares before the Olympiads. See Lik 1 chap.7.8.2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1 Belochu Prifeus, 3.	22 <b>9</b> 29	29	19	
	1943 1260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. losep
	1944 1262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 1 .Meffa piiis , 47.	44	3
See L.2. Chap. 2 \$ 6.	2952 3270 187			162	102		3 & 4. 1. Typlon . 3. after him Hercul.7.72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Bale- 45. 52	3 74	11	54	13

10	ulian. Vorld. Promise			Isaac.	lac	ob.	Аfjyriл	Ægypi.	Sicyon.	Argines	
	2959 2277 194	Ì		169	10	9	6	1. Orus 79. 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	1	11	8	81 81	18	1. Apis	20
The last years of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	, <b>1</b>	20	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				1	30	: 27	2 <b>8</b>	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynaftie in Egyft, which isted 348. yeares.	2984 2302 219				,	34	31	. 26 I	41	24	43
	1991 1309 126					141	3 8	33	10 r. Per	A- 3T	50
	2996 2314 231					146.	43	38	6	1. Argu	55
Iacob dies in Egypt.	2997 1315 272				,	47	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Inlian. World Pro- mife.	loseph.	A	Ŋyria.			Egypt.	Sicyon	Argin	es	
	1324 241	65	1. A	12 Itades,	32.		48	16	11		
	2355 272	96		32			79 54	II I.Ples naus, a			
	3038 2356 273	97	ι. Μ	13 amitus	3C.		80 55	2	4	3	
The last yeare of Ioseph.	3051 2369 286	110		14			93 68	15	50		
	3066 2384 301			29	j		108	30	.P.rajus	isro1 , 54-	
1	3068 2386 303		ı.A	14 (ancalen	v,3c		110	3:	3		
	1074			7		1.50%	6 Stirthe Great, 91	3; 58	!	,	
	3085	Ì		18	-	,	12	1.011 pelis,	ho- 2	0	
	;0.98 2416 333			15 oherus e ereus, 2			25 115	14	5	3	
	3107 2425 342			10		t.,Sef	7 Ministhefedord 124	14 23	4	3	
8	3116 2434 351	1.Mofe:		19			193	3:	3 5	1	

	Iulian. World. Pro- mife.	Moses	A∬yria,	Egypt.	Sieyon,	Argines		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilas, or Mamelus. 20.	12 125	34	53		
	3120 2438 255	5	3	14	36	Phor		
	;121 2429 246	6	4	8 1. Orus 2.or Bu Jiris. 38. 1:8	37	2	Athe-	
	1466 383	33	1. Sparetm. 40.	28 165	13 1.Mare thius.30	29		
	1151 1469 186	36	4	31	4	32	I. Ge-	
Moles visites his breibren the Israelites ; killes an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	2472 2472 290	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Trio- Des. 46.	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. bermutis,or Acco cheres.Qu.11.176.	12	5	9	
-	:171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris or A- choris. 9. 188	:4	17	2 1	
i	1178 1496 411	63	31	104 8	14 1.Mar. thus.20	24	28	
	100 1498 41¢	65	33	11 1.Chencres, 16. 197	3	26	30	
	186 2506 422	73	18 1. Assatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses his wonders in Egypt.	195 1511 420	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
-	Iulian. Yorld. Exodu	Moses	Asyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Arges.	Asbens.	
The Passeours. Israel delinered out of Seppt. Phatach drowned. The Law guen. The first of the 480-yeares from Exedus to building the Temple.	2514	81	9	1. Acherres, 8.	19	42	46	
The Floud of Deucation, and conflagra- tion of Phaeton about this time.	2516 2516	83	11	3 215	15 1. E.b:-	44	48	
	;201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	1.Croto	2 1. Cra- nam 10	
	1204 2522 9	89	17	1. Cherres. 15	7	4	4	
	529 16	96	24	8	14	11	3 1. Am- plutiyö t:	
	219 7537 24	104	32	14 1. Armeus, or Da- naus. 5. 236.	22	19	9	
	1212 1540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sthe- nelses, 11	I 2	

þ	ulian. Vorld. Exodus	Məses.	Asyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 140	26		4 Eričihe ius. 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. Ramesses 68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas. 45.	5 245	31	7	6	
	1229 2547 34	114	2	6 24 <sup>6</sup>	32	8	7	. Darda- nus. 64-
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250		10 1. Da- 4aus.50	11	5
The last yeare of Moles.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Iulian, World. Exodu		Aspria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Aibens.	Troy.
The Ifraclites enter the Land of Promife	3236 2554 41	1 1 Iosus 18	9	13, 252	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Cerax 20	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	1.01ho niel.40	27	31	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	1. Belochus the		21	41	1.Pandi 0n. 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300		11 1. Lyn- cens. 41		55
,	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis. 40 200	. 10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 210	11	11	21	1. Eriëll 1145. 4
	;294 2612 99	ı Ehu		3 211	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	1. Belopares. 30	7 215	16	16	26	6
	2531 2531	20	16	22	31	31	1. Ercith	
	1318 2636 12	3 25	21	27	Lamed	c	6	26
	3324 2643 129	31	27	33 241	7	1. Aba		32
	3328 264 13	3 35	22 1. Lamprides, 2	37 2. 245	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie : of the Larthes, 194	2222	1	T	17	,	·		
yeares. See 1.2. chap.26. S.4.	1332	39	5	1.Z. ebus, at Sethofis, 55.	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	I. Tros
Tantalus in Phrygia.	:347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1 Prætus 17	35	9
	1358 1676 151	65	31	27 27.	19 1.Sky::: 45.	12	46	20
	;360 :678 16c	67	1. Sofares. 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	2681 168	70	4	32	6		7 1. Cecrop: the 3. 40	25
ponnelus.	;364 1682 169	71	5	33	7	14 1. Acri- liu. 31	2	26
Ion and Authus it. james of treilen, See L.2. C. 17.5.6.	74 2692 179	4 1.Debora 5. Ba.40		43	17	11	12	36
	380 3898 185	7	24 1.Lampares. 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1.Ramfes, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
Acceptedate of Accepting, the Ringlane of the Argines as disadrence or many imall parts, and overgrown by that of tyens, where the property of the Rings of the transport of the Rings of the rings of the Rings of t	271	21	15	8	37	31	32	56



- 1	lulian, Vorld. Exoàus	Ifrael.	A∬yria.		Ægypt.	Sicyon.	1.fycena	Athens.	Trey.
	139 <b>9</b> 2717 204	26	20		13 68	42		37	4 . Ilus. 55
with the first	7402 2720 207	29	3 23		16	45	i. Euri- liieus. 45	40	4
.a. 140 1.5 1.5 1.5	3403 2721 -208	30	c1 24	:		1. Poly	2	t. Pardion the 2. 25	5
11	1410 2728 215	. 37	1 25	44.	24 79	8.	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1.Gede on. 4	5	12	. 28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chald out of his Kingdome, which is re euted by his loane Adgeur, in few yeares after. The milison of this Interregaum, and reckning the yeare whe fortie eight of Adgeur, or the numbering them a	3427 2745 222	14	64 18	7	4 <b>1</b> 96	25	26	25	29
nur to the miclines, breede animerable difference in the imes of the Athenians following: as of Machiness Carops, and the reft.	3432 2750 237	19	; 2 23		. 46 . 101	30	31	1. Ægi 11. 48	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3.443 2761 248	30	აი 3 <b>4</b>	r	57 112	1. Ina- hu. 42	42	, 12	45
a) / 10/4	3447 2765 252	34	38		61 116	5	& Thye-	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44		19 1. Amenophis. 40 122	. 11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1.Abime lech. 3.	45		127	12	8	23	1. L.no- nedő : 6
	1455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sofarmu	ı <b>s,</b> 19.	3 124	13	9	24	2
21 T 1 T 1	2457 2775 252	I. The			5 126	15	11	26	4
de	2792 2792 279	18	27 1. Mitres	ıs, 27	32	3 2	28	43	21
	2480 2798 285	t. Iair	7		28 149	38	34	1. The- fens. 30.	27
	2485 2803 290	6	12		33 154	1. Phe flus, 8		6	32
	3490 2808	11	17	•	38 159	6	44	11	T. Priamus, 40
·	2811 2811	14	20		1. Annemenes 2 162	stus ,	47	14	4
	2497	18	24		166	t, Poly	51	18	8
	281	9 22	28 1. Tantan		9 2. 170	5	55	22	12

ļ.	ulian. Vorld. .xodus	Ifrael.	A∬yria.	Æg;	pt.	Sicyon.	Mycens	Athens,	Troj
	3502 820	9 1. Icph ta, 6.	2	171		6	56	23	13
	826	10 1. 1b- zan, 7.	8	177		12	62	29	19
	3 5 1 0 2 8 2 8 3 1 5	3	10	18		14	64	11 1. Mne- sthe',24.	2.1
	3512 2830 317	5	12	2 c 181			I, Aga- memnen 18.	3	23
	2833 320	II I. Elon Ic	15	2 18.	4	19	4	6	26
The marre at Troy beganne this yeare.	3519 2837 324	,5	19	1. Thuo 18	ris, 7.	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab don, 8.	25	7		29	14	16	30
ani, beganne this yeare in Ægypt, and fed 178. yeares. See L.2. Ch.26. §.4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	1. Dy	nastie.	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28		3	25 1.Pelas gus, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeares before the be- iming of the Olympiads. See Lib.2.ch. 4. S. I.	2847 334	5	29		4	2	18	20	40.7 take
	World Exodu	From Troy staken.	Ifrael.	Assyria	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena	Athens.	The K dom of Latine
	3530 2848 235	I	6	30	5	3	ı Ægy films, 6.	2 I	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20.	29 1. Ten tens,40	8	6	4	24	1.1 1.1
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	1. Demo phon.22.	
	3536 2854 241	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- stes, 70.	3	1. Af
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zen sippus 22	13	15	1
	3553 3871 258	24	14 1. Eli, 40.	21	28	6	18	20	15
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1.0xyn tes. 12	
	3573 2891 378	1 44	21	1.Thy neus 20	48	26	38	7	35
	2892		22	2	49	27	39	8	1.59

	Iulian.			.	40.	C ====	Sicy	M	ycena .	Athens.	he King-
	World. Exodus		1∫rae	۷.	Allyria	Ægypt.	31.7			14	Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeulippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27		7	54	32	<u> </u>	44	. Aphi as, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28		8	55				15 Tima tes, 8.	7
:	3588 1906 393	59	36		16	63				16 1.Melā- bus.37.	15
	3593 2911 298	64	1 Samuel 1 Samuel him Sau	& after	21	68			58	6	29
: •	1603 2921 408	74	1		3 T 1. Derei 110, 40.	78			68	16	4 1. Sylvins Aerias, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	1.	4	4	81			Tifa enui, ?	19	4
The dejease of the Heracida into Petapasnejus gaue end to include of Mycena, and beginning to the Kingdame of Spati mulo, and Meljeus, the Kings whereof I jordano to suj to this I abo		80	1	7	7	84				22	7
The second secon	3625 2943 430	96	3	3	23	100	,			1.Codr°	23
	Iulia World Exod	n.	From Troy taken.	Ŋ	frael.	Affyri	a. A	gypt.	Athens.	Latines	
	3633		104	1. D.	anid, 40	31		108	9	31	
	438 3634 295	2	105		2	3	:	10)	10	Syl.L tinus, 5	
7	364 2961 44		114		īī	1. I pales,	#	118	19	10	
The Medontida succeed unto the Ath	e- 364	4	117		14	4		121	i. Mo lon, 2		
See L.1. C.17. §.10.	366	4	137	1.	34	2.		141	1. Ag. stus, 3	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Agypt, See L.2. C 26. 5.5.	367 299 47	3 Tem		I. Sai	lomon, 2	<b>10.</b> 3	ı	148	8	40	
Salogion beganne to build the Tem 480. yeares compleat after the delinera out of Egypt.	ple 267	6 4 1	147		4	3	4	151	11	43	
m y dagy.	368	1 (	152		9	I. Aben	Lao-	156	16	48	
	368	34	9 155		12		4	159	19	1. S Alba	yl.
	36	92	17 163		20		12	. Sefac 26 167		9	
	37	2	27 173		30	-	22	11	I Arci		
	130	20					(xx				

M. D. Silve Comp. 1111	World.	Temple	Frem Troy taken.	Ifr	acl.	Ass):	ria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.			
The 21. Dynastie in Ægypt , which la- ied 130. yeares.	1022	29	175		32		24 13		3	21			
The linck migration after the taking of roy 180, yeares. See L.2, C.17.5.6.	;709 2027 Iulian,	34	180		37		29	18 6	8	26			
	World, Troy. Temple   3713   3031   184   38		World, Troy. Inda. Temple		I/s	Ifrael,		A∬yria.		Athens.	Latine		
			031 184 1. Re		1 .leroboam.22		3	3	10	12	30		
	.718 3036 42	189		6	6			38	i. Chem mis, 50.		35		
	3721 3039 46	192		9	£:	9		41		41	4 18	1.Tersip pus. 41	38
	3723 3041 48	194	,	11		11		43		3	1. Syl., 135, 20		
	3726 3044 51	197	: 1	4	,	4	1.Pyr	34 ithiades 20	9 23	6	4		
	2730 2048 55	201	t. A5.	3 iy am. ^.		18		5		10	8		
	2733 305 t 58	204	1. A.a. 41.			21		8	16 20	13	II		
	3734 3052 59	205			1. Na	2 dab, 2.		9	17	14	12		
	3053 60	206		3		3 Ba. 24	10		18 72	15	13		
	<sup>2</sup> 749 3 <sup>06</sup> 7 74	220	17		15				32 46	29	1 Syl. 6 pys. 2		
	3756 3074 81	227		24	<u> </u>	12	т. Ор	35 brateus, 20	, 39	36	8		
_	3758 3076 82	229		25		4 Li, 2.	3		41 55	38	, 10		
Of these Israelitish Kings. See L.2. Ch.19. \$-5.	3759 3077 84	230		27	1. 2	Zimri. 6 ibni.		4	42 56	39	11		
	3762 3080 87	233		30		7 Omri. 12		7	45 59	t. Phor			
	3768	239		36		10		13	1. Che.	-	20		
	3770 3088 95	241		38	12 1. A	8 hab. 22		15	3 67	9	22		
:	3774 3092 99	245	1. le	4 hofopha		5		19	7 71	13	26		

	Iulian. World. Templo	Troj	Inda.		Ifraet.	Affr		gpr.	Athens.	Latines.		_
	3776 3094 101	247	3		a :7	3. Op	7414	9 73	15	28		-1-
	3777 3995 102	248	4		8			10 74	16	1 Syl.Care 181, 13.		
f Ichoram bis fundrie beginnings to ne. Sec L.2. C.20. S. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	1.7 t. Icharas	1.	9 Ahazia, 2.		5	23 87	29	t. Syl. Tibe-		
15	3791 3109 116	262	18	22	10 Jehoram. 11.	L	16	24 88	30	2	-	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0		3		18	26 90	1.Mez.		_	_
	3795 3113		2.2 1. Ichm againe,	8	: · · <b>s</b>		20	28 92	3	6	_	
chosophat dies, and Ichoram reignes ne.		269	25		8		23	31 95	6	1 I 1. Syl. J graps, 41	!	
	3802	273	3 1 Abar		12		27	35 99	10	: 5		٠.
	380 312 128	274	t.At lia,	ba·	11 1. lehu, 2	8  -	28	36 100	11	6	- -	
	380 312	7 28	0 7 1 104		7		34	42 106	17	12	$\perp$	
Carthage built. L.2. C.22. §.6.	381 313	7 29	10 I	1	17		44	52 115		_ļ	1	_
	382 312	13 29	4 1	5	21		48	56 120		og. 26	1	_
		42 29 49	95 1	6	22		49	nes, 5	0.	2 27	<u>,                                    </u>	
1 3 SE	38 31		97	8	24		37 Octazapeso 1	3 12		1 29	1	
1.2	38	3 i	02	<b>‡</b> 3	12 1. Iehoahaz	17.	6	8		9 34		
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The	31	33 51 58	04	25	3		8	10		1 3	_	
53	38	39	10	31	9		14	10	5 1	7 Syl	2 Alla ,19	
·loas reigned with his Father. Lib C.22. § 7.	31	45 163 3	16	37	15 13 1. Ioa		20	2	2 2	3	7	
loas raignes alone.	- 3:	165	318	39	1. Ioas.	i6.	22	2.	1 2	5	9	_
	3	848	319	O Amenia	2		23	2	5 :	16	0	

	Iulian.	-	1	,	<del>,</del>				
	World. Temple	Troy	lu da.	Ifrael.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Phere dus, 19.	13	
:	3858 3176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 t. Syl. A- ventions, 37	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. <i>Ieroboam</i> , 41.	37	39	12	\$	_
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1.Sardana palus. 20.	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ari. 1. phron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	3 <b>4</b> 5	27	13	7	t. Myce rinus, 6.	5	16	
	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy	Inda.	Ifrael.	Asyria.	Ægypt.	Athens.	Latines.	Media.
L.2, C.22, §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interre- gnum ele- uen yeares.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	t. Boc. chorms. 44.	11	32	
L,2. C.22, \$.12.	3887 3205 213	358	11	26	20. Sar danapa- lus flaine	8	18	29	-
L.2. C.33. S.1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Vilia, ot Azaria, 72	27		9	19	30	1 1.Arba- ces, 28,
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. The- fper, 27.	32	3
L.2. C,23. 5.4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	I E. Belojus or Pisal.48.	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl.Pro- cas, 13.	8
L.2. C.23. §.1.	1903 3221 228	37 <del>4</del>	16	1. Interregnum 23. yeares.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	1 1 Sofar- mus. 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	I I 1. Agamme- fler, 30.	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	3 <i>9</i>	2	1 5 1.Syl.Amu lius, 44.	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	23	33	t. A'ychu, & asterhim Anylis, 6	8	7	9
Zacharja began at the very end of the years. L.2. C.23. S.I.	3925 3243 250	396	38	Zacharia fixe	34	2	9	8	10

and the second second									<del></del>		
i l	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.			Inda.	Ifrael.	Asjyria l	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	Media
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum oue month. 17 Menchemic	35	3	10	9	11
This yeare nearly concurres with the first of Menahetu.		398	-		40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	t. Sabacus the Ethio-	14	13	15
n Torre	3937 3255 , 262	<b>4</b> 08	Iphitus	Olym- piads.	50	18 1. Peka- hia, 2.	46	8	1 2 1 . Aef:lŋ lus, 13 .	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. Ch.23. S.5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	2	52	19 1. Paka Ro melia, 20	48	10	3	22	24
L.2. Ch.23. 5.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	11 1. Iothã, 16.	2	2 1. Tiglath Phul Af- far, 27.	11	4	23	25
	lulian. World. Temple	[phitus	Olym- piads.	Inda,	Israel.	A∬yria.	Egypt.	Athen	Latins	Media	
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	1. M: dia' 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5	10 12 1. Ales. 16		16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1.Inter- regnũ 7. Jeares.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	3	6	2	21	31	13 t. Alc menŏ		15	
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Rome built. Lib. 2. Chap. 24. \$.5. Carops the first governing in Athens for ten yeares: after whom succeeded six chosen	287	ı	25	7	8	4	23	33	1. Ca rops 1	1 Rom 0 lus, 27	17
each after other for the like time; and thence the affice became Annuall.	3284 291	5	29	8	12	1. Hofe		37	5	5	21
The Era of Nabonassar. L.2, C.25, S.1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	8	13	2	t. Salmo raffar o Nabonaffa	38	6	6	22
Ezekia began in the very end of this yeare, L.2. C.25. 5.1.	3968 3286 293	7	31	8 3	14 Ezekia, 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This yeare concurres with the first of Ezekia, Ibid.	3 287 294	8	32	8	15	4	3	. 40	8	8	2.4
The beginning of the first Messenian marre. Whereof see L.2. C.27. 5.4. It lessed 20. yeares.	3971 3289 296	01	34	9	3	6	•5	42	10	10	26
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297		35	9	4	7	6	43		11	27

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L.2. C.26. §.7.	3980 3298	19	43	11	12	Kings of the Chaldeans.	5	thon.	Ì	19	3
Senacheribs Armse destroyed, and hee line. L.2. C.25. \$.2.	3982 3300	21	45	12	14		7	3		21	3
	3983 3301	22	46	12	15	t. Merodach ot Mittle	5 1. Afar haddon,10	4		22	3
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Merodach gets the whole Empire. This eare or in the end of the years foregoing.	3311	32	56	14	25	I t. M. rodech 40.	11	14		32	8
In Eclipse of C	318 Inlian, World, Temple	Rome.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Iuda.	Chalden	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Ī
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The beginning of the second Messenia Warre; which lasted about 18, yeares.	# 4029 3347	68	92	23	32	37	15 c. Pfam cicur, 4	20	31	33	
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.  L.2. Ch.28. §.3.	354 4033 3351 358	.72	96	24	36	1. Ben M	5	34	35	37	
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